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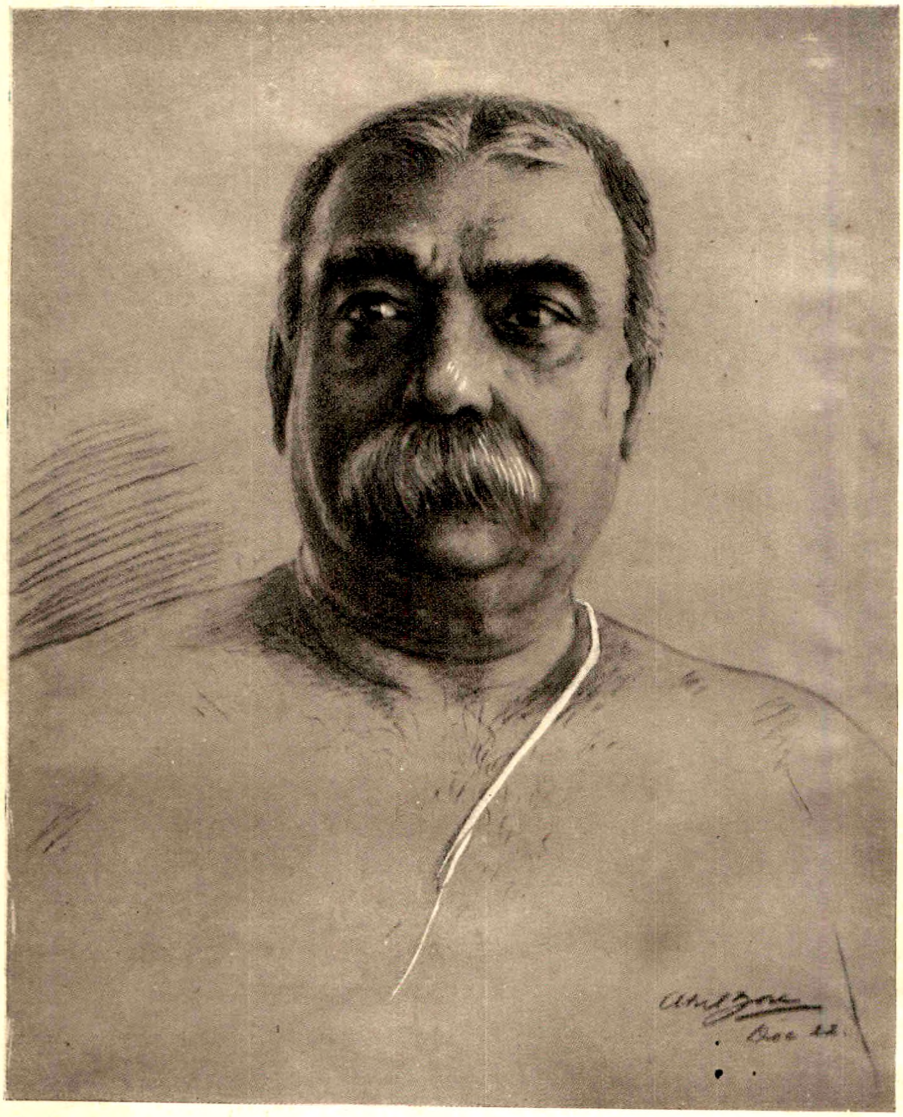
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"THE BENGAL TIGER"

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1923

PAGES FROM THE PAST

I.—A FORGOTTEN CONTROVERSY

Among the many paintings by Robert Home which are in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is a portrait of Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Baronet and K. C. B., one of the few members of the Indian Civil Service who have filled the office of Governor-General. It is to be feared that he is little remembered to-day: yet he was in his time one of the central figures of a hot controversy. The inner history of the storm which arose over the question of his confirmation in the appointment, is told in the Diary of Joseph Farington, a Royal Academician who lived and took notes in the time of King George the Third, and whose fascinating scraps of contemporary gossip have lately become available to the general public through the enterprise of that great London newspaper, the *Morning Post*.

When the news reached England of the death at Ghazipore of Lord Cornwallis on October 5, 1805, it was known that Sir George Barlow, the Senior Member of Council, had, in accordance with precedent, assumed temporary charge of the administration. The question arose: was he to be made *pucca*, or was a successor to Lord Cornwallis to be sent out from

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home? The Court of Directors supported the claims of Barlow. He had entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1779 and had taken a prominent part in carrying out the Permanent Settlement of Bengal during the first term of office of Lord Cornwallis (1780-1793). In 1801 he became Member of Council, and in the following year was designated as provisional Governor-General, in the event of a vacancy. There was, therefore, every justification for the support extended to him by the Hon'ble Court. Historians, however, have not dealt very kindly with his reputation. Although he might be, and was, a capable departmental official, he made, we are assured, an exceedingly bad head of the Government. He has been described as the "meanest of the Governor-Generals." A man of mediocre abilities and unpopular manners, his narrowness of view was rendered the more dangerous, we are told, by the extreme personal dislike which he inspired.

The picture thus presented is not attractive: but the ruling party at the India House were concerned only with the fact that Barlow subordinated his own feelings, whatever they might be, to the paramount necessity of travelling along the lines laid down for him in Leadenhall Street. While Lord Wellesley was in power, he had shown himself to be a zealous subordinate of his: but he now set his face in the opposite direction. In order to appreciate the antipathy to Wellesley's policy, which had become so marked in England, it must be borne in mind that the treasury was empty. The exploits of Wellesley yielded "little other profit except brilliant gazettes," said Cornwallis: and the saying was not without its truth. The extension of British dominion was bound to bring its financial reward in the end: but the Company's shareholders were more occupied with the present shrinkage in their dividends. Cornwallis was, therefore, sent out for the second time with orders to pursue a very different policy—so different that Charles Metcalfe described it as "disgrace without compensation, treaties without security, and peace without tranquillity."

Barlow did not hesitate to follow along the same road. He quarrelled with Lake and drove him to resign his office of Commander-in-chief: but he made his position at the India House secure by concentrating upon the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England. So successful was he in this direction that he was able to convert the financial deficit into a surplus. What more could his honourable masters desire?

At first it seemed as though the Directors would carry their candidate. Lord Minto had become President of the Board of Control, in succession to Castlereagh when a new Government was formed upon the death of Pitt on January 23, 1806: and he concurred with the Hon'ble Court in supporting the confirmation of Barlow. The matter appeared to be settled when after an interval of ten days, the Cabinet thought fit to upset the arrangement which had been arrived at. Lord Grenville the new Prime Minister was a warm admirer of Wellesley and would not hear of the continuance in office of Barlow. He and his colleagues proposed the Earl of Lauderdale. The Directors strongly objected: and a heated discussion ensued. The Ministry exercised for the first time a right vested in them by Pitt's Act of 1784. On May 27, 1806, Farington makes the following entry in his Diary:

> "Mr. Alexander, a King's Council, told Lysons that yesterday the Cabinet Council recalled Sir George Barlow from India out of spite to the Directors of the India Company who will not appoint Lord Lauderdale Governor-General."

The tension grew, for the Ministers were unable to offer any convincing reasons for their action which was strongly suspected to spring from a desire to appropriate a valuable piece of patronage. Two days later Farington records:

> "May 29, 1806.—Called on Dance (the Royal Academician). He talked of the Luxury of the times in the midst of our difficulties and said it resembled Old Rome.—To get what each can for. Himself or His associates is now the great object. The appointment of Lord Lauderdale by Government a proof of it."

The constitutional question was warmly debated in both Houses of Parliament: but there were other grounds for the opposition to Lord Lauderdale. He was a free-trader which meant in those days an enemy of the Company's monopoly: and he was, if possible, something worse.

On June 8, 1806, Farington dines with Sir Martin Folkes, a high Tory Baronet of the "Die-hard" type and thus sets down the purport of the after-dinner conversation:

> "(He condemned) the appointment of Lord Lauderdale to be Governor-General of India and said that it was indecent to nominate Him. He said He could never forget that in the difficult times of this country during the French Revolution Lord Lauderdale avowed the strongest democratic principles—that He stiled Himself Citizen Lauderdale—wanted to be made Sheriff of London,—and professed himself to be the friend of Brissot (the Girondin) etc.—He said Mr. Coke (of Holkham) had been to Mr. Fox on the subject and warned Him of the unpopularity that would attend persisting in such a measure—and asked Him 'whether there was not another man to be found for the situation but Ld. Lauderdale.' Sir Martin added that such proceedings as Mr. Fox now adopts, He would before He was minister, have been the first to condemn."

Sir Martin Folkes and his friend Sir Jacob Astley went on to speak "with disapprobation of the levity of some of the public men,—of the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the Exchequer dancing at entertainments."

Those were days when an individual suspected of democratic leanings was viewed with as much dread as a communist in these times. Farington reflects the feeling in several entries. He was himself charged with the crime: and chronicles the incident as follows:—

> May 26, 1794.—Marchant [A. R. A.] called in the evening. Windham [Pitt's Secretary for war] told him to-day He saw me in the Gallery of the House of Commons on the Habeas Bill. He supposed I was a Democrat. Marchant said He was quite mistaken as I was a violent Aristocrat.

Elsewhere we read how in the year 1804 King George the Third refused his assent to the appointment of Smirke, the painter, to be Keeper of the Royal Academy because of his democratic opinions.

As for Lord Lauderdale, he had gone astray, if at all, in excellent company. Farington records how he attended a great "publick meeting" of the Whigs of Westminster in Palace Yard on November 16, 1795. He says that he put himself under the protection of Smirke and His Son (the architect) and Banks (the sculptor and Royal Academician) telling them that he would be safe in their care, "as they were Crops and Democrats." The meeting is thus described:

> The Hustings was raised; immediately before the King's Arms Tavern, in Palace Yard. At a window of the tavern appeared the Duke of Bedford, Fox, Lord Lauderdale, Lord Derby, Grey, Whitbread, Sturt, etc., etc.—We took our station immediately opposite the Hustings.—A little after 12, the Hustings being prepared, The Duke of Bedford etc. came upon it. Much hallooing and clapping on their appearance. The Duke was dressed in a Blue coat and Buff waistcoat with a round Hat. His hair cropped and without powder.—Fox also cropped, and without powder, His hair grisly grey.—Fox first came forward to speak, Sheridan on his right hand and Tierney on his left. The Duke of Bedford immediately behind him. —After much acclamation, Fox addressed the multitude, stating the loss of the liberties of the people, if the Sedition [Bill] passed, and calling upon them to come forward and support a petition to the House of Commons against it.......

Fox was now (1806) Foreign Secretary and Sheridan Treasurer of the Navy: and Lord Lauderdale may well be forgiven if he thought that a place was his due also. He seems indeed to have looked upon his appointment as a foregone conclusion if we may judge from the details given in an entry on June, 19, 1806:

> "We (Farington and his friend Wilson) talked of Lord Lauderdale's appointment to India being prevented. He said His Lordship had acted with great indecency respecting it, having before the Directors had the question before them spoken confidently that He should go, and depending upon the power of Government had held the Directors cheap.—He went to Coll. Robinson several months ago for information of what Lord Cornwallis took with him, and on Coll. Robinson adding that Lord C. only took two

persons with him, Lord Lauderdale said that would not do for Him as He must take many of His Countrymen with Him.[1]—Had Government persisted in the nomination the Directors were determined to petition the King upon it.—Elphinstone is a slave to His interest and views, and supported Lord L.'s nomination: so did Sir Francis Baring who wants a Peerage,—and Sir T. Metcalf who has always been attached to the Marquiss of Wellesley.

I asked Wilson what impression was upon His mind respecting Marquiss Wellesley. He said that He fully was of opinion that His conduct ought to be enquired into."

Baring, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone were all of them East India Directors. Sir Francis Baring, a Hanoverian by descent, was the founder of the great firm of merchant bankers,[2] and became a Director as early as 1779, serving the office of Chairman in 1792-1793. He was created a baronet in 1793 and continued to be a member of the Court until his death in 1810. His son and successor, Sir Thomas Baring, found his way to Bengal in the Company's service. He remained there from 1790 to 1796, became Collector of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs,[3] and married the daughter of Charles Sealy of Calcutta. Another son married the daughter of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, well-known as the friend and confidant of Hastings. The peerage did not come into the family until 1866, when it was conferred on the third baronet, Sir Francis Thornhill Baring who was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1839 to 1841. Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe had risen to the rank of major in the Company's service. His name appears in the list of Directors in the East India Register of 1794 (his period of office extending in fact from 1789 to 1812), and he received a baronetcy in 1802. He was the father of Charles Theophilus [Lord] Metcalfe, who came out to Calcutta as a writer in 1801 and left India in 1838, after acting as Governor-General from March 1835 to March 1836. The Hon'ble William Fullarton Elphinstone, the third of those named, was the son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone. He served as a Director from 1791 to 1824, and was Deputy Chairman in 1813, and Chairman no less than three times—in 1804, 1806 and 1814. Like Captain Joseph Cotton and Captain John Shepherd (who was Chairman when Lord Ellenborough was recalled) he came to the Board from the mercantile service of the Company, having previously commanded an East Indiaman and accomplished the three voyages which supplied the traditional fortune.[1] His son Major-General Elphinstone was in command at Kabul when Sir William Macnaghten was murdered there, on December 23, 1841, and died in captivity after the disastrous retreat. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the most famous bearer of the name, was a son of the eleventh Lord, and was acting at the time as Resident at Nagpur, after having been present at Assaye and Argaum and earning there the rare praise of Arthur Wellesley. He was Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, and the thirteenth Lord Elphinstone was Governor successively of Madras (1837-1842) and Bombay (1853-1860).

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[1] An early invasion of Calcutta by Scotsmen was evidently threatened.

[2] He amassed great wealth. Farington records in his Diary on June, 25, 1806 :—

The Estate in Hampshire, [Stratton, Micheldever] which Sir Francis [Baring] bought from the late Duke of Bedford is reckoned to produce £8,000 a year. Dance [the architect] has nearly finished the alterations of the House which belongs to it at an expense of £25,000. One of the rooms is furnished with pictures painted by Opie, Northcote and Peters, which were bought at the sale of Boydells Shakespere Gallery.

From a later entry on October, 9, 1806, we learn that "[Sir Thomas] Lawrence set out on Sunday last for Sir Francis Barings in Hampshire to paint three portraits."

[3] A Collectorship was in those days an exceedingly profitable post. On May 16, 1804, Farington writes :—

"[Sir George Beaumont] told me that George Webb had been appointed to one of the Collectorships in Bengal which Dance has been informed is worth £10,000 a year.—He is now 28 years old."

George Webb, who was appointed a writer in September 14, 1794, and died at Moorshedabad on November 24, 1813, was gazetted as Collector of Burdwan on March. 18 1803 and remained there until February, 25, 1804, when he became Resident at the Court of Delhi.

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[1] It was quite usual for the Commander of an Indiaman to make from £8,000 to £10,000 a voyage: and instances were not unknown of a sum of £30,000 for the "double voyage," that is, from London to India, thence to China, and home.

The dispute ended eventually (as such disputes usually do) in a compromise. The Directors were unwilling to force a conflict with the Cabinet and felt that they had gained their point, as indeed they had, when the Ministry withdrew the name of Lord Lauderdale. Sir George Barlow was similarly sacrificed and consoled with a red riband. Farington records on October 30, 1806 :—

> Sir G. H. Barlow was created a Knight of the Bath yesterday.—Sir Philip Francis also.

In the year following Barlow was appointed to the Governorship of Madras ; in which office he quarrelled with the military and the civilians and even provoked a mutiny on the part of the officers, with the result that he was recalled in 1812.

The new Governor-General, in whose nomination all parties concurred, was Lord Minto himself. As Sir Gilbert Elliot he had joined with Burke in the impeachment of Warren Hastings and Impey, and could claim exemption from the revolutionary tendencies imputed to Lord Lauderdale, for on the outbreak of the French Revolution he had declared emphatically against the policy of Fox. From 1794 to 1796 he had been Viceroy of Corsica : but he was not in the least anxious to repeat the part on a larger scale in Calcutta. "I accepted...the situation," he wrote, "which so far from seeking I thought a few weeks ago no human persuasion could have led me to undertake." In spite of his old antagonism to Fox, the feelings towards him of Grenville and his colleagues had so far been softened by the lapse of time that they were able cordially to approve his appointment ; while the Directors took it for granted that he would emulate Cornwallis and Barlow rather than the difficult and dangerous Wellesley. Minto, being a cautious Scotsman, steered a middle course : and though he waged no important wars in India and adhered steadily to the policy of non-intervention, he organised successful expeditions to the Isle of

Bourbon and Java, and certainly left the stage clear for another forward step.

Robert Home painted a portrait of Lord Minto, as he did of Barlow: and it is to be seen like the other in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. As for the disappointed Lauderdale, the absence of that republican Earl from the statuary on the Maidan need not be deplored from an artistic point of view. Farington, visiting the studio of Nollekens, R.A., the miser-sculptor, on May 17, 1806, examined his busts: " and among others one of Lord Lauderdale." " How like a cut-throat it looks," said one of the party, who was no other than a clerk in holy orders.

H. E. A. COTTON

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

It was inevitable that the United States, on account of the peculiar circumstances of its origin as an independent nation and its geographical separation and remoteness from Europe, should have developed a civilization, a political and social philosophy and a system of government different in many respects from those of the old world. This is not saying that they are necessarily superior to those of Europe although there are, of course, Americans who think they are better, for national egotism, blindness to one's own shortcomings and belief in the perfection of one's own institutions is a national trait which is by no means uncommon.

No people have a monopoly of political wisdom or virtue; all governments have their defects as well as their elements of strength, and there is probably not one that could bear the cross-examination of a criminal lawyer. With high standards of private morality the Americans have sometimes tolerated wrong-doing in their public life with a leniency which has often been the subject of remark. Their self-confidence in the capacity of the masses to govern themselves wisely is almost unbounded, and their belief in the infallibility of public opinion is a part of the national faith.

Their optimism verges upon fatalism. Americans are not lacking who seem to think that their country is under the special care of Providence and that in some way He will save them from the consequences of their extravagance, wastefulness and other sins of omission and commission. Lord Bryce in his penetrating but sympathetic analysis of their national faults and virtues has dwelt upon what he characterizes as the "fatalistic attitude of the Americans," that is, a sort of complacent belief that they have been predestined to achieve what other nations have failed to achieve and that it will be achieved in spite of themselves.

If I were to attempt to enumerate some of the political ideas and traditions which the Americans have always cherished I would be compelled to place at the head of the list their deep-rooted, almost sacrosanct belief in the inherent virtue and justice of democracy. In the immortal Declaration which proclaimed their independence as a nation the principle was affirmed that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This principle, although not strictly adhered to in the government of their colonial possessions and territorial dependencies, has been consistently followed and constantly enlarged in those parts of the federal Union which have been organized into "states." There are exceptions to every general principle and the Americans were wise enough to know that the doctrine of the "consent of the governed" was not and could not be a principle of universal application under all circumstances and conditions.

In saying that belief in the justice and excellence of democracy is a fundamental principle of American political philosophy I do not mean to imply that it is exclusively American. America has long since ceased to be the only land of democracy; some of the states of Europe are democracies to-day and their peoples cherish democratic ideals with hardly less fervour than do the Americans. But it may be justly claimed for them that it was they who first proclaimed a deep and abiding faith in its principles, who first introduced it on a large scale, who demonstrated its practicability and furnished the world with a concrete example of a people who actually governed themselves. When real democracy was unknown in practice elsewhere, when statesmen and political writers characterized it as utopian and predicted that it would break down if attempted, the Americans boldly entered upon the "great experiment" with confidence, and launched their barque upon the unknown sea of democracy. For a long time they sailed alone; other nations looked on with a certain curiosity, always with a certain doubt and scepticism as to the outcome. As late as forty years ago English scholars like Maine and Lecky predicted that the American experiment would ultimately fail because democracy necessarily meant the rule of the ignorant mass, and because the teachings of both reason and experience were against the success of government under such conditions. But sceptical as Lecky was he ventured to prophesy that "the future destinies of the English race necessarily rest with the mighty republic which has arisen beyond the Atlantic." So de Tocqueville, sympathetic as he was toward the American democracy in which he found so much to admire, could not conceal his feeling of scepticism as to the outcome. Yet he had the vision to see that democracy was destined ultimately to spread far beyond the frontiers of America and he predicted that all European states would follow the same law of development and in the end become democratic. Most of the dangers which seemed to him to threaten the American democracy, happily it has escaped and many of the evils of democracy which he believed to be inherent and incurable never arose in fact or had only a transient existence.

I venture the belief that the Americans displayed a certain wisdom at the outset which saved them from the error which some nations fell into when they introduced democracy. Instead of establishing universal suffrage suddenly and on a large scale the Americans began modestly; they introduced a limited suffrage and gradually extended it as the political capacity of the people was demonstrated. In the beginning, also, the number of elective offices was comparatively few; nowhere did it include the judges of the courts or any functionaries except the principal executive officers. Likewise, the referendum was at first employed only for the ratification of constitutions and constitutional amendments and not at all for purposes of ordinary legislation. The more radical institutions of democracy such as the initiative, the recall and the primary election were not introduced until comparatively recent times. In short, democracy as first introduced in America, was of a very moderate and conservative type and it did not involve any very severe tax upon the time or political capacity of the electorate. From these modest beginnings the principle of democracy was extended, so that by 1832 de Tocqueville was able to say that America was the most democratic country on the face of the earth and this position it has held until the present day.

If we compare the American system of democracy with that of Great Britain and France we shall be struck by several marked differences. One of the most important of them is to be found in the extraordinarily large number of elective offices in the United States or rather in the state governments, for the national, or "federal" government, as it is popularly called, is not organized on a democratic basis, only two of its functionaries (the President and the Vice-President) being chosen by popular vote. All others are appointed by the President or the heads of the executive departments. As I have said, the founders of the Republic believed in a moderate form of democracy; the notion that all offices should be filled by popular election did not commend itself to them; that idea was a later development. The fact that the national government is far less democratic in its organization than the state governments has often been criticised as a glaring "inconsistency" somewhat as the French system of centralization has been criticized by Frenchmen as inconsistent with their democratic-republican constitution. Mainly because of the difficulty with which the federal constitution may be amended the original undemocratic organization of the Federal government has remained untouched, except that the election of Senators was taken from the state legislatures in 1909 and entrusted to the people. Americans are not lacking, however, who would make the members of the President's cabinet elective by the people and there are some ultra democrats who advocate popular election of the federal judges and the employment of the referendum for purposes of national legislation.

The state constitutions were more elastic and when the new and militant democracy of Jackson's day gained the ascendancy they were speedily altered and the more important officers, executive and judicial were made elective by the people. This principle of popular election has reached such limits that the "burden of the ballot" has become a serious one for the American elector. At a general election in some of the larger states to-day the ballot employed is as large in size as a saddle blanket and sometimes contains the names of five hundred or six hundred candidates. The ordinary elector finds himself hopelessly confused and bewildered in the presence of such a task; the great majority of the names on such a ballot are unknown to him; under such circumstances the exercise of the electoral function is very much like a game of chance. In the face of such a situation many electors cast votes only for the candidates who are known to them; but the great majority take a chance and vote a "straight ticket" for all candidates belonging to the party of which they themselves are members, the task being facilitated by the arrangement of the names of the candidates in party columns at the head of each of which is a party symbol for the enlightenment of the ignorant electors.

More and more, thoughtful Americans have come to realize that elections under such conditions do not represent the intelligent choice of the electorate; that only "professional politicians" can vote ballots of such dimensions as I have described, and that it is a perversion of true democracy to attempt to elect so many officials by popular vote. At present, an extensive propaganda is being conducted throughout the country by an organization known as the "short ballot society" which is advocating a reduction in the number of elective officials and a corresponding reduction in the dimensions of the ballot. It advocates popular election of policy-determining functionaries only and appointment by the governor or other high executive officials of those whose duties are merely clerical or ministerial. This movement has already achieved some success and in a number of states there has been a substantial reduction in the number of elective offices. Further, progress along this line is inevitable. In democratic France they elect only the representatives in parliament and in the local councils. They have what amounts to universal manhood suffrage but they do not consider that true democracy requires election by the people of judges and administrative officers. A French elector would have to live several hundred years to have an opportunity to vote for as many public officials as an American elector may vote for at a single election. And it is largely the same in England where, apart from representatives in parliament and in the local councils, there are no public officials elected by the people.

The American democracy is not only distinguished from others by reason of the large number of elective offices but also by the frequency of elections. Short tenures was a part of the political philosophy of the Jacksonian Democrats—short tenures not only for legislative representatives and executive functionaries but even for the judges of the courts. Representatives in Congress are elected for two years; in many of the states the governors and members of the legislatures are elected for the same brief term; and in a few of the New England states the term is only one year, for in that part of the country the ancient maxim "where annual elections end, tyranny begins," still persists. As a result, we have national or state elections every two years, and sometimes both, and to these must be added a multiplicity of local elections for various purposes. There is hardly an American community in which the voters are not called on several times each year to participate in an election of some kind.

If I may venture to criticise the American conception of democracy I would say that we have made the mistake of assuming that responsibility and efficiency are obtainable through popular election of the mass of executive functionaries, through short tenures, frequency of elections and rotation in office. But we have not found this to be true in the conduct of private business undertakings and no such principles are followed in practice in the management of them.

The electoral function has been greatly enlarged and the burden of politics increased in recent years by the development of other new democratic devices, and particularly the introduction of the "primary" election for the nomination of party candidates for office, the introduction of the initiative—a procedure by which the people may draft projects of laws and vote on their adoption, and the extraordinary development of the referendum. In most of the states to-day each political party selects its candidates for office not through the agency of a representative convention, as was formerly the practice, but by a popular election known as a "primary." It thus happens that every electoral campaign involves two long-drawn-out and expensive contests each followed by a popular election—one at which the party candidates are selected and the other at which the final choice from among the candidates thus nominated is made.

The development and extension of the referendum has added still more to the ballot's burden. At first employed only for the adoption of constitutions and the ratification of constitutional amendments, it has been gradually extended to the processes of ordinary legislation and the determination of a great variety of questions of public policy. Some state constitutions require a referendum to be taken on certain bills passed by the legislature and a still larger number allow it upon petition of a comparatively small number of electors. It also exists in the municipal and other local governments where it is frequently obligatory in the case of municipal ordinances involving financial expenditures, the incurring of debts, the establishment of new municipal undertakings, the granting of franchises to public utility companies and many others. It is rare at a state or local election to-day that the electors are not called on to pass judgment on a number of legislative propositions submitted to them by way of referendum and not infrequently such questions are referred to the electorate at special elections held for this purpose alone. Not infrequently the number of propositions submitted to the electors at one time is so large as to require a ballot of huge dimensions the size of which is made still larger by the necessity of providing space for the names of several hundred candidates. Thus in the state of California in 1914, forty-eight proposed laws were submitted to the electorate on a single ballot; in Oregon the same year thirty-seven proposals were referred to the electors and in Colorado thirty-two. During the last twenty years fifteen hundred constitutional amendments and over seven hundred ordinary laws, to say nothing of thousands of local measures, have been made the object of a referendum in the various states of the Union. The confusion and perplexity which the task of passing judgment upon such a multiplicity of proposals at one time causes the voter, is often increased by his ignorance of the measures upon which he is called to legislate, for not infrequently proposed measures are submitted which are technical in character and which are not understood by any very considerable number of electors. Under such circumstances many electors refrain from voting at all on such measures or vote against them. Happily, in some states "publicity pamphlets" explaining the purpose of referendal measures and sometimes containing arguments for and against each are placed in the hands of the electors in advance of the election for their information. The educational value of this device constitutes one of the chief merits of this method of legislation and at the same time it serves in some degree as a safeguard against unintelligent voting.

The principle of the referendum is sound and logical enough in a democracy and subject to certain limitations and restrictions as to the number and character of the propositions to which it is applied it is not necessarily dangerous, but there are many Americans who feel that it has been carried to undue lengths in certain parts of the country and that it threatens to undermine the system of representative government. Fortunately, the results have not been as bad as you might expect; there have been instances in which the results were regrettable but on the whole such instances have not been numerous. With an electorate, well-informed on public questions, equipped with an abundance of experience in self-government and intensely interested in politics the Americans have, in the main, employed the referendum wisely and conservatively and it has resulted in the enactment of little extreme, radical or unwise legislation. The truth is, the Americans are far more conservative than is generally supposed by Europeans. More than the people of any other country, perhaps, they are owners of property, and especially of landed property. They are, therefore, naturally opposed to radical legislation which would imperil the value of their property or entail a heavy augmentation of taxes. They are a bit fond of trying experiments in government but there is little disposition among them to overturn established institutions or to upset the existing order.

It is clear from the foregoing observations that the American conception of democracy is founded on an almost unbounded belief in the political capacity of the people—the belief that the masses are entirely competent to choose their hundreds of public officials, executive and judicial as well as legislative; that they are fully competent to determine important questions of public policy and that they are capable of passing intelligent judgment on legislative measures and even of legislating directly themselves. Manifestly, such a theory of democracy would break down in practice among a people who did not possess a very high degree of political experience and capacity. I venture to say that the Americans do in fact possess this to an unusual degree. It is the result of an extensive system of public education which has provided the facilities of a school almost at the door of every citizen; from the existence of a widely diffused press which is eagerly read by all classes; from long and wide participation of the masses in public affairs; and from an intense and passionate popular interest in politics. Many foreign observers have dwelt upon this fact. De Tocqueville in his day was impressed by the evidences which he saw of it; the English writer Bagehot has remarked that it was the genius of the Americans for politics and their regard for laws, which he added, "infinitely surpassed" that of the English, that has saved American democracy from coming to a "bad end"; and Viscount Bryce, a keen but sympathetic critic of American democracy, has paid the Americans the compliment of saying that they have "a practical aptitude for politics, a clearness of vision and a capacity for self-control never equalled by any other nation."

Unquestionably the American democracy, as any other democracy which is organized on the principle of the capacity of the masses to govern themselves, has necessarily involved a certain loss of efficiency, economy and even of responsibility. A democracy which is hostile to long tenures, and which believes in the principle of rotation in office naturally does not look with special favour upon the professional expert service which results from permanency of tenure. Now trained experts are as much a necessity in a democracy as elsewhere and yet there is a disposition in America to regard a government by professionally trained men as bureaucratic in spirit. Most Americans are quite willing to admit that their system of short tenures, rotation in office, the absence of professional qualifications for eligibility to the public service and the extensive participation of the people in the actual conduct of the government has necessarily entailed a certain loss of skill and efficiency. They would readily admit, for example, that judged from the point of view of mere administrative efficiency, the old Prussian bureaucracy with its highly trained, experienced, popularly irresponsible corps of functionaries was superior to our system of "popular" government. But they do not consider that administrative efficiency is the sole, or even the principal, test of good government; to them government is not merely a machine but it should serve as a sort of training school for citizenship. They emphasize the educational value of popular participation in government, the stimulation of popular interest in public affairs and the development of habits of loyalty and love of country, which come only from allowing the people a large share in the administration of their government. They believe that these advantages would be sacrificed under a bureaucratic system such as that of Prussia.

If I may be permitted to criticize the American system of democracy I would be inclined to say that it attempts too much; it tries to attend to too many details which by reason of their number and variety the electorate is not competent to deal with intelligently and carefully. We elect more public officials—especially petty local functionaries—than the electorate is capable of doing wisely. Better results would be obtained, in my judgment, if the task of the electorate were confined to the choice of only the more important officials whose duties have to do with the determination of public policies. In my opinion, also, the principle of the referendum has been carried too far—it is too often invoked on measures which could be more wisely determined by representatives. An intelligent electorate is entirely competent to pass judgment on simple questions of policy in which there is wide-spread public interest but it is no reflection on their intelligence to say that by reason of the very

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character of the referendum itself they cannot exercise wisely the general power of legislation.

Again, as I have said, we have too many elections in America; too many political campaigns with their distracting and often demoralizing influences; too many calls on the electorate to devote their time, thought and money to the business of politics. A foreigner who should visit America at certain times of the year might very naturally conclude that politics is the chief business of the country. If it were possible to determine the cost in money, time, effort, and loss from the demoralization and disturbance to business, in operating our burdensome and highly expensive democratic machine, many Americans, I fancy, would be surprised and shocked. There are no means of estimating the precise cost of a Presidential election in the United States but it would probably be a conservative guess to say that from first to last the total cost in money, time, and effort to the American people of the last Presidential election was not less than 20,000,000 dollars. In France it costs little or nothing to elect a President and there is no evidence that it is done less satisfactorily than it is in America.

Only a rich country could bear so tremendous an expense. The Americans love the game of politics as they love base ball. It is the great national sport in which everybody takes a lively interest. They contribute their money to the party treasuries as generously and with the same satisfaction that they give to the church or to charity. Delegates to party conventions cheerfully bear the expense of journeying across the continent and of living for weeks at expensive hotels merely to serve their party or their political favourites and for the pleasure which they derive from participation in the game.

Nevertheless, I do not wish to be understood as expressing the opinion that the immense sums of money, or any considerable part of it, thus expended is employed for illegitimate or improper purposes. On the contrary, I am sure that

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only a comparatively small portion of it is employed to-day for purposes that can properly be said to be immoral or illegal. Most of it is expended for the publication and dissemination of campaign literature, for hiring assembly halls, for paying the expenses of speakers and party workers, for organizing and financing political clubs, and for other similar purposes. The fact is, the expenditure of large sums has been made necessary by the enactment of " primary " laws under which candidates are selected by direct vote of the people. Where such laws are in force—and they are found in most of the states—candidates are obliged to get in direct touch with the voters and make personal appeals to them. Those who are fortunate enough to obtain a nomination from their party are then obliged, as I have said, to go through a second campaign which precedes the final election. This necessarily imposes a heavy burden upon the candidate's purse, his strength and his time. In a large and populous state like Illinois or New York months are required to visit every part of the state and the expense is very heavy; for presidential candidates who have the entire country as their field of operation the necessary outlay is of course much larger.

Happily, however, the cost in time, money and effort is not all waste. Political campaigns and elections have a certain educational value; participation of the people in politics awakens and stimulates interest in public affairs; it tends to make democracy a training school for citizenship; it develops among the people an interest in and an attachment to their government which is lacking among peoples who have no share in the management of their political affairs. It has contributed toward the development among the Americans of an unusual political capacity and has made it possible for them to operate a cumbersome and unwieldly political machine which a people with less political aptitude could never have worked with success. Great as the cost which our democratic processes necessitate, great as the sacrifices and burdens which it entails and imposes, the Americans believe, rightly or wrongly, that the advantages, educational, civic and political which result from it, outweigh the cost and the loss of efficiency.

Proceeding further with my analysis of American democracy I may observe that Americans are strongly attached to the principle of government by the majority. The readiness with which they accept the verdict of the majority and submit to its will is one of the traits which has frequently impressed foreign students of our democracy. The Americans go through long and fiercely contested election campaigns sometimes marked by bitterness and passion, they assail their opponents as an army attacks the enemy but when the election is over the defeated party accepts its defeat good-naturedly, and submits gracefully to the will of the victors. This is one of the first duties which the American citizen learns; submission to the will of the majority is a habit with him; he knows that it is one of the foundation-stones of popular government.

It is a deep-rooted principle of American democracy however, that the minority has rights which the majority is bound to respect and it is probably safe to say that nowhere else are those rights more effectively safeguarded and protected by the Constitution. De Tocqueville saw in the possible "tyranny of the majority" the capital fault of American democracy. "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed," he said, "it will be due to the unlimited power of the majority." But this prophecy, like others, has not yet come true and there are no signs that it ever will. In fact, there has been little disposition on the part of majorities in America to tyrannize over minorities. By reason of the large number of rich men in the country—a veritable aristocracy of wealth—America has offered a peculiarly tempting field for the exploitation of the rich through oppressive and confiscatory taxation, but so far, nothing of this sort has been attempted. Property rights are regarded with a certain sacredness in America and hardly anywhere else are they more securely protected by the Constitution against invasion by the majority.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that American democracy is founded on a deep-rooted, almost religious, belief in the twin virtues of liberty and equality. America is an example of a commonwealth which has made liberty one of its principal ends, if not its chief object. There are few if any other countries, in which the domain of liberty is so wide or where it is more effectively safeguarded and protected by constitutional barriers. America as the land of liberty and of equality is the first thing that impresses the foreigner upon his arrival; it is this as much as anything else that has drawn millions from other lands to our shores and made America the crucible of the nations. Liberty of speech, of assembly, of association, of press, of religion, of teaching, of economic pursuit and of contract exist to a degree hardly known in many other countries.

The American conception of liberty differs in another respect from that which has prevailed in some other countries. In America liberty is understood to embrace political rights and privileges including the right of local self-government, and not merely immunity from interference on the part of the state. That is to say, it has a positive as well as a negative side. To an American a régime of liberty which does not include the right of self-government and a wide right of participation in government is not worthy of the name. With him, in short, liberty and democracy are inseparable. Finally, as I have said, American liberty differs from that of most other countries in that it has been constitutionalised. American constitutions are instruments of liberty as well as of government. Through the declarations of rights which are an integral part of every constitution and through the numerous limitations which they impose on the legislative and executive authorities they create a definite sphere of liberty for the individual and upon which the government cannot lawfully encroach. The domain of liberty, therefore, is not only wider in most respects than that of other countries but it is generally better secured and protected by constitutional safeguards.

To the principle of equality the Americans are even more deeply attached. It was affirmed in the Declaration of Independence, it is proclaimed in many of the state constitutions where it is declared that "no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive privileges," and our whole system of law and of government is based on it. Lord Bryce has paid the Americans the compliment of saying that they have the most complete liberty in the world, because it is blended with equality. It was the great theme of de Tocqueville who saw in America the classic land of equality. In certain countries of Europe there has always been, and even now is, a governing class—a class of men whom birth, wealth or education have raised above their fellows, who shape public opinion and who occupy the more important positions in the government. There is now no such class in America, if there ever was. America has never known an aristocracy in the English or German sense; there are no artificial barriers which separate one part of the population from the other; there is no office or honour within the gift of the nation to which the poorest and humblest citizen may not aspire and to which he cannot in fact attain if he possesses brains and character, as the remarkable life of Abraham Lincoln so well illustrated.

The Americans do not believe in legislation to prevent one man from owning more property or acquiring more wealth than another. They detest the Bolshevist philosophy which aims at reducing society to the level of the proletariat. They know that equality must be reconciled with liberty and they know that the attempt to make men equal in all respects would involve the destruction of liberty.

It is one of the glories of American democracy that until now the country has been remarkably free from the class struggles and dissensions such as have afflicted some European countries. There have been more labour strikes, perhaps, than in most other countries but they have never degenerated into dangerous civil struggles. There is no proletariat in the strict sense of the word in America; there is not even a labour party of sufficient consequence to deserve the name; socialism itself has made little headway because the economic condition of the working classes is probably better than it is anywhere else, for they receive extraordinarily high wages and the larger number of them are owners of homes; and most of the political rights which socialists in other countries demand, the working men of America already enjoy. There is therefore little *raison d'être* for such a party.

The chief obstacle perhaps which we have encountered in the operation of our extremely democratic machine is the presence of millions of foreigners—a large number of whom are labourers who have come from the countries of Southern Europe. America is in truth a gigantic crucible, a vast melting pot in which the outpourings of all countries have assembled and in which they must be fused and Americanized if the country is to remain American. Unaccustomed to self-government, ignorant of the English language, unfamiliar with American institutions and frequently labouring under the delusion that the liberty of America is but another name for license, they have created what is in some respects the greatest problem which faces our democracy. Dependent in large part for their knowledge of American institutions upon newspapers published in foreign languages—misled by the teachings of a few dangerous agitators who endeavour to persuade them that the American Government is no better than was that of the Czar, that the laws of the country are made by the enemies of the working classes, that American employers are robbers and exploiters, and the like, it is not surprising that some of the foreign population should be radicals and revolutionaries, out of sympathy with our institutions and indeed enemies of the existing social, economic and political order. The Americans are now fully awake to the necessity of a thorough-going, intensive, nation-wide policy of Americanization through education by which these people may be assimilated, moulded into good citizens and their attachment to American institutions secured. The national and local governments as well as many civic, educational and commercial bodies have lately taken steps toward the accomplishment of this important and necessary task.

Aside from this cloud on the horizon—one which may be removed by a vigorous policy of Americanization—the American democracy does not appear to me to be confronted by any particular danger which threatens to undermine its foundations or shake its super-structure. The evils which Maine, Lecky, de Tocqueville and other foreign critics once foresaw, and which Maine in particular prophesied would ultimately lead to the downfall of the American democracy, have happily not proved serious—some of them in fact have never arisen at all. Other evils which they did not foresee have appeared, and others still will no doubt arise but there is nothing in the outlook to cause despair for the future. The one condition which seems essential to the continued success and permanence of the American democracy, as of democracy everywhere, is an intelligent, alert and well-instructed citizenship. It is the good fortune of America to possess this, the greatest of national assets, in a rare degree and the intense interest of her people in public education—an interest which amounts almost to a passion—justifies the belief that if our democracy should ever perish as others have done in the past, it will not be the result of ignorance or incapacity.

J. W. GARNER

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—II

(3)

D. G. RITCHIE

DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

In the writings of D. G. Ritchie social and political interests predominate. "Pre-eminently a thinker," says his biographer Professor Latta, "he abhored thinking *in vacuo* and his peculiar strength lay in his combination of philosophic insight with a living interest in human affairs, past, present and future." Like T. H. Green, under whose influence his philosophical principles were formed, he took deep interest in practical politics and the ideal of social well-being and progress dominated his thought and action. He was strongly of opinion that practical action must be based upon principles and that questions of ethics and politics must, ultimately, be viewed from the standpoint of general philosophy. In his study of practical problems Ritchie sought to combine the point of view of Idealism with that of Darwinism. Idealistic evolutionism is the name he was disposed to give to the theory to which he was led "by the teaching of Thomas Hill Green on the one side and by the influence of scientific friends on the other."

"Of an absolutely simple and unaffected nature," says Miss E. S. Haldane, "Ritchie pursued the truth he set himself to seek with an entire devotion." He was a very systematic thinker and sought to deduce all his conclusions from what he took to be first principles. In him, as in Green, the thinker was completely fused with the citizen. "His social optimism," says Professor Latta, "made him an ardent and incessant worker, restlessly intent on thoroughness of thinking, impatient of abstractions and hasty generalisations, and scrupulous in his endeavour to attain accuracy of statement and reference as regards even the minutest details. But there was no harshness in his sense of duty. It was rather a buoyant and optimistic belief springing from his living interest in human well-being and progress. For him the whole duty of man lay not in doing good things but in doing them well, and from this deep moral conviction there passed into his life a courtesy, gentleness and frankness that seemed instinctive in its readiness and ease."

The end of conduct, according to Ritchie, is self-realisation and not happiness. "It is a terrible irony to say happiness is the end we ought to pursue. It is a hopeless pursuit. If happiness is the end we may well despair and make pessimism our creed." The self that has to be realised is not the self as finite and individual. It is a social self, "first the family, clan or tribe, then the city or nation, finally humanity." For practical purposes, the best thing is to treat self-realisation as the good of a community.

It is as members of society working hand in hand for the furtherance of the common good that individuals can develop their nature and be truly individual. Self and other selves mutually interpenetrate and interpret each other. The very differentiation of a man as an individual implies his co-existence with other individuals and his dependence upon the whole to which he and they equally belong. Virtues and duties, therefore, have no meaning apart from the institutions of society which give them concrete form. To suppose that morality is independent of society is the error of intuitionism in ethics. Its defect is its individualistic character. Man is not a lonely being cut off from his fellows and his moral ideas are not to be found ready-made within his mind. They grow along with the development of customs and institutions and are inseparably connected with them. To say this is not to deny the validity of the moral principles. Origin has nothing to do with validity. The anxiety of the

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intuitionists to show that duties are independent of social factors and conditions is largely due to the mistaken belief that the value of a thing is determined by its origin. When we have given an historical account of the origin of a subject, we have not explained its worth and meaning. Duties do not cease to be binding on us because it can be shown that they are the outcome of social development. In prescribing absolute moral laws, intuitionism fails to perceive that the moral ideal is progressive and ignores the importance of customs, usages and institutions. It tends "to fossilise the principles of conduct at the particular stage of social development which commends itself to the particular intuitionist."

The theory of natural rights is in politics the analogue of intuitionism in ethics. Just as duties are supposed to be independent of society, so are rights conceived as belonging to men antecedently to their membership of a community. The intuitionist and the apostle of natural rights have both an individualistic bias. Society is regarded as made by men joining together for the purpose of safeguarding their pre-existing natural rights. It is not seen that "the person with rights and duties is the product of a society, and the rights of the individual must therefore be judged from the point of view of a society as a whole and not the society from the point of view of the individual" (*Natural Rights, p. 102*). Only persons have rights, but personality apart from society has no meaning. It is as animals and not as spiritual beings that we are distinct from one another. "What is the life of each of us apart from the influence of others and the relations in which it stands to the lives of others ? The person can only exist in a developed political society which gives him rights and duties."

Although Ritchie strongly insists on the sociality of man as a moral being, he is far from maintaining that rights and duties are finally determined by any actual society. We can always appeal from society as it is to an ideal society.

In order to know what moral duties are in their finished form, we must call up a vision of a perfect society and its conditions and requirements. But the ideal society is not something distinct from the actual. In it the meaning of the existing society is completely realised. The standard of conduct is set not by society as it is but by what it ought to be. Moral order, therefore, implies moral progress which "consists (1) in an enlargement in the list of virtues but still more (2) in an extension of the range of persons to whom obligations are due." The power of reflection which men have as self-conscious beings makes moral progress possible. They can form some idea of a better state of things by pondering over what they see around them and, from the point of view of the new ideal awakened in their minds, can criticise existing arrangements and institutions. "The healthiest society—as things go in an imperfect world—will be that which is most capable of criticising *and of mending itself*." This necessary task of criticism and reform is done by men who "can act in defiance of custom and even of law in working out some aim of their own choosing, which is not that of those around them." The social rebel, therefore, is a benefactor to mankind. But those who rebel against society may be of two kinds. "He may be the precursor of some new and better society, in the name of which he condemns an existing but corrupt and decaying set of institutions," or he may be the deliberately selfish, self-seeking man for whom a life of self-gratification becomes possible because others are not as bad as he. "Society consisting only of fallible and imperfect beings is apt to commit mistakes, and it may now and then confuse the two kinds of rebels, and crucify a true prophet between two ordinary criminals, though the ratio of true prophets to ordinary criminals is not as a rule so high."

The state is the highest form of social union and is supreme over all corporations and associations of men for the promotion of special interests. Its end is the realisation of the common well-being and all its action "must be such as will give individuals so far as is possible the opportunity of realising their physical, intellectual and moral capacities." The ideal of ethics and politics alike is social. To the socialistic ideal in politics, individualism is opposed. The end of the state, according to it, is to give the fullest possible scope to the freedom of the individual, to give him liberty to work out his destiny in his own way and not to interfere between fully grown persons. The sole duty of the state, therefore, is to see to it that none in the exercise of his freedom interferes with the freedom of others. Much of the prejudice against state interference, Ritchie points out, is due to the misconception of the relation between the state and the individual. The state is supposed by men, even by thinking men, to be an alien power imposing its authority upon them from without, and naturally the result of its action comes to appear as the curtailment of their freedom. It is not seen that the state is the organic whole of which its members are constituent factors and that its action is no more inconsistent with their freedom than is the life and activity of the whole body inconsistent with the functioning of any of its members. The objection to state interference as such is, therefore, irrational. The only proper question to ask is whether the result of the interference of the state is the development of the capacities of the individual and the furtherance of his well-being or the reverse. In the latter event alone the action of the state is condemnable.

The liberty of the individual exists not in spite of but because of state action. The only liberty which is possible and defensible is the liberty of self-realisation by means of activities that contribute to the common good. It involves the association of men with each other, not their separation and isolation. "If freedom be put forward as the end of the state and therefore of the whole political endeavour of mankind, this cannot mean the mere negative liberty of being left alone, and, unless we suppose changes in human nature for which past and present experience gives us no warrant, such absolute want of control would mean a return to the lowest savagery and a tedious process of building up again the overthrown fabric of order and civilisation" (*Philosophical Studies, p. 51*). To suppose that the evolution of society ends in complete individualism is a great mistake. Beyond and above the opposite extremes of social cohesion without individual liberty and individual liberty of the negative sort without social cohesion, there is a higher type of society "in which all that is most precious in individualism must be retained along with the stability of social conditions which individualism has destroyed." In the negation of modern individualism, it is impossible to rest. That individual freedom is essential to man if he is to make the most of himself few will deny; but freedom is a reality only in a strong state. It is the correlative and not the contradictory of the solidarity and organisation of the state. "Abolish the state and we should have, not individualism, but, after a period of anarchy, the patriarchical stage or some other 'natural' grouping of a more rudimentary kind. Society would begin over again from its lowest elements; and only with the rise of the state could it escape from savagery and barbarism" (*Philosophical Studies, p. 56*).

Ritchie takes pains to show that the theory of natural selection lends no support whatever to individualism and the political doctrine of *laissez faire*. While fully appreciating the value of this theory, he points out its limitations and its inapplicability to human affairs without essential modifications. Men are thinking beings and are not subject to the biological law of evolution in the same way as the lower animals. Natural selection is no doubt at work among them, but its nature is altered by the power of thought and the range of its operation is restricted. Civilised human beings do not, like the animals or the primitive savage, fight out the struggle for existence to the bitter end but do their best to put limits to the struggle. Co-operation more and more replaces rivalry and unchecked competition and spontaneous variation gives place to the deliberate alteration of customs and institutions. The growth of human societies is not due to the mere operation of natural laws but to efforts consciously made by men. For the betterment of society, therefore, ideas are of more value than any hypothetical inheritance of acquired characteristics. But "ideas can only be productive of their full benefit, if they are fixed in institutions." Floating opinions, individual beliefs are of very little use. Just because "it is 'not proven' that acquired characteristics are transmitted, we cannot trust for the improvement of the race to the moralisation of stray individuals now (however desirable and necessary that is in itself): We must reform institutions so that the new individuals shall be born into healthy surroundings." For the progress of the human race, Ritchie relies more on "social inheritance--the transmission of ideas, sentiments, practices through the medium of tradition and imitation" than on the biological law of heredity. He regards it as essential that men from their early years should be brought up in the midst of such laws, customs and institutions as will stimulate good and arrest evil tendencies. "The moral significance of the organisation of society can hardly be overestimated. It is little use preaching kindliness and consideration for others and hoping that sympathetic feelings will gradually become innate, if the society into which individuals are born be openly and confessedly a ceaseless struggle and competition. For eighteen centuries a gospel of peace and brotherhood has been preached and *talked*; but the child plays with a toy gun and the youth sees the successful millionaire held up as his model for imitation—the man who boasts that he is "self-made," and who, as the American remarked, has by this boast "taken a great responsibility off the Almighty." (*Darwinism and Politics, p. 54.*)

To the state, we must turn as the one power capable of so organising society and its institutions as to make them helpful to the free development of human personality. Ritchie was a strong socialist in his aims and ideal, but he did not accept in its entirety any of the current socialistic doctrines. He was a firm believer in state action as the only means of creating conditions favourable for the attainment of social well-being and had little patience with the view that unrestricted competition between individuals is the best means of promoting it. "Open competition might give results of some value if everyone were to start fair, run on his own legs and carry equal weight, but open competition between one man in a sack with a bundle on his shoulders, another on a good horse, and a third in an express train is a farce and a somewhat cruel one, when the race is being run for dear life." Those who insist that without struggle nothing good can be attained by man may be reminded that "there is a struggle from which we can never altogether escape—the struggle *against* nature, including the blind forces of human passion. There will always be enough to do in this ceaseless struggle to call forth all the energies of which human nature at its very best is capable." To remove the inequalities of life, to give equal opportunities of self-realisation to all, to reform institutions that stand in the way of the perfection of character and the happiness of individuals, to mitigate the severity of the struggle for existence so that every one may have some amount of leisure to cultivate the higher faculties of the mind, to turn mutual conflict into mutual help—these are the supreme end of state action. Men are not by nature equal. But the ideal is that so far as external arrangements of life can make them so, they ought to be equal. It is, of course, not possible to satisfy every one's wishes "but what we have to consider is the well-being and progress of society as a whole. We can only seek to provide the surrounding conditions which we hope will produce such effects." "The fact of natural inequalities can be no excuse for maintaining artificial inequalities which have very little connection with them. The great democratic ideal is to remove all unnatural and artificial barriers between man and man and to diffuse education and culture throughout the community in such a way as to "make social intercourse easy between all its members, between those who are engaged, say, in directing some great industrial enterprise and those who cook food or clean rooms." The ideal to be constantly kept before the mind is that of a society composed of as many free, cultivated and equal members as possible and "it is well to repeat such a watchword as equality and fraternity, lest we should forget our ideal and, amid some degree of personal comfort, become ashamed of it." The need for eminent men in the various walks of life will never cease but "we need all the eminence, intellectual, moral and artistic that we can get—not that the eminent individual may amass a fortune or receive the fatal gift of the peerage (as for those that care for such things—verily they have their reward) but that he may exercise his gifts, as all the world's greatest men would wish to exercise them, for the benefit of his fellow men" (*Darwinism and Politics, p. 50.*)

The reason for the evil repute of state action, Ritchie thinks, is due to its being generally unmethodical and haphazard. "The real and significant distinction is not that between "state interference" and "*laissez faire*" but between intelligent and scientific, *i.e.*, systematic and far-sighted state action on the one side and that peddling kind of playing at an occasional and condescending providence in small matters, which is often much worse than doing nothing at all." (*Ibid, p. 28.*) Nevertheless, "even a partial state action may often be welcomed as a recognition that the state has duties towards its weaker members, however inefficiently it may discharge them." The state is supreme over all minor organisations and no limit can be put to its action except that which is determined by the nature of its end. How far the state should intervene and how much should be left to the discretion and enterprise of private individuals is a question not to be decided by any *a priori* doctrine of "man *versus* the state," but by what is expedient and practicable under the circumstances. In principle, Ritchie is not disposed to withhold any power from the state. He recognises its right of interference with individual freedom even in purely personal matters, provided that such interference is necessary for the common good. "I do consider that it *is* the business of the state (supposing a well-organised state) to regulate, if possible, the birth and certainly the education of children so as to give them a fair chance of growing up into the best possible men and women."

But when is a state well-organised? When, answers Ritchie, its constitution is democratic and the people have a voice in the administration of its affairs. It is essential, he thinks, that governments should depend on the consent of the governed. Ritchie is a staunch supporter of the democratic form of government which, in his view, has the great advantage that "no measure can be carried which has not a very strong public opinion behind it—an advantage most completely secured by the very democratic and yet very conservative device of the *referendum.* Democratic government may be less enlightened, less scientific, and in some ways more stupidly conservative than the government of an intelligent and benevolent monarch; but it has this enormous advantage, that its laws cannot permanently run counter to very widespread public sentiment." (*Studies in Political and Social Ethics, p. 46.*) But if the state is to fulfil the important functions which, in Ritchie's view, belong to it, can we afford to have an unenlightened, unscientific and stupidly conservative government merely because it is democratic? Can a state be strong, efficiently organised and beneficent in its activities, if its affairs are managed according to the will of the majority which happens to be momentarily prevalent? Ritchie speaks of the desirability of the segregation of the decadents and failures from the vigorous portion of the community and of preventing them from producing children. Will the majority, consisting for the most part of precisely such failures, ever allow this? The foundation of the state is no doubt the general will but, as thinkers have pointed out, the general will is not the same thing as the will of all, and the discovery of it is not an easy task.[1] It is only wise, disinterested and courageous men of experience, capable of rising above the passions and prejudices of the hour and of taking a long view of things, that can truly interpret the real will of the people. The end of the state is to remove obstacles to the development of the capacities of men, but the greatest of such obstacles is man's own selfishness, short-sightedness, slothfulness and ignorance. If the end is to be attained, the management of the affairs of the state must be in the hands of wise and able men, men of the stamp of Plato's philosopher king whom the ballot box cannot discover. Those who come to the top at popular elections are, not infrequently, mere windbags and demagogues practised in the art of ingratiating themselves into the favour of the unthinking mob. "The professional politician," says Dr. A. Freeman, "whom democracy has brought into being differs entirely from other professional men. He is totally unqualified" (quoted by Dean Inge, *Edinburgh Review, No. 477, p. 27*). The result is that the state fails to get the guidance of wise and competent men without which its prosperity and well-being cannot be attained. "No democratic system," says Professor C. R. L. Fletcher, "can secure the representation of the *intelligence of the nation.* The nomination boroughs afforded the only chance for young men of ability without family connections to enter Parliament. Burke, both Pitts, Canning and Gladstone were all nominees of great men. The last of these maintained in the hearing of the present writer that

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[1] The distinction will be explained in the next article.

England was never better governed than in the last age of the old unreformed Parliament. People are too apt to forget that all real, substantial reforms proceed from intelligence alone, that intelligence is always in a minority and that democracy sacrifices not only intelligence but all the reforms that can only proceed therefrom in order to maintain itself and to split political power into fragments more and more minute." (*An Introductory History of England, 3rd ed., pp. 332-38.*)

The curse of democracy is the demagogue. Its great problem is to secure the services of good and capable men of principle, but that problem remains unsolved. Under it, so far, trimmers and opportunists alone have prospered. "Democratic institutions," Ritchie tells us, "are defensible in so far as they offer (or can be made to offer) the best means of obtaining a genuine aristocracy or government by the best." Judged by this criterion, democracy must be pronounced to be a failure. Most assuredly, it has failed to obtain "a genuine aristocracy or government by the best." Politicians who have to depend for their tenure of power on the results of triennial, quadrennial or quinquennial elections, held under conditions well known to all, can seldom afford to be guided by their honest and independent judgment of what is really for the good of the people. They are tempted to curry favour with the mob, to play to the gallery. Under the influence of the democratic system of government, men, who in other circumstances might have been sagacious rulers, are inevitably turned into demagogues. The higher leadership, of which Lord Haldane speaks in one of his latest works, becomes a mockery. "We have to teach our people," says Lord Haldane, "if we would maintain the great station of our own country among the other nations of the earth, that they must see things steadily and see them whole. If we are to do this we must make sure that our statesmen, our local leaders, our teachers and our preachers have themselves something of the mind that is really synoptic and are in some degree fitted to speak of eternity as well as of time." (*Reign of Relativity, p. 421*). Are party politics and electioneering campaigns very favourable to the growth of the power to "see things steadily and as a whole?" "Can a politician busy collecting votes afford to have a 'mind that is really synoptic' and 'to speak of eternity as well as of time?'"

None in these days will deny that the duty of the state is to further the interests of all and not of any particular class of the community. But this does not mean that every one is to have the same amount of influence in the management of affairs. Universal suffrage will not cure the stupidity of men. It will not make them unselfish enough to subordinate their private interests to the common good, wise enough to be guided by reason and not by the passions of the moment. To lay stress only on the infinite worth of man is a mistake. As Pascal says, "it is dangerous to let him see too clearly his greatness without his meanness. If he boasts himself I abase him: if he abases himself I exalt him. I contradict him continually till he comprehends what an incomprehensible monster he is." Old time autocracy perhaps unduly abased him, but is not modern democracy equally unduly exalting him? If democracy means a form of state-organisation in which there is no privileged class, no favoured treatment of vested interests and no artificial inequality, but in which every one finds an opportunity to make the most of himself and to contribute to the common good and all offices are open to qualified men irrespectively of their class or creed, no right-thinking person can have anything to say against it; but if by it is meant government according to the fickle will of the thoughtless multitude, incapable of seeing an inch beyond their nose, conducted by their delegates pledge-bound to do their bidding, it can only be adopted by a people whom the gods have marked out for destruction. A state under such a government is never stable and orderly and there is very little of a central co-ordinating authority in it. It is a government powerless to govern and at the mercy of every turbulent faction. No government that attempts to carry out, not in an amateurish fashion, but persistently, adequately and scientifically such socialistic schemes as Ritchie favoured, can afford to be always on the look out for popular mandates. Germany is in evil repute now and the fashion is to cry her down. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing fails like failure. But it was in monarchical Germany that experiments of state socialism were most successfully carried out. " She," observed an English newspaper when she was not yet defeated, "has a most admirable organisation which pervades every sphere of life, from the provision of education to the conservancy of streets, from arrangements for the aged and infirm to those for the convenience of railway passengers. Never was a country better ordered, better cared for materially or more comfortable." No democratically governed country is ever likely to show better results.

It will, no doubt, be said that patriotic and intelligent citizens cannot be content with good government: they must have self-government. But self-government does not mean the exercise of political power by everybody, nor is it distinguishable from good government. It is not synonimous with democracy. Reason is man's real self and the government whose organisation is in conformity with the requirements of reason in the given situation is at once good government and self-government. It does not matter in the least whether I have a hand in the constitution of it or in the performance of its functions. It is only the vanity and self-will of man that prevent him from seeing this. It is, no doubt, a requirement of reason that in the administration of public affairs the influence of the general will should be effective, but in order to ensure this a "responsible" ministry removable by the vote of Parliament or manhood suffrage is not necessary. In certain circumstances, such institutions, with proper safeguards, may be desirable but they are not indispensable. A democratic organisation of society has no necessary connection with democracy as a form of government. It may, on the contrary, be best attained through government by an aristocracy of worth and talent. For the purpose of government with the consent of the governed, a general harmony of the spirit of administration with the trend of public opinion is all that is required.

Active and intelligent citizenship does not become impossible because a man has not the right to vote at an election once in five years. For this what is necessary is doing honestly and with devotion the work which falls to one's lot as a member of the social organism. Far greater service may be rendered to the state by the silent worker than by the noisy agitator. Ritchie is not without misgivings about the worth of universal suffrage. "It is more important," he declares, "that offices should be open to all than all should have votes. Giving all a vote may be merely an escape from the fear of revolution : universal suffrage has nothing glorious about it. Taken strictly it means the absurdity that all men's opinions are of equal value" (*Philosophical Studies, p. 338*). Is not the revolutionary temper largely the outcome of centuries of false teaching? Would not the condition of the world have been better and happier to-day if men and women had heard more of the duties and less of the rights of man ? The assertion of individual rights in season and out of season has created an atmosphere congenial to the growth of the self-seeking spirit only. The result is that the avowed socialist is at heart only an anarchist and democratically governed communities, instead of being firmly-compacted and well-organised bodies, are apt to be incohesive, inefficient and chaotic.

On questions of world politics, Ritchie has some very wise remarks to make. He points out the impossibility of a state remaining self-contained and isolated in these days of rapid communication and international dealings. The actual state which is only one among many states must, therefore, be in a position to safeguard its interests, to protect its commerce and to repel attacks from outside. This means the possibility of war and the necessity of being prepared for it. Ritchie regards the ideal of abolishing war for ever as altogether utopian, so long at least as human nature remains what it is. It is easy to say that all war is wrong, but, unfortunately, in this wicked world, peace has often to be maintained by the use of force. If it is right to use force to put down individual crime, why should it be wrong to have recourse to it in order to maintain the peace of the world? It is useless to preach pacificism in season and out of season and to talk of disarmament as the one sure means of preventing wars for ever. The world is not full of quakers or of the followers of Tolstoi and it is necessary to remember that "there are always people, especially the champions of reactionary and antiquated types of rule, who will recognise no argument unless it is backed up by sufficient force." As a proof of this, we may refer to the origin of the late war. The verdict of the impartial historian must be that it was due as much to the pacificism of England as to the militarism of Germany. If England had performed the elementary duty of being prepared for self-defence, if she had given clear and timely warning to Germany that in the event of unprovoked aggression she would be found at the side of France, the peace of the world would not have been disturbed. President Wilson is an unimpeachable authority on this point. "We know for a certainty," said he, at a meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House in New York on March 5, 1919, "that if Germany had thought for a moment that Great Britain would go in with France and Russia, she never would have undertaken the enterprise."

For the preservation of peace, Ritchie relies more on the federation of the world than on arbitration or disarmament. "Arbitration is a valuable remedy, but it is not a panacea, and the cause of arbitration is only injured by the notion that it can be made a substitute for war in any and every case." The breaking up of the world into a large number of petty and discordant states, such as has happened as the direct and the indirect result of the war, he regards as a set back in the progress of the world. " We have no right to assume with some political theorists, that a great number of comparatively small independent nations, leaving the barbarous and the savage races of the world to " work out their own development," represents either the highest type of human society or a possible type. May not a few great " empires " in which self-governing federated communities control the less advanced races, represent a higher stage, more likely to be stable less exposed to war and preparing the way for a federation of the world." (*Studies in Political and Social Ethics, p. 158*). Ritchie lived in days when the world had not begun to suffer from an acute attack of sentimentalism and the cant about the right of small nations was not generally heard. There is no special merit, he points out, in being a small nation. "The sympathy so often expressed for the weaker or smaller state, simply because weaker or smaller, is æsthetic rather than ethical." The absorption of a small nation in some larger, more powerful and more civilised state is from the point of view of the progress of humanity to be encouraged and not condemned. This may be an unpopular view at the present moment, but it is true. Ritchie did not hold up his hands in pious horror at the very mention of the name 'empire'. In the best sense of the term, he was an imperialist. A powerful federation of self-governing communities, enjoying local autonomy but ready to subordinate sectional interests to the wider interests of the whole was his ideal. "The armed peace of the German Empire," he wrote in 1901, "may not be an ideal condition of society; but it is infinitely better than the acute agony of the thirty years war or the chronic maladies of the Holy Roman Empire—an empire which rested only on sentiment and had no armed force to support it and to keep the subject princes from fighting with each other."

HIRALAL HALDAR

PENELOPE

Let her be fair, but let her be
As constant as Penelope;

Penelope whose faith was strong
Though her dear husband, absent long;

Penelope whose bitter tears
Consoled her through the lonely years;

Who overcame by artful wiles
Her suitors with their crafty smiles;

Penelope whose heart held fast
Till brave Odysseus came at last.

If you would make One, Lord, for me,
Let her be like Penelope.

WAYNE GARD

QUIS CUSTODIT IPSOS CUSTODES ?

INTRODUCTION.

Every man in Bengal knows what a Policeman is, and what the name connotes. To the average literate middle class gentleman he is an arrogant, insolent and fierce creature who had better be avoided; to the illiterate villager he is the direct representative of the Sovereign, assuming powers which are unlimited because of unknown extent, and he deals with every case civil or criminal, on receipt of an adequate fee and may at his sweet will dispose of it in a manner which best suits his personal ends; to the European he is an indispensable public servant of unusual ability and integrity, the very personification of courtesy and dutifulness, the friend in need who bestows undivided attention on his comfort and convenience at railway stations, steamer ghats, and at all places where every one else is too busy or too blind to sift the black from the white; to the man of wealth and high social position he is a powerful instrument of oppression or vengeance kept in reserve to be used for his purpose when necessary; to the child he is an object of terror, and he is lulled to sleep or warned from doing naughty or mischievous acts by invoking the name of the policeman; in the imagination of a *pardanashin* female he appears as an incarnation of ferocity and brutality, and the appearance of a policeman in the vicinity of her house is taken as a premonitory sign of the ruin and oppression of some person, be he guilty or innocent; to the government official he is the detector of crimes, the protector of person, property and honour of a certain class of individuals, the friend of the innocent and the oppressed, the enemy of the enemies of society, the upholder of the power and supremacy of sovereignty, the saviour of government's honour and prestige; he is to the official a person more indispensable to society and more valuable than a judge or a teacher, a patriot or a philanthropist, a reformer or a journalist, and as such he deserves to be satisfied at all costs; and lastly to the non-co-operator he is the root cause of all political discontent and unrest, his *bête noire*, the hated ruffian and the social pest which should be got rid of for the purification and progress of society.

Such is the variegated picture of the policeman drawn by different sorts of men and it is not difficult to judge that none of these pictures is true. Every individual looks at him through his peculiar glasses, and, hence, the policeman, in the abstract, is something which eludes definition and analysis. In reality he is a strange blend of all these varieties—he is a kaleidoscopic phenomenon, which is neither blue, nor green, nor yellow, nor orange, nor black, yet he is all, a chameleon-like creature which presents different colours at different moments and under different circumstances. This article is, however, not concerned with the character of the policeman as such but with what he costs to the Bengal tax-payer. Let the moralist or psychologist attempt to discover his motives and impulses, and how he feels when he drinks deep the cup of unrestrained power. But as students of finance we are not concerned with these abstractions. This paper attempts to investigate the financial results of the administration of the Police Department in Bengal with special reference to the following points: (1) whether the expenditure on Police is out of all proportions to the expenditure on other public service departments; (2) whether the large expenditure on this service is interfering with the development of what have been most appropriately called the "nation-building" departments; (3) whether the Bengal tax-payer should be further taxed to bear the ever-increasing cost of the Police service—and (4) whether, and, if so, in what directions economies are possible in the opinion of a layman studying the problem from the point of view of the general financial condition of the country, its capacity to bear increased taxation, the public feeling in the country, and the responsibility of government to the people as custodians of its money; (5) whether the increase in expenditure is justified by the increased efficiency of the police as judged by their success in preventing and detecting crimes.

THE MATERIAL.—To enable us to discuss these points we have carefully analysed the Police expenditure of the province for the last thirty years, and have selected certain years as landmarks corresponding to certain events in the historical development of the department, such as the Report of the Police Commission, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the separation of Bihar and Orissa in 1912, etc. We have not thought it necessary to take as the subject of this paper, the *whole* police expenditure of Bengal but only the District executive force which absorbs nearly 70 per cent. of the total police grant. The figures up to the year 1920-21 have been taken from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India and those of 1921-22 and 1922-23 from the Civil Budget Estimates of Bengal for the year 1922-23. The other figures used in this article have been taken from various official sources, which need not be mentioned separately. The results of the analysis are exhibited in six statements:

Statement A shows the growth of police expenditure under the principal detailed heads from 1890-91 to 1922-23, omitting certain years which did not present any abnormal features.

Statement B shows for three leading stages, *viz.*, 1890, 1911 and 1922, the number and cost of superior and subordinate staff, as well as the expenditure on contingencies, allowances and miscellaneous establishment.

Statement C shows for the above three periods the number, grade, and cost of the superior and subordinate staff classified under Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Assistant Sub-Inspectors (formerly head constables) and constables.

Statement D shows the increase of provincial revenue in new Bengal and the increase of expenditure under the civil departments such as General Administration, Law and Justice Education, Public Health, etc.

Statement E gives statistics of serious crimes showing the number of cases reported and convicted during five quinquennial periods ending 1915 and for the three years, 1916, 1917 and 1918.

Statement F has been inserted giving certain useful and relevant miscellaneous statistics required in the course of the investigation.

The figures in Statement B require some detailed explanation. It will be remembered that in the years 1890 (the year from which we start) and 1911, Bengal included the present province of Bihar and Orissa, and its area and population were 151,000 square miles and 75 millions respectively. After the separation of the latter territory in 1912 the area and population became 78,700 square miles and 45½ millions respectively. For the purpose of precise comparison between the figures of 1890, 1911, and 1922, the figures of the first two years have been reduced to the area and population of new Bengal. There are two variable factors in this process of reduction, *viz.*, area and population; and the figures of 1890 and 1911 have been reduced *first,* on the basis of equal population, and *secondly,* on the basis of equal area, and the *mean* has been adopted for the purpose of comparison with the figures of 1922.

The general conclusions which are deducible from Statement A are that, irrespective of the changes in the area and population due to territorial redistribution, the expenditure has grown as follows:

From 1890-91 to 1900-01	...	Rs. 7,76 thousands.
„ 1902-03 to 1911-12	...	„ 13,37 „

From 1912-13 to 1917-18	...	Rs. 28,42 thousands.
„ 1918-19 to 1922-23	...	„ 43,40 „
„ 1890-91 to 1922-23	...	„ 94,31 „

If the expenditure for 1890-91 be reduced to the area and population basis of 1922 in the same way as has been done in Statement B, the increase would exceed 111½ lakhs. Of the increase of 94·31 lakhs, 2·53 lakhs occurs under superior officers, 48·12 lakhs under police force (including inspectors, sub-inspectors, assistant sub-inspectors and constables), nearly 16 lakhs under contingencies and 11 lakhs under allowances. The general conclusions deducible from Statement B are summarised below :

		Increase in 1911 over 1890.	Increase in 1922 over 1911.	Increase in 1922 over 1890.
Superior officers	No.	14 per cent.	96 per cent.	130 per cent.
	cost	15 „	164 „	200 „
Subordinate staff (including constables).	No.	—7 „	100 „	90 „
	cost	35 „	271 „	400 „
Allowances contingencies and miscellaneous establishment.		127 „	364 „	953 „

The most astonishing, and we may say galloping, increase has therefore taken place under miscellaneous and incidental charges which have increased during the last thirty years from 3·50 lakhs to 36·86 lakhs, *i.e.*, more than *ten* times.

Analysing further the expenditure under this miscellaneous head for the three years 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23, we find that the following charges which are included under contingencies and establishment, should logically be classified as travelling expenses :[1]

	1920-21.	1921-22.	1922-23.
Shown under "*contingencies*"	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Railway warrants ...	2,78	2,93	2,90
Purchase of boats and stores for steamers	45	1,00	1,00
Fixed boat-hire and contingencies	27	35	1,97
TOTAL ...	3,50	4,28	5,87
Shown under "*Establishment*"			
Launch, boat and elephant establishment	2,52	2,68	1,43
TOTAL ...	6,02	6,96	7,30

Making the necessary adjusting corrections the true expenditures under these heads are :

	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Allowances	24,40	21,96	22,60
Contingencies	11,57	12,48	12,74
Establishment ...	2,12	2,65	1,52

Taking these three heads together, it is clear that while the cost of superior staff has increased by 200 per cent. between 1890-91 and 1922-23, the incidental charges have increased during the same period by 953 per cent. It is difficult to criticise with effect the fairness or legitimacy of the latter charges ; but it would be perfectly just to say that the expenditure is out of all proportions to the cost of the staff.

In view of the disproportionately heavy expenditure on all branches of the police the question may legitimately be put to the exponents of "peace, order and good government" if they have succeeded in any measure in giving to the tax-payers of Bengal that increased peace, and increased security of life and property which is legitimately their due. Has the quality of work of the police been commensurate with the quantity of money spent on salaries and allowances of the investigating and supervising staff? Have the crimes diminished in proportion to population owing to their vigilance and activities? Have their investigations resulted in the conviction of a larger and larger proportion of offenders?

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[1] A system of audit and accounts which permits such misleading and false classification is fundamentally unsound.

To be in a position to answer these questions we have analysed the statistics of serious crimes reported and convicted in Bengal (*including Calcutta*) during the period 1891-1918 under the following heads:—offences against state and public tranquillity, murder, other serious offences against person, dacoity, cattle theft, ordinary theft, house trespass and house breaking with intent to commit offences (*vide* Appendix E). These figures have all been taken from the Statistical Abstract relating to British India published by the authority of Parliament. We have taken 5 quinquennial periods starting from 1891 and have worked out the averages for each of these periods; for the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 we have given only the annual figures.

From these statistics of crime we have tried to ascertain the number of serious crimes reported per 10,000 persons during the successive periods under investigation. The results are set out below:

TABLE I.

Period.	Number of serious crimes reported per 10,000 persons
Quinquennial Average	
1891-95 ...	... 10·6
1896-1900 ...	... 11·8
1901-1905 ...	... 13·4
1906-1910 ...	... 17·3
1911-1915 ...	... 15·6
1916 ...	... 20·7
1917 ...	... 21·1
1918 ...	... 20·4

From the same table of crimes (Appendix E) we have worked out percentages of convictions to cases reported during 1891-1918 with the following results:—

TABLE II.

Period.	Percentage of convictions to cases reported.
Quinquennial average	
1891-95 ...	... 22·6
1896-1900 ...	... 20·8
1901-1905 ...	... 16·8
1906-1910 ...	... 17·1
1911-1915 ...	... 15
1916 ...	... 13·8
1917 ...	... 13·3
1918 ...	... 12·8

The *primâ facie* conclusions which can be drawn from these two tables are that during the last 30 years (1) the number of serious crimes reported has increased by nearly 100 per cent.; and (2) the percentage of convictions to cases reported has diminished by nearly 45 per cent. In other words, the police have declined in both their primary functions, *viz.*, detection of crimes and investigation of crimes.

CRITICISMS AND PROPOSALS.—This paper is divided into two sections: the first deals with the financial aspect and the second with the administrative aspect of the police service.

From Statement B it will appear that while the cost of the whole rank and file of policemen has increased by 370 per cent. the incidental charges, which were expected to increase at most in the same ratio, have increased by 953 per cent., or by 158 per cent. in excess of the cost of the staff. The disproportion between the increase in numbers and salaries of superior and subordinate officers, though glaring, admits of satisfactory explanation, as the salaries of the latter have been enhanced in a larger ratio than those of the former. But no rational explanation can be devised and advanced of the total lack of correspondence between the increase in the numerical strength of the whole staff and the increase in the incidental expenses. If due proportion were maintained between them the incidental charges should not exceed 16½ lakhs of rupees in round figures.

The distribution of subordinate officers among the police stations and outposts, as well as the area which each officer has to serve does not appear to be unfair. The province covers 78,700 square miles, the number of subordinate officers is 4,347 and the number of police stations and outposts is 728. There is thus one police station to every 110 square miles, one officer to every 18 square miles and 6 officers to each thana. But the distribution though *primâ facie* fair so far as numbers are concerned, is unfair so far as the rank of officers allotted to each thana goes. The postings of superior officers are made on an overzealous or over-cautious principle, and the higher ranks are capable of being thinned without any fear of loss of efficiency in the service.

It is unnecessary in our opinion to have three grades of superior officers, *viz.*, superintendents, assistant superintendents, and deputy superintendents. It would, in our opinion, serve the ends of efficient administration, if the posts of assistant superintendents were abolished and the supervising staff consisted only of superintendents and deputy superintendents. One of us has suggested in a previous article that there should be a superintendent in charge of a division of which there are five in Bengal, each district being placed in charge of a deputy superintendent. Similarly, there should be an inspector for each sub-division, the other police stations being placed in charge of sub-inspectors. Our reasons for this proposal are that the social and educational level of recruitment of sub-inspectors, inspectors and deputy superintendents having been raised and their salaries having been increased, we should expect them to do higher duties and assume greater responsibilities commensurate with their qualifications, abilities and salaries. These proposals might be tabulated as follows:

Designation.	Existing staff.	Proposed staff.	Average salary.	Excess (—) Saving (-) per month.
			Rs.	Rs.
Superintendents ...	38	5	1,162	+38,346
Assistants ...	49	...	587	+28,763
Deputies ...	23	40	350	—5,950
Inspectors ...	200	95	237	+24,885
Sub-Inspectors ...	1,742	1,912	105	—17,850
	2,052	2,052		+68,194

The number of deputy superintendents and inspectors exceeds, in the proposal, the number of districts and sub-divisions, as some margin has been provided for leave vacancies as well as for training. It will be seen that the numerical staff remaining unaltered, the monthly saving in cost, without, we hope, loss of efficiency, would amount to Rs. 68,194 ; or, if we take into account savings in contingencies, travelling and other allowances payable to superior officers, about 10 lakhs of rupees a year.

The above proposals are advanced on the assumption that the deputy superintendents by virtue of their social position and educational attainments are fully capable of doing the duties, in times of necessity, which are usually performed by superintendents and that a large proportion of sub-inspectors is quite as competent as the inspectors. The proposals, therefore, without curtailing the numerical strength of the staff, merely suggest the devolution of higher duties on officers pertaining to the lower grades—a suggestion which is fully warranted by the raising of the social and educational plane of recruitment. If there is any doubt about the capacity of the deputy superintendents, it may be set at rest by recruiting them by the same process which is applied in the case of the provincial service, the members of which are as capable and educated as the members of the higher ranks of the police service.

The prodigal expenditure under allowances and contingencies does not admit of detailed scrutiny by an outsider. Their very volume forbids detailed examination, invites criticism and excites surprise. It has been shown by *a priori* reasoning that their amount is out of all proportion to the expenditure on the whole staff and is not justified by the increase of staff. This head requires detailed scrutiny by an impartial authority and an independent auditor who must know that his functions are higher than those of passing charges sanctioned by the head of the department. It is a strange system of audit which permits steam launch and elephant establishments to be included under petty establishments, and purchase of boats and stores for steamers as well as the cost of railway warrants amounting in all to more than 5 lakhs of rupees to be treated as contingencies. It seems that the audit officers are completely under the hypnotic influence of the police department which passes all sorts of charges as fair or legitimate at the point of disowning all responsibility for the peace or protection of the district.

To obtain an idea of the relation between the total revenue of the province and the total police expenditure, reference is invited to Statement D from which it will be evident that the bulk of the increase of expenditure has occurred under General Administration and Law and Justice, (107½ lakhs), Education (46 lakhs) and Police (105⅓ lakhs). It will also be evident that the increase in provincial revenue has not kept pace with the increase of expenditure under the principal service heads, which outstrips the revenue by 121½ lakhs. It would be invidious to give the palm to any particular department: but it is clear from the figures that while the Police department alone absorbs nearly 56 per cent. of the increase, all the nation-building departments taken together spend only 40 per cent.

The excessive expenditure on this branch of the protective service is officially defended on the ground of necessity—which knows no law: and the current laws of the science of finance and political economy are sacrificed, with a clean conscience, before the altar of Necessity. It is, however forgotten, that the violation of certain laws—including moral laws—brings with it its inevitable retribution. Laws can, to be sure, be broken by authorities wielding immense, in some cases, unrestrained, powers, unrestrained even by all the wholesome and regulative forces of society; but they cannot be broken with impunity. The connection between social industry and social income on the one hand, and taxation on the other, is so close and intimate that excessive or injudicious taxation destroys the stimulus to industry and trenches perilously on the social income, leaving ultimately the sources of public revenue dry or unfruitful. Taxation cannot be superimposed upon taxation without limit; neither does it follow, that increase of taxes always produces a proportionate increase of revenue. The reason is that a heavy and ever-increasing burden of taxation seriously affects the springs of social wealth until the ratio between the produce of the tax and the rate of the tax ceases to be direct and becomes inverse. This marks the stage at which taxation ceases to be fruitful, because it becomes unbearable and exceeds the ability of the tax-payers. Bengal has arrived at this stage. Excessive expenditure, which is a twin brother of excessive taxation follows a law identical with the law applicable to the latter. No financier can disregard the great and inflexible law of economy which forbids the support of a costly administration by means of excessive taxation: neither can he wisely increase the expenditure to an indefinite extent without drying up the very sources from which taxes come. This is an inflexible law : violate this law, and the inevitable consequences are the bankruptcy of the state, the economic ruin of the people, and the cessation of all healthy activities of the state, whose object is to remove vice, poverty, ignorance, superstition and similar other cankers of society. It is easier to move the legislative machinery for the purpose of increasing taxation and expenditure than to avert the ruin and bankruptcy that inevitably follow injudicious taxation and improvident expenditure.

The taxation of Bengal is singularly and obstinately irresponsive to the repeated demands for funds. Taxes here are very inelastic mainly for the reason that the system is unjust and anomalous. The largest source of revenue, *viz.*, land, is unproductive so far as the state is concerned, the zemindars intercepting nearly 80 per cent. of the collections from the tenants. They are at the same time exempt from a just and fruitful tax, namely, the income tax. One of the richest classes in the province, therefore, escapes the main obligation to pay for the support of the state. Moreover, income tax and customs now belong to the Central government. The Provincial government is therefore left with a few inexpansive heads such as stamps, excise, forests, registration, etc., which do not readily and cheerfully respond to the calls for development. The taxable classes, so far as Bengal is concerned, are therefore greatly restricted by the law of the land and by the award of the Financial Relations Committee. In these circumstances, it is nothing short of reckless finance to go on increasing expenditure and then whine and complain of the inadequacy of revenue, the difficulty of taxation and the necessity of cutting down expenditure on sanitation, agriculture and technical and general education, and to chastise public-spirited men who insist on larger and larger expenditure under these developmental heads. The Provincial government is in deficit to the extent of 60 to 70 lakhs of rupees; and after the revival of its full contribution to the Central government, this deficit will increase at a bound to 125 lakhs of rupees. We challenge any financier with the most fertile brain to discover the source or the sources from which this heavy deficit can be met, unless the government resorts to borrowing or abrogates the Regulation of 1793 regarding the permanent settlement of land revenue with the zemindars. The alternative remedy lies not in the *left* but in the *right* side of the accounts.

In discussing Police administration it is impossible to ignore altogether the large volume of public opinion regarding the manner in which policemen perform their duties. Dishonesty and corruption are associated with the name of the police. The charges are, in many instances, incapable of proof: but there happen many things in this world which some people see but which cannot be demonstrated to others who do not choose to see things for themselves, or who take an unduly bright and optimistic view of things. At the same time, it would be unfair to disregard the allegation which has become almost instinctive and widespread that another name for corruption and dishonesty is policeman. Attempts have been made by government in their annual resolutions to explain away the charges, but this instinctive feeling of the public against the policeman remains too strong to be dispelled. The public allege that the improvement that has been made in the morale of the police force is not commensurate with the large amount of public money that has been expended with that object, and they feel that further expenditure of public funds would be useless. There are 110 superior officers who, it is presumed, supervise the work of the force: but public conscience is so much dissatisfied with the character of this supervision that one wonders whether there is any supervision at all. Persons who have opportunities of carefully watching the work of the subordinate staff allege that the acts of many of these officers are so flagrantly perfunctory, so openly corrupt and so shamelessly oppressive and provocative that they sometimes feel that they would prefer to be robbed by thieves and dacoits to being blackmailed, insulted and oppressed by the policeman. We do not believe that departmental supervision is the true remedy for this unsatisfactory state of things. The remedy lies in respecting and responding to public opinion and making impartial inquiries into individual complaints with a view and a determination to eradicate the vices. The morale of the subordinate staff who have been bred to immoral traditions is difficult of improvement so long as those traditions persist in the lower ranks. Increase of salaries, first projected to turn the policeman into an honest officer, and later to compensate him for the high cost of living, has been of no avail. In reality, if there was any justification for the all-round increase of salaries to the subordinate staff that justification lay in the improvement of their morale, and if they could be relied on to do their duty to the public, the need for the supervising staff would be less and not more. Experience, however, shows that dishonesty and corruption have not diminished either with the increase of pay or increase of supervision: and the reason is that if the subordinate officers are dishonest and corrupt and mean to be so, supervision would be futile. To ensure honest work therefore it is necessary to adopt three means: (1) a strong determination to stamp out dishonesty and corruption, (2) to set examples of honesty and integrity, and (3) to respect and respond to public opinion. None of these means is a question of funds.[1]

The main functions of the police may broadly be divided under two heads—(1) the prevention of crimes and (2) the detection of crimes. The worth and utility of the police force to the citizen can only be judged by its success or otherwise in preventing crimes and in bringing the criminal to justice. How then do the police forces of to-day compare with their predecessors in this the first branch of their activity ? The first of the two tables given above makes it clear that during a period of a little over a quarter of a century the crimes reported rose from 10·6 to 20·4 per 10,000 persons. It demonstrates the correctness of the proposition that in spite of all that the government may say to the contrary, judged by the statistics of crimes the police have failed to discharge their most important duty of checking the growth of crimes even after 30 years of ceaseless efforts at improvement in the machinery of supervision, administration, and investigation. It appears that before the era of "improvements" with its Police Committees and Commissions, the arrestation of the growth of crimes was attended with a partial amount of success. One of the inferences relevant to the present issue drawn by the government of Bengal in 1890 on a review of the statistics of cognisable crimes during 1878-88 was, as expressed by them in a Resolution dated the 24th September, that "crime generally is not positively great in Bengal and *is decreasing relatively to the increase of population.*" There are many amongst us who long for the early nineties when the crimes were fewer in number and the expenditure too was kept within reasonable bounds. We realise that the prevalence of crimes in any country is dependent on such factors, as the disposition of the people, economic causes and lastly the machinery of detection. It is difficult to say whether a change has taken place in the disposition of the people during the last 50 years, and, if it has, to speculate as to the reasons which have brought about this change. But it is interesting to recall in this connection that it was precisely this disposition of the people which was put forward by the government as one of the reasons why Bengal did not require more than 40 lakhs of rupees for her entire police force in 1861. "The expenditure for Bengal was estimated at 49 lakhs of rupees

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[1] One of the writers of this paper has personal knowledge of eight gambling saloons doing roaring business in a fair held about two months ago in an industrial town near Calcutta. It is incredible that the local police were unaware of this fact.

(by the Police Commission of 1860) an opinion being however at the same time expressed that the features of the Province and the *character and habits of its population* would probably not necessitate a larger expenditure than 40 lakhs which was sanctioned."[1]

The second factor, *viz.*, economic causes, it may at once be admitted, is to some extent responsible for the increase of crimes. When the statistics reveal a steady increase of crimes during a period covering more than a quarter of a century it proves one of two things: either that the economic condition of the people has been steadily deteriorating, or that the machinery of detection is at fault, for it is self-evident that if a criminal knew that detection would follow close upon the commission of crime he would no more commit a crime than he would put himself into a lion's den. Whichever the conclusion may be, we have no cause to congratulate ourselves, either on increase of crimes or increase of expenditure.

It may, however, be argued that if the police have failed in their first duty they have at any rate made amends for this failure by their success in the second, *viz.*, detection of crimes. Indeed, it is not too much to expect that they should show some improvement in this branch of their activity at any rate, for the reforms carried out during 1905-1908 in accordance with the recommendations of the Police Commission of 1902-1903 were mainly directed towards strengthening the investigating staff.[2]

The government of Bengal in their Resolution on the administration of the police in 1906 and 1907 assured the public that "great improvements have been made in many departments. The strength of all ranks has been increased and simultaneously with the increase of numbers there have for years been continuous efforts at improvements in recruitment and training." The taxpayers who have borne the cost of these improvements may legitimately inquire whether these improvements have left any visible marks on the quality of their work. It appears from the second of the two tables given above that the percentage of convictions to crimes reported fell steadily from 22·6 to 12·8 during 1891-1918.

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[1] Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, Vol. I, p. 231.

[2] Report on the Administration of the Police, 1905-7.

It is clear that a larger number of crimes remains undetected now than in the early nineties. We venture to point out that the government themselves were conscious of this defect on the part of the police as early as 1907 but explained it away on the ground that the years 1906 and 1907 were transitional years.[1] It was argued that if improvements "are not equally visible in statistical results, it is perhaps because the changes are still far from complete and cannot have nearly produced their full effects." The same reason was reiterated four years later by the Inspector General of Police, who stated in connection with the criticism of the Police "that the measures taken for the improvement of the force in the past 10 years cannot be expected to bear full fruit until the officers recruited under these influences have matured and provided that the improvement aimed at in the class of recruit for investigating work can be maintained. The transitional stage in a long service force is necessarily prolonged." Ten years have elapsed since this was written and it seems that the "transitional stage" is prolonged to an indefinite time. The long looked-for improvements have yet to come.

At this stage a word may be said about the justice or otherwise of the principle of judging the work of the police by statistical results alone. The Police Commission of 1902-03 pointed out that although an exaggerated emphasis is sometimes laid on this aspect of the matter "there is also much justification for it." "No civilised government," they urged, "can dispense with statistics of crime and of the success of its officers in dealing with it, but such statistics must be used with judgment and discrimination." We are one with them in holding that "*a relatively high rate of criminality or low rate of detection does indicate that something is wrong.*" (Chap. X, Indian Police Commission Report, 1902-03). Whether this high rate of criminality or low rate of detection indicated above amounts to an "undoubted administrative failure" or not we leave it to the public to judge.

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[1] Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the administration of the Police, 1906 and 1907.

The Government of Bengal has time and again preached to the University of Calcutta a homily for economy and has even threatened its very existence if it disregards its injunctions, with persistent vehemence and somewhat irritating frequency. It has advised, with an air of superior wisdom, that the policy of the University should be regulated and kept within bounds by its financial resources and by the limitations which the Government of Bengal might choose to place upon its taxing powers. In other words, it says in effect: "Stop your beneficial activities, confine them to your current precarious income, do not increase your income by taxation, do not increase the salaries of your staff, and do not ask for aid from the public exchequer." This is a strangling process, which it would be interesting to apply to the Bengal Government and watch the results. It can commit no sin if it accuses the University of Calcutta of deplorable mismanagement of its finances, or of thoughtless waste of public funds, in pursuance of a reckless policy of imparting higher education to our youths, while it was playing ducks and drakes with public money in supreme disregard of the poverty and distress of the people and taxing its ingenuity to discover new sources of taxation in order that the demon of extravagance may enjoy to surfeit his carnival of gratification. The Bengal Government claims the right of taking the University to task, if it has, in its zeal for the promotion of higher education, spent a lakh or two in excess of its resources; but it evidently claims it has no accountability to the public or to any other higher tribunal for the manner it has misused public funds in the name of maintaining King's peace! It were greatly to be desired that there would have been somebody to watch the watchers—some higher authority which could chastise the Bengal Government in the same coarse and undignified language in which it has needlessly chastised the University of Calcutta. The University's guilt is confined to the spending of money on fruitful and beneficial objects which improve the culture and expand the knowledge of the people; the guilt of Government consists in indulging in extravagance over a service whose reputation is at a discount in the public eye and is insidiously undermining the manhood of the country by excessive taxation on the one hand, and withholding developmental work on the other. The Police merely protects the material wealth of the country: the University not only protects its moral and intellectual wealth but produces new wealth and fructifies it a hundred-fold. Excessive expenditure on Police is unproductive and the unproductivity varies directly with the amount. The expenditure by the University produces intellectual wealth which is of eternal value to the country as it adds not only to its material property but to its power, prestige and reputation. If the Government of Bengal in a fit of generous impulse, took it into its head to risk a few lakhs of rupees for the University and help her to give birth, even in the course of a whole generation, to a man whose personality would transcend in brilliance and achievements the bureaucrats, the demagogues, the weather-cock politicians and the Self-Seeking followers of party leaders, the money will have repaid to the nation many times the amount of the travelling allowances paid to the police officers in 30 or 40 years.

SATISCHANDRA RAY
JITENDRA PRASAD NIYOGI

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE

STATEMENT A.

[In Thousands of Rupees.]

Detailed Heads of Charge.	1890-1	1895-6	1900-1	1902-3	1903-4	1904-5	1905-6	1907-8	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14	1915-16	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22 (Revised Estimate.)	1922-23 (Budget Estimate.)
Salaries—Superior Officers ...	5,07	5,10	4,40	4,48	4,70	4,72	4,32	4,75	5,90	5,68	5,98	6,45	6,19	6,32	7,33	7,68	8,20	8,60
„ Inspectors Sub-Inspectors, Head Constables and Constables	26,38	28,48	31,13	31,13	31,83	32,49	33,89	32,12	36,40	31,29	33,25	40,21	42,19	44,62	46,89	56,64	71,35	74,50
Allowances	...	...	4,03	4,58	4,95	5,24	5,12	6,00	6,36	5,18	5,75	9,73	13,10	15,26	13,52	18,38	15,00	15,30
Establishment	1,60	1,66	1,65	1,66	1,70	1,74	1,53	80	2,45	1,17	2,21	2,68	3,03	3,68	3,64	4,64	5,33	2,95
Clothing	1,35	1,43	1,49	1,53	1,53	1,55	1,29	1,40	1,16	65	92	88	1,88	2,69	2,50	3,80	4,00	3,90
Arms, etc.	5	9	15	15	41	40	10	24	24	21	47	49	61	59	73	72	71	72
Petty construction and repairs	4,62	6,91	1,25	1,77	2,00	2,68	1,83	1,83	2,72	2,01	4,36	2,38	2,52	2,67	3,98	2,40	2,07	2,50
Other contingencies ...	...	...	2,22	2,47	2,49	2,77	2,55	5,94	5,32	8,92	9,70	9,60	12,97	11,08	15,16	15,07	16,76	18,61
Training School	...	...	14	16	19	21	1,12	1,32	1,24	1,23	1,31	1,63	1,95	2,10	2,30	2,66	3,08	2,99
Other charges	20	30	57	66	75	75	70	69	57	62	70	67	94	1,17	1,30	1,59	1,58	1,80
Lump provision	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,23	1,71
TOTAL ...	39,27	43,97	47,03	48,59	50,55	52,55	52,45	55,09	62,36	56,96	64,65	74,72	85,38	90,18	97,35	1,13,58	1,29,31	1,33,58

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE

STATEMENT B.

[Cost in thousands of rupees.

	Superior Officers.			Subordinate Officers.			Constables.			Cost of Superior Officers.			Cost of Subordinate Officers including Constables.			Allowances, Contingencies and Establishment.		
	1890	1911	1922	1890	1911	1922	1890	1911	1922	1890	1911	1922	1890	1911	1922	1890	1911	1922
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Number and cost calculated on the basis of the *population* in 1922.	52	60	110	2,120	2,320	4,347	11,310	10,020	19,037	3,06	3,54	8,60	15,90	21,84	74,50	3,75	8,49	36,86
Number and cost calculated on the basis of the *area* in 1922.	45	52	110	1,841	2,020	4,347	9,662	8,737	19,037	2,66	2,97	8.60	13,75	18,30	74,50	3,25	7,41	36,86
Mean of the figures calculated on area and population basis.	48	56	110	1,980	2,170	4,347	10,486	9,379	19,037	2,86	3,26	8,60	14,82	20,07	74,50	3,50	7,95	36,86
Percentage of increase over previous period.	...	14	96	...	9	100	...	—10	103	...	15	1,64	...	35	271	...	127	364
Percentage of increase in 1922-23 over 1890.	...	...	130	...	...	120	...	...	81	...	...	2,00	...	...	400	...	...	953

DISTRICT EXECUTIVE FORCE

STATEMENT C.

Showing the number of officers and force, their grades, and their total salaries.

[In thousands of rupees.

Class of officer.	1891-92.			1910-11.			1922-23.		
	Number.	Grade.	Cost. (*a*)	Number.	Grade.	Cost.	Number.	Grade.	Cost.
		R.	R.		R.	R.		R.	R
Superintendents ...	42	500—1000	3,42	35	700—1200	3,50	38	725—1600	4,73
Asst. Superintendents ...	45	250—400	1,52	43	300—500	1,15	49	425—750	2,86
Deputy Superintendents...	...	...	...	21	250—500	1.02	23	200—500	97
Inspectors	153	100—250	2,90	217	150—250	4,25	200	175—300	5,95
Sub-Inspectors ...	928	30—80	5,84	1,545	50—100	10,98	1,742	80—130	19,94
Asst. Sub-Inspectors ...	2,337	10—25	3,98	2,107	15—20	4,05	2,405	25—35	7,70
Constables	18,848	6—9	14,54	16,698	7—10	15,70	19,037	16—20	35,69
TOTAL ...	22,353		32,20	20,666		40,65	23,494		77,84(*b*)

(*a*) These figures are the Revised Estimates of the year and are fairly accurate.

(*b*) When the officers reach the maximum of their grades the cost will be 1,03,25.

STATEMENT D.

[In thousands of rupees.

	1912-13	1921-22	Increase.
TOTAL PROVINCIAL REVENUE ...	7,16,53	9,03,16	1,86,63
EXPENDITURE UNDER			
General Administration and Law and Justice	1,41,48	2,49,02	1,07,54
Education	73,77	1,19,85	46,08 (*a*)
Medical	26,42	51,86	25,44
Public Health	...	16,39	16,39 (*b*)
Police	84,00	1,89,38	1,05,38
Agriculture	13,89	16,12	2,23 (*c*)
Industries	...	11,59	11,59 (*d*)
Stationery and Printing ...	13,34	27,10	13,76
Other Departments	3,41	3,09	—32
	3,56,31	6,84,40	3,28,09
		$a+b+c+d$	$=76,29$

STATEMENT E.

STATISTICS OF CRIMES IN BENGAL, 1891-1918

	Offences against state and public tranquillity.		Murder.		Other Serious offences against person.		Dacoity.		Cattle Theft.		Ordinary Theft.		House trespass and house breaking with intent to commit offence.		TOTAL OFFENCES.	
	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.	Reported.	Convicted.
1891-1895 ...	3,232	1,790	396	87	5,163	2,089	289	56	2,118	1,079	33,303	10,030	31,483	2,042	75,984	17,173
1896-1900 ...	5,010	2,101	485	119	8,158	2,372	420	81	2,927	1,194	42,442	10,576	29,680	2,171	89,122	18,614
1901-1905 ...	4,638	1,424	500	105	7,734	1,959	386	71	2,831	976	43.044	9,016	41,937	3,602	1,01,070	17,153
1906-1910 ...	2,196	822	403	70	5,940	1,329	326	50	2,452	900	38,806	9,029	41,204	3,348	91,327	15,548
1911-1915 ...	2,409	938	443	63	6,782	1,545	385	46	1,526	608	30,706	6,399	40,501	2,883	82,752	12,482
1916 ...	2,410	932	526	69	6,467	1,525	596	85	1,502	609	33,409	6,826	49,468	3,026	94,378	13,072
1917 ...	2,430	1,015	525	63	7,000	1,668	529	57	1,157	502	33,859	6,398	50,583	3,091	96,083	12,794
1918 ...	2,114	904	519	56	6,279	1,527	694	154	794	333	33,012	6,295	48,786	2,574	92,198	11,843

STATEMENT F.

1. Area of old Bengal ... ... = 1,51,000 sq. miles
2. " " new " ... ... = 78,700 " "
3. Population of old Bengal in 1911 ... = 75 millions
4. " " area covered by new Bengal in 1891 ... = 39 "
5. " " " 1901 ... = 42 "
6. " " " 1911 ... = 45½ "
7. Number of Divisions=5 (*viz.*, Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong).

8.

Division.	No. of districts.	No. of sub-divisions.
Burdwan	6	17
Presidency	5	22
Rajshahi	8	19
Dacca	4	17
Chittagong	4	8
	27	83

9. No. of Districts in 1910 ... ... = 45
10. " " Police Stations ... ... = 708
11. " " Outposts ... ... = 20

THE NEW WORLD OF ISLAM

The Eastern problem is perhaps the most pressing problem of the day. It certainly is one fraught with far-reaching consequences for East and West alike. It calls for a careful, dispassionate, impartial study : for no true understanding or appreciation of this problem is possible unless it strikes and sustains the note of scrupulous impartiality. The heat of passion and controversy, dogmatic assertiveness, petulance, pride, contempt—all these must, for the moment, be put aside. Truth, and truth only, should be our one guide, our sole aim, our destined goal. In the study of this all-engrossing problem we receive much assistance from Mr. Lothrop Stoddard's *New World of Islam*—recently published in America. It is no political pamphlet. It is a work marked with profound thought, keen insight, sound judgment, patient research, and genuine understanding of the world of Islam, its hopes and aspirations.

That there is deep discontent, disaffection, impatience of the existing régime—that there is all this, and all the world over,—no one will, for an instant, deny or dispute. But, whatever may be the causes elsewhere, we are at present concerned only with the world of Islam. That here, too, precisely, the same spirit exists, as elsewhere, and is slowly, surely, steadily gaining ground, is beyond cavil or doubt. Mr. Stoddard has studied this question, has examined the reasons from time to time given forth, and has stated his conclusions. Let us consider these. He begins his fascinating book with the study of the rise and progress of Islam. In glowing language he describes the wondrous development and culmination of its dazzling civilization. By magic, as it were, Islam transformed the old decrepit world, and made its headquarters the centre of commerce, the seat of learning, the focus of a world-wide civilization. But while recounting the glory of Islam, Mr. Stoddard has not told us why and how a civilization so powerful, and an Empire so closely-knit by religion and Politics, declined after only three centuries of existence. Though not strictly within the scope of his work, to have done so would have thrown a great deal of light both on the past and the present history of Islam and the movements now working within its bosom.

The real causes of the downfall of the Muslim Empire appear to have been to us two-fold—Religious and Political. But in Islam the two are so inextricably intertwined that they must really be dealt with as one—one acting and reacting on the other.

Religion—to which Muslims, at the outset, owed their marvellous, their well-nigh miraculous success—became, in course of time, their supreme stumbling-block. The old austere, stern Islam which disciplined life and regulated the relations of man and man—tossed in the surging waters of Omayyad heathenism and Abbasid irreligion and levity—soon lost its force, its vitality, its refining, purifying, ennobling influence. The moral basis of life gave way. Islam became an Empire outwardly Islamic, but inwardly heathen, sceptical, irreligious to the core. Religion became a mere formal, meaningless observance, and ceased to be an uplifting force. The essence of Islam was lost in a crowd of trivial, insignificant, foolish practices. The essentials were lost sight of—the non-essentials were given the palm and the crown. Hence bigotry, fanaticism, wilful blindness, aversion from progress, intolerance of light and enlightenment. The Reign of Light ended, that of Darkness stepped in. Long, long past was the day when Nazzam, the Muslim Philosopher, could say "*the first condition of knowledge was doubt*"; for to orthodox Islam 'doubt' was synonymous with disgrace, torture and death.

Religion became hide-bound, impervious to light and leading. The *Will of God* was responsible for all that happened, and resistance to that will was impiety, a piece of hopeless, insane folly. Decay set in, and alas continued. The will to resist or assert was non-existent. Listless, apathetic, indifferent to the world around them, the Muslims lived either sunk in immorality or smitten with intellectual paralysis or plunged in wild religious ecstasy. Hushed was the voice of Islam, which like a trumpet-call, summoned the Muslims to the field of death without fear or hesitation! Lost was the martial valour and vigour which scattered to the winds the Roman legions and effectually shattered the might of the proud Chosroes! All this was a thing of the past. In such a world and amidst such a people progress had no meaning, no significance. Add to this the fact that political troubles, which religion so long as it was a vital and real force kept in check, now broke out in all their fierce, unrestrained intensity.

Even the Islamic solidarity on which Mr. Stoddard has so rightly laid emphasis, gradually disintegrated, till it reached vanishing point. The Caliphs forgot their duties —the people their obligations. That bilateral compact between the subject and the sovereign—the essence of Islamic sovereignty; that high ideal which animated and guided the first Caliphs throughout their careers; that intense religious fervour which set the early Muslim aglow with an unrestrained ardour; that sense of unity and brotherhood which welded together the Pre-Islamite Arabs—riven by faction and torn by tribal jealousy—the splendid virtues which account for the phenomenal success of the early Muslims—all these weakened, waned, faded away.

Tribal jealousies set religious unity at naught; political necessities of the hour, snapped, effaced the link of Muslim brotherhood; loyalty, allegiance, honour, trust—all perished in the rising tide of gross personal ambition and unabashed selfishness. Thus religion became a mere pretence; Politics, the happy hunting-ground of unscrupulous adventurers.

The Abbasids, having erected their power with the help of foreigners, steadily supplanted the Arabs by the Persians, Turks and Mogols. The pure-blooded Arab was thrown into the background, neglected, slighted, shorn of his power and prestige. The central authority, weak and impotent, was unable to exercise any effective control over its governors. New kingdoms were carved out of the Caliphate, and new rulers ruled independently of the Caliph. The Caliph was reduced to a shadow; a mere phantom exercising no authority, a captive in his own palace, a Cæsar without any legions, a Pope without any power save that of pronouncing a benediction upon the crowned heads near and around him.

The horizon thick with menacing clouds; troubles both at home and abroad; sects warring with sects; factions fighting with factions; new races admitted to the bosom of the Caliphate, astir with hope and ambition, adventurers snatching at the throne and the sceptre; the spirit of unity dead and buried—what a sad, sombre spectacle the Caliphate offered about the year 1000 A. D.! Henceforward Islam enters on its downward path. Europe advances from victory to victory; but wrapped in a false security, Islam sits, self-complacent, resigned to the will of God, with mediæval fetters and religious blinkers. It scorns Western ideas. It scoffs at Western progress. Was it the sleep of death, or was it a merely temporary moral and intellectual paralysis?

On this point we shall hear the author of the *Herrschenden Ideen des Islams.* In that scholarly work—still unsurpassed—von Kremer[1] observes: "Chengiz Khan, the great Mogal prince, burst from Turkistan into the Muslim countries, destroying and flooding them with a crimson stream (1218). His son Halaku continued the conquests, and, with the capture of Bagdad and the execution of the Caliph, extinguished the Caliphate. Islam seemed lost: pressed on the one hand by the crusaders filled with religious fervour; and on the other by the wild, plundering, ever-advancing cavalry of the Mogals. But Islam did not perish. In Syria it steadily supplanted the Franks: and in Persia, where a powerful Mogal dynasty had established a vast empire under the name of Il-Khan, the religion of the Prophet won a dazzling victory when Ghazan, the seventh ruler, accepted Islam and entered into friendly relations with the rest of the Muslim Princes. *Not by arms but by religious ideas did Islam vanquish the Northern Conquerors.* There must indeed be some tremendous power in these Semitic religions which enables them not only to weather world-shattering storms but to emerge out of them firmer, stronger, more vigorous than ever. In the War with the Franks, extending over more than a century, Islam passed through a tempering process. The rift that had opened, closed in fire and blood. Islam shook off its lethargy and gathered fresh strength. The Arab nation, which had long ceased to champion the religious ideas that had arisen and grown into maturity in their midst, now retired into the background, handing over the torch to a nation ruder but more powerful, whose empire soon embraced the entire Orient, and whose political power the old Caliphate never attained or equalled."[1]

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[1] It has been translated into English by me and published in the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, under the title of "Politics in Islam," p. 234.

And Von Kremer is right. Islam has survived many a world-shattering storm, and has come out stronger than ever. History has a hopeful message for Islam—a message to hearten and cheer her on her onward march to freedom. Mr. Stoddard is no alarmist. He has, to our mind, in no way magnified the significance of the present Islamic movement, which has under many colours and many disguises but one supreme end in view—Political Emancipation and Economic independence. Hence the reform of the abuses which have sapped the vitality of Islam; hence the attempt to unite the Muslims under the old Islamic banner of Muslim brotherhood; hence the stir and animation; hence the growing co-operation, the spirit of sacrifice, fearlessness, courage, daring. That priceless gift—the Muslim solidarity—could that gift lapse or pass for ever away from the Muslims? No! Eclipse it may suffer—perish it never will. It is deeply rooted in the Muslim heart, and heart responds to heart. The Muslim brotherhood—it is Islam's strongest stay and support; its crowning glory, its treasured asset; its watchword in the hour of peril; its *Te Deum* in the moment of victory. History has taught its worth, and to it the Muslims appeal with a confidence which will never belie, and a hope which will never desert, them. Upon this Muslim solidarity Mr. Stoddard has laid his finger, and this Muslim solidarity is Islam's brightest hope.

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[1] See Toynbee, Western Question in Greece and Turkey. "Islam is still a greater force in its world than Christianity now is among us, p. 12.

But we are anticipating events. From 1000 A. D., as we have stated, Islam has been on the downward trend. It seemed for a time as if all life was extinct; all activity dead; all hope gone, all efforts and aspirations at an end. While Islam was indifferent to progress, Europe was making wondrous efforts in every direction of human activity. It was enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge; it was improving its material conditions; it was annexing country after country; it was lopping off Islamic territories—one by one; it was over-shadowing the East and establishing its dominion, conquering, crushing, subjugating the Easterns. "One by one," says Mr. Stoddard, "the decrepit Muslim states fell before the Western attack, and the whole Islamic world was partitioned among the Western powers. England took India and Egypt; Russia crossed the Caucasus and mastered central Asia; France conquered North Africa; while other European nations grasped minor portions of the Muslim heritage."

By the nineteenth century, Islam awoke to the menace which threatened its very existence. Europe was bent on wiping it out as a political force. Resist its onward march or perish!

The great war made this position more palpable, more pitiful than ever. "Turkey," says Mr. Stoddard, "was extinguished, and not a single Muslim state retained genuine independence. The subjugation of the Muslim world was complete on paper."

Once awakened to the peril Islam, too, has donned armour and gathered strength. During the last hundred years the "immoveable" East has shaken off its lethargy, and has faced the realities of life. To meet the situation it was imperative to be up and at work; to forge weapons, to avert danger. Arabia took the lead. There on its soil came to life the *Wahabi* movement, which aimed at the reform of Islam. Islam must be purified, reformed, vitalized. Without reform no hope was possible—no successful struggle conceivable. The *Wahabi* movement was wise, well-timed, with the promise of great results. Islam had declined because Islam had fallen from its high ideals. Back to the old ideals. Back to the old traditions. Back to the old stern Islam of the Prophet—free from the accretions of centuries; swept clear of the dust of hateful controversies. The *Wahabi* movement was a step in the right direction; a step preparatory to yet more liberal, wider, more sweeping reforms and large-embracing ambitions.

It was but the prelude to a yet wider Muslim revival—the movement known as Pan-Islamism. Concomitant with those religious reforms which were transforming Islam from within, there came in the swelling flood of European influences affecting social, economic, political conditions in the East. They leavened Eastern thoughts; kindled Eastern imagination; opened up undreamed of vistas of political rights and excited visions of political freedom. These surging ideas of nationallity; of self-government; of higher education; of equality and so forth, stirred the East to its depths. They awoke fascinating dreams of a future, and inspired among the Easterns the belief that it lay within their power to make, to mould, to shape *that* future. Was there anything to transmute that dream into reality; any solid, substantial basis to clutch at, to work upon? The Muslim mind, with unerring instinct, reverted to the Muslim solidarity—so rich in results in the past; so full of potentialities for the future.

At the root of Pan-Islamism lies this instinctive solidarity of Islam. Hence Pan-Islamism! Hence the new types of religious fraternities—all working for one end; namely, to foster, to strengthen Muslim unity; to check Western pressure; to arrest the advancing tide of Western aggrandizement.

In this connection the Senussiya movement is an instructive study. Senussiya was born about the year 1800. A man of vast and varied experiences; of deep learning; of recognised piety; he travelled a great deal in North Africa, preaching a reform of religious abuses. He felt and rightly felt that religious reform was a necessary preliminary to other reforms, and that only reformed Islam and reformed Muslims could ever hope successfully to stem the tide of European ascendancy. Islamic History had taught that lesson to him, and that lesson he took to heart, preached, emphasized, inculcated, all his life. At Mecca he came under the influence of the Wahabi preachers, and they further quickened his reforming zeal. He established a monastery near Derna in Tripoli, but he soon came into conflict with the Turkish authorities, and moved his headquarters to Jarabub, far to the south in the Libyan desert. In 1859—the date of his death—his organisation had spread over the greater part of North Africa. The work inaugurated by the father was ably carried on by the son. His piety, his devotion, his spotless character, considerably extended and strengthened the power of the fraternity. During the latter part of his reign he removed his headquarters to the Oasis of Jawf, where he died in 1902. He was suceeeded by his nephew Ahmad-ul-Sharif, the present head of the order. To-day the Senussi order is the most powerful order in Islam. Considerable is its influence in Arabia; complete its sway in North

Africa. There it has a vast net-work of organisation, working for beneficent purposes. The colonial authorities—British, French, Italian, as the case may be—are careful in avoiding conflict or collision with the Senussi order. And the Senussi too shrink from any conflict with the powers that be—Christian or Turkish. The Senussi, though cautious and careful, are neither idle nor unmindful of their mission. Their programme is a sound programme, and a programme that will surely bear fruit. "They believe", as Mr. Stoddard points out, "that the political liberation of Islam from Christian domination must be preceded by their profound spiritual regeneration." This end they are seeking, and for this end they are striving. Hence their untiring efforts to improve the morals and manners and material conditions of those that are under their sway. They believe not in needless, aimless shedding of blood, or fighting for mere fighting's sake. On and on they proceed, covering North Africa with their lodges and schools; spreading light and culture; fostering a spirit of discipline and self-restraint; steadily pursuing the path of slow but sure progress; preparing for the struggle for freedom and independence which they know, and know only too well, would, if ill-timed, be disastrously fatal to themselves. Not only has the North yielded to their influence, but Southward too their successes have been indubitable. They have won over millions of Negroes to the faith of Islam.

During the last hundred years the effort to purify has gone hand in hand with the effort to make converts for Islam. Extraordinary has been Islam's triumph in this direction. During the past century, not only has Islam successfully fought Paganism but also African Christianity. Tribes which fifty years ago hardly counted a single Muslim have now wholly become Muslims. Not only in Africa but in Russian Asia, China, and the Dutch Indies, the Muslim Missionary has had astonishing successes. Islam has felt the struggle for existence. Mr. Stoddard, therefore, is right in referring to the new-type religious fraternity and the missionary activity of Islam, within the last hundred years as infallible signs of the Muslim awakening to the dangers with which Islam stands threatened. Islam needed organisation. Islam needed a growing Muslim population. Islam needed a strong, powerful religious bond. All these needs were felt, and were met with no uncertain, hesitating spirit; but in serious, methodical mood. Live or perish! The answer to this challenge was given by the Wahabi movement; by Pan-Islamism; by the new type religious fraternity; by the firm and vigorous determination to reclaim the lost heritage of Islam; by contempt of threat and indifference to suffering and death. From the middle of the nineteenth century the East has come more and more under the influence of European light and lore. European thought has shaped, defined, accelerated the movements manifest throughout the Islamic and the Eastern world—movements making for unity, for progress, for liberty and freedom. Slow would have been the march of events—much slower than it has been—had it not been for the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

Till then Western supremacy was considered irresistible—a fatal decree of the gods. The Eastern looked up to the Western with an awe and reverence which it is impossible to imagine now. Closer contact has destroyed that spell and the Eastern now looks upon him as a man of like passions with himself. The European's claim to superiority is now a myth, a fiction, a relic of bygone days. His complacent aloofness is now resented and, to our mind, is not a little responsible for the spirit against him which is gaining day by day, in volume and intensity throughout the East.

All Asia and Africa were athrill with joy at the defeat of a first class European power by an Asiatic people. It was glad tidings. But though from 1904 the European spell was broken, the European aggression continued, and the Muslim world answered that aggression by protest and unwonted moral solidarity.

Muslim world was no longer to be shelved. It was determined to make its power felt; its voice heard. The great war aggravated an already critical situation. Stridently vocal became the Muslim protest. Islam was up in arms, and Muslims banded together unto death for their faith and their right. Islam has entered once again on an upward path. In this fixed is her determination, unequivocal her voice.

Widespread is the spirit of discontent, clear is the voice of revolt against European ascendancy. The most singular feature of the movement is that the stronger the European influence the more intense the spirit of resistance. The weapons used are European weapons. The arguments advanced are European arguments. The methods employed are European methods. The call for self-government; the right to rule; the opposition to Western domination ; political agitations; political combination, strikes, non-co-operation. Are they of Eastern origin or of European descent? Europe has opened the eyes of the Orient. Europe has furnished materials for political warfare. Europe has taught her the ideas of freedom and liberty. Would Europe now stem the tide; crush the hopes; stifle the rising spirit of the East?

Too late is it to try a reactionary policy, to embark upon repressive measures. Men die, but ideas are immortal. No earthly power can kill or destroy them. Was it not Dumas who said: "Men are visible, palpable, moral. You can meet, attack, subdue them; and when they are subdued, you can subject them to trial and hang them. But ideas you cannot oppose that way. They glide unseen; they penetrate; they hide themselves, especially from the sight of those who would destroy them. Hidden in the depths of the soul, they thrive, throw out deep roots. The more you cut off the branches which imprudently appear, the more powerful and inextirpable become the roots below." In Egypt, in India, wherever European influence dominates—there the movement is in full flood. Islam has protested, with one voice, against the

European policy. • Muslim India has been first and foremost in this protest. From one end of India to the other the Muslim cry has been to call a halt to the European aggression. Splendid the organisation; untiring the effort; fierce the zeal; steadfast the purpose; undismayed the spirit; the Khilafat movement—a child of Pan-Islamism, a worthy child too—has proved beyond all doubt or question that the Easterns are capable of the widest and the most effective organisation, and that Muslim solidarity is not a fiction but a fact. If the political programme is the vindication of the honour of Islam and the restoration of her ancient glory—the specific programme of economic Pan-Islamism is: " the wealth of Islam for Muslims. The profits of trade and industries for Muslim instead of Christian hands. The eviction of Western capital by Muslim capital. Above all, the breaking of Europe's grip on Islam's natural resources by the termination of concessions in lands, mines, forests, railways, custom-houses, by which the wealth of Islamic lands is to-day drained to foreign shores."

How then does the matter stand? Within the last hundred years Islam has risen to the occasion; has determined to do battle for its existence. She has refrained from rushing headlong into the struggle: for precipitate action would mean the ruin of her cause, the final extinction of her hopes. She has perceived the necessity of careful preparation, and to this end she has steadily, unwaveringly worked. Two of the most formidable weapons in her armoury she has sought out and used: *Muslim solidarity* and *Muslim Missionary zeal.* One will augment the numerical strength of Islam; the other will unite, strengthen, cement, vitalise it.

The Islamic world to-day—united by its imperishable religious tie—stands firm, resolute, of one heart and mind and voice.

" It is not a mere copying of the West that is to-day going on in the Muslim world, but an attempt at a new synthesis, and assimilation of Western methods to Eastern ends."

No human foresight can peer into the veil of futurity but amidst circumstances, fair and auspicious, the work has begun ; we may reasonably hope that in glory and triumph it will close.

In India, before our very eyes, we have a wonderful phenomenon—undreamed of, unimagined, unhoped by the wildest hope of man. We have, here, Islamic solidarity co-operating, without a jarring, discordant note, with Hindu solidarity. May the Muslim solidarity—for purposes Indian—be merged into the higher, nobler, Indian solidarity—mightily single, splendidly whole, and may the union of the two—true union of head and heart—never waver, relax, end.

Is this an impossible dream, a forlorn hope? No! recent events bid fair and augur well for the future.

Mr. Stoddard has done a noble service to the East and the West alike. He has revealed the depth, the force, the intensity of the Muslim movements, and he has sounded a timely warning to Western activities. He has pointed out the danger that lies ahead—no fanciful but real danger.[1]

Not to the sword; not to false promises; not to Machiavellian policy will true wisdom and true statesmanship look for the solution of this world-threatening problem—but to love, to honesty, to noble lofty resolve. Truly has the Persian Poet said: The sword perishes but love endures.

I shall conclude with the words of Mr. Lothrop Stoddard: "This spirit of rebellion against Western domination has become greatly intensified since the beginning of the present century, and the matter becomes still more portentous when we realise that, by the very nature of things, Western political control in the Orient, however prolonged and however imposing in appearance, must ever rest on essentially fragile foundations. The Western rulers will always remain an alien caste; tolerated, even respected, perhaps, but never loved and regarded as anything but foreigners. Furthermore, Western rule must necessarily become more precarious with the increasing enlightenment of the subject peoples, so that the acquiescence of one generation may be followed by the hostile protest of the next. It is indeed an unstable equilibrium, hard to maintain and easily upset."

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[1] "Whenever one analyses a contemporary movement—political, economic, religious, or intellectual—in these societies (Eastern Societies), it nearly always turns out to be either a response to or a reaction against some western stimulus." Toynbee, Western Question in Turkey and Greece, p. 5.

Words of deep insight, unvarnished truth!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE CELESTIAL HYMN

The child spends time in wildest play,
And youth, in frolic, fun, and song;
To cares and ills is old age prey.
Has Man no time to sing Thy Song?

N. SUNDARARAJAN

THE ROSE OF INDIA

SCENE II

[*Scene.* Mahadevan's Hall of Audience. Gurprashad, Brahmin High Priest of Mailepur, discovered with other Brahmins and Ram Chandra, courtiers, attendants, etc.]

Gurprashad—

'Tis a grave matter: ye must watch him well
If this report says truly, lest this realm
Come into peril of apostasy.

A Brahmin—

There is no doubt of it, O holy one.
Rama's High Priest from Narankot is here
To ratify it with his sacred lips.

Ram Chandra (advancing and salaaming Gurprashad)—

Alas, too true, *Maharaj*—all too true!
Therefore in bark, with ashes on my head
Sharing the exile of our gods I come.

Gurprashad—

They greet thee from their thrones in Mailepur,
As I their servant hail thee. So 'tis true
That Gondophares and his people are
Perverted, and renounce their ancient gods?

Ram Chandra—

Ay, true, *Maharaj*, casting me adrift,
A homeless outcast and a lone *fakir*,
Who come to warn thee, ere it be too late,
Against this false magician, lest he bring
On thee my doom of exile, and seduce
This people with his pestilential tongue.

Gurprashad—

Nay, nay, that scarce could be in Mailepur.
We Brahmins hold us more securely here.

Ram Chandra—

Then ye are doomed to rude awakening
And draining of delusion's bitter cup,
When opium dreams are scattered. Know ye not
The prince of Narankot will claim to-day
The hand of Krishna's daughter, to unite
Your Mailepur with his apostate land
In bonds of peace and friendship ? Know ye too
Both he and she are Christian, and refuse
All honour to the gods of Hindustan,
Their tribute paying to a God unknown
This side of ocean till that wizard came
They call the Apostle ? You shall see him soon
Blessing a marriage to your country's shame,
The symbol of her own adultery
With casteless superstition, pale of face.

Gurprashad—

This marriage must be let at any cost.

(*Enter Gad and Krishna. Brahmins all salaam.*)

Krishna (*addressing Gurprashad*)—

Jai Ram, Mahatma-ji ! Behold, I bring
King Gondophares' royal brother, Gad,
To court this day before Mahadevan,
For the divine one's sanction of his union
With one of our princesses—to ensure
Peace and prosperity to both our states.

Gurprashad (salaaming low to Gad)—

Great Gondophares' brother verily
Doth honour by his coming to our realm
On such a quest. Thereby may peace be fostered
Between two peoples, and be drawn from Heaven
The blessing of the gods on Hindustan.

Gad—

Right glad I am to find, *Mahatma-ji*,
So generous a good-will surrounding me,
Albeit I come in robber-wise to snatch
The rarest gem e'er glistened in a crown,
The fairest flower e'er blushed upon a bough.

Gurprashad (significantly)—

The gods bestow on thee as rich reward
As in their cause hath been thy loyalty !

(Flourish. Enter Mahadevan, Manashtri (his queen),[1] *Vizayan, the boy prince; and Draupadi, the princess. All present prostrate themselves.)*

Mahadevan (to Krishna)—

Rise noble kinsman ! At thy presence here
Our heart rejoices.

Krishna—

Great Mahadevan !
So doth the Sun God, *Surya*,[2] rejoice
In some poor wild flower opening to his ray
That else were tightly closed and colourless.

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[1] Manashtri—The noble Lady.

[2] Swift and all beautiful art thou,
O Surya, maker of the light
Illumining all the radiant realm.
—*(From the Rig Veda.)*

Mahadevan—

There spake the courtier. 'Tis a worthy prelude
To some petition, or I greatly err. (*Seats himself.*)
Our ear is turned towards thee.

Krishna—

Gracious sire !
Emboldened by thy favour, I present
Gad, heir of Gondophares, loved of heaven,
Who comes a suppliant to thy royal feet,
Praying thy gracious sanction of his suit
For Magudani's hand—thy servant's child.

Mahadevan (*rising*)—

By *Vishnu*, so illustrious a guest
We had not looked for. Welcome, noble Prince,
Not less because thou comest for a bride
Of Mailepuram's daughters. Joyfully
In such a union we discern a bond
Between our peoples, and an age-long peace.

Gad—

Such gracious welcome from Mahadevan
O'erwhelms his servant with such gratitude
As words express not, since therein he reads
Mahadevan's approval of his marriage
With Krishna's daughter, Rose of India.

Gurprashad (*addressing the King*)—

Mahadevan, I claim the royal ear ;
And I beseech ye bear with me awhile,
Though breaking in upon the speech of Kings
As treads a fool where wings of angels burn.[1]

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[1] As treads a fool, etc. The Hindu proverb corresponding to "Fools will walk where angels fear to tread."

Mahadevan—

Our ear is always bowed to holy men.

Krishna (*aside to Gad*)—

If yonder priest oppose us, he shall find
His reckoning is with Krishna to his cost.

Gurprashad—

O Majesty, beloved of all the gods,
Thy servant should not dare address thee now,
Did not the prayer of this illustrious prince
(Whose presence honours Mailepur this day)
Infold a danger, should Mahadevan
Without condition grant it. He hath asked
The hand of Krishna's daughter. Wherefore thus
Slights he the daughter of Mahadevan,
Choosing the flower that decks the lowlier bough ?

Krishna (*angrily*)—

Have then his eyes been raised not high enow
That look on Krishna's daughter ? By the gods,
Thou hast insulted both princesses, priest.

Draupadi (*rising*)—

'Tis only what all Hindustan will say ;
My father, grant me leave to get me hence.

(*Exit Draupadi weeping, accompanied by the queen.*)

Mahadevan (*sharply*)—

If thou hast more to say, prolong it not.

Gurprashad—

Why should the heir of Gondophares choose
The princess Magudani ? It is clear.

They both are wedded by some alien rite
To the same superstition. Both deny
The gods of India, forfeiting their caste,
By that same false magician led astray
Who stole away men's hearts at Narankot.

Krishna—

Now this past enduring, Gurprashad!
And thou shalt rue the day thou utterèdst
Against my daughter this calumnious lie.

Gurprashad—

A lie? I only would it were a lie—
But I can prove the truth of what I say.
Let but the prince, our royal visitor,
With princess Magudani at his side,
Here in the presence of Mahadevan,
Burn incense to our country's ancient gods,
Then I of their devotion reassured,
By not a word this marriage will gainsay.

Krishna—

If that is all thou askest, Gurprashad,
Not Gad, still less my daughter, can refuse.

Mahadevan—

Let this then be their test of loyalty,
And their obedience be the sole condition
On which I countenance their marriage bond.

Gurprashad—

I am contented; prince, thou wilt comply?

Gad—

What I will do, I know not, ere I take
Counsel with Magudani; for which purpose
I pray my lord the king to set a time.

Mahadevan—

Until three suns be sunken in the west,
So long have ye to ponder your reply.

(*Rises and stalks out through folded doors at the back. Exeunt Vizayan and courtiers.*)

Krishna (*to Gad*)—

Come, let us hence, Your Highness, though three days
Be lost us through yon intermeddling priest,
Yet that third sunset shall achieve our end.

(*Exeunt Krishna and Gad.*)

Ram Chandra—

It shall—the end of Krishna's lofty flight,
The end of Gad and all his fool's romance,
The end of Magudani's dream-made crown,
And Gondophares' hope of peaceful reign.
Their pallid saint his visions may disclose
Of some vain kingdom where the law is love,
And into ploughshares men have beat their swords—
That sun shall set upon the grave of peace
And crimson half the world with holy war.

CURTAIN.

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

MODERN ARMENIAN

A few weeks ago a question of academic interest was mooted in one of the Calcutta dailies. It had not been discussed to conclusion when letters on it ceased to appear—probably because the average reader of newspapers can hardly be expected to be entertained by subjects which are more appropriately debated in the pages of a University Magazine.

Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, Examiner in Armenian to the Calcutta University, commenting on the study of Armenian in the local Armenian College, wrote of Modern Armenian as "a language which has no grammar, no literature to speak of with hardly any vocabulary." This has roused considerable indignation in Armenian circles, for Armenians claim to be a civilised and cultured people—one of the earliest Christian nations of the earth, and possessing a literature that rivals that of any country.

Mr. Seth's position makes it imperative that his verdict on Modern Armenian shall be taken seriously. His utterances regarding that language are entitled to respect. In his own line of scholarship he is precluded from indulging in an *obiter dictum*. It is therefore with due caution and circumspection that I venture to examine his statements, which are (1) that Modern Armenian has "Hardly any vocabulary"; (2) that it "Has no Grammar"; and (3) that it has "No literature to speak of."

Modern Armenian has hardly any vocabulary.—Mr. Seth admits that Modern Armenian is a language. Yet he denies it a vocabulary. Surely it is a contradiction in terms to say that there is a language without vocables. One might as well say that there is an ocean without water; a wall without bricks; or a book without pages. We hear people speak

Armenian. Mr. Seth would have us suppose that they are not using words—for words hardly exist in that all but wordless language. Still Armenians seem to understand one another! Truly a wonderful people who utter sounds which are not words, and give expression to every human emotion! "Hardly any vocabulary," and yet there is an alphabet in which to write the few words that do exist, and several comprehensive dictionaries, of which the following may be instanced:—

Dictionaries from English into Modern Armenian by Chagmakchian, Prof. Hakobian, Yeran, Papasian, Minasian, etc. Dictionaries from French into Modern Armenian by Loosinian, Noobarian, Gantharian, Demirchibashian, Cajooni, etc. Dictionaries from Russian into Armenian and *vice versâ*, by Daghbashian, A. Hovannessian, Soghomonian, Yaghoobian, etc. Also Koylav's German—Modern Armenian Dictionary, Makerchian's "Bulgarian-Modern Armenian Dictionary," Gantharian's "Italian-Modern Armenian Dictionary." To these must be added a number of dictionaries from Classical into Modern Armenian, Persian into Modern Armenian and Turkish into Modern Armenian; and most of these books cover more than a thousand pages. This seems to dispose of Mr. Seth's remarkable pronouncement that Modern Armenian has hardly any vocabulary.

Modern Armenian has no Grammar.—This of course is sequential to there being hardly any vocabulary in the language. But even Mr. Seth inferentially admits that there are some words in it. Will he say whether these words cannot be classified into the universal Parts of Speech? Are there no Nouns, no Pronouns, no Adjectives, no Verbs, etc.? And have the Nouns no Gender, no Number, no Person? Have the Verbs no Moods, no Tenses, no Persons and no Number? Are there no laws of Government and Agreement? No Subject in the Nominative Case; no Object in the Accusative Case? No concord between the Predicate and its Subject? If in Modern Armenian words are spelt, classified, inflected, and employed under the sanctions of the laws of Syntax, one would be inclined to say that the language has enough Grammar to satisfy the most fastidious. Yet Mr. Seth says Modern Armenian has no Grammar, and sure he is a learned man. It has no Grammar and yet the following printed grammars of Modern Armenian exist:—

"Extensive Grammar of Modern Armenian" by M. Abeghian; "Modern Armenian Grammar" by S. Malkhasian; also several other grammar books composed by Garagashian, H. Ter-Gregorian, Ghapamajian, Tonelian, S. Davthian, Petikian, Bozatchian, G. Vantzian, and others. Grammarians writing Grammars for a language which possesses "hardly any vocabulary" and "no Grammar." Remarkable people!

And lastly, Modern Armenian has no literature to speak of.—Before analysing this part of Mr. Seth's dictum, I think it necessary to give a short historical outline of the origin and growth of Classical and Modern Armenian respectively, as it is in support of his frenzied advocacy of the merits of Classical Armenian that Mr. Seth has denounced and contemned Modern Armenian.

From early ages down to the end of the Fourth Century the official language spoken in the Armenian courts and higher circles of society was Classical Armenian; but Greek, Assyrian and Persian were equally in use. The Armenian Alphabet being at that time incomplete and crude, all our historians and men of letters found it proper to produce their works through the medium of the three latter languages, while devout clergymen read the Bible in Greek and orally translated it into "vulgar" Armenian for the benefit of their eager Christian congregations, a practice which presented many inconveniences. Accordingly, many attempts were made to complete the alphabet, and ultimately St. Mesrovb Mashtotz, a saintly and erudite monk, in 406 A. D. supplied the deficient letters and sounds of the alphabet. The language which was written for the first time in Armenian letters was named *Grabar* (literary language), which in English we call Classical Armenian; and it was only a perfected and regularised form of the then extant colloquial Armenian. The first book to be translated into *Grabar* Armenian was the Bible. The new literary language rapidly reached a degree of culture almost as perfect and pure as Greek and Latin, and became capable of complete expression even of abstract conceptions. It won its way into the courts, churches and monasteries. Many young scholars returned from Byzantium (the then centre of civilisation) to learn the new language, which reached the highwater-mark of its culture towards the end of the Fifth Century, the "Golden Age" of our literary history.

The *Grabar* or Classical Armenian, however, gradually ceased to expand, and became stereotyped, and lost popularity. It did not adapt itself to the constant progress of the colloquial language which had given birth to it (the *Grabar*). The colloquial language was generally restricted to simple modes of expression and was laxly bound by grammatical precisions. On the other hand, the *Grabar* rigidly kept to its prescribed forms and traditions, and eventually became the monopoly of the clergy and aristocracy. In the course of a few more centuries, the gulf between Classical and Spoken Armenian so widened, that people could hardly read and understand books written in Classical Armenian; and any attempt to readjust the literary language to the needs and usages of the people was ruthlessly suppressed by the clergy, who considered it nothing short of sacrilege to corrupt Classical Armenian by an infusion of Modern Armenian, and so "stain" the legacy entrusted to them by their forefathers. The time came when even the zealous trustees of Classical Armenian ceased to converse in that language, which, however, still dominated the literary world. Many books, mostly of a religious and mystic nature, were written in Classical Armenian, but they were read by a privileged few who had been so fortunate as to learn the language, while ninety-nine per cent. of the population was deprived of that right, and kept in darkness and illiteracy. Thus the idol held high its haughty head down to the sixties of the last century, when a new era dawned.

Against the domination of the clergy and their prerogatives a strong but silent protest had been gathering force in the hearts of the people. It was left to young and venturous men to give vent to public feeling and pull down the whole fabric of clergy-prerogatives and their archaic language regardless of what the revolution cost. Learned young men returning from the Continent with minds full of new ideas, a glowing feeling of patriotism and anxious to serve their people, resolutely renounced Classical Armenian as a medium of instruction, for it had now become almost as unintelligible to the people as a foreign language. Presently, a number of periodicals and papers began to appear, such as the *Ararat*, *Husisapail*, *Kroonk*, *Mshak*, etc., written in the *Ashkharhabar* (people's language), which in English we call Modern Armenian.

On the advent of the new language the old fetish was banished from the literary world once and for ever, and after a few more desperate struggles, it went to search for shelter in the dark corners of churches and monasteries.

The *Ashkharhabar* (Modern Armenian) was very imperfect and rudimentary at the beginning; but it soon grew into a simple and sweet language, with a scientific grammar and a copious vocabulary. The first book to be written in *Ashkharhabar* was *Verck Haiastini* (Armenia's Wound) by Khachatoor Abovian in 1841, and published ten years after the death of its author (1848), who during his lifetime had been unscrupulously persecuted by the conservative and ignorant clergy of the time. That book proved a second Bible to the nation, and readily found a well-deserved place even in the home of the humblest peasant. Its popularity was due not so much to the patriotic sentiments it inspired, or to its literary merits, as to the simple fact that it was written in the crude but *intelligible* language of the masses.

In spite of its comparatively short term of existence not exceeding a century, Modern Armenian has made such tremendous progress, that it can compete with any of the modern languages, and it has produced a beautiful literature, of which we are rightly proud. Since our Literary Renaissance, 1840-1860, we have had scores of talented authors, novelists, poets, historians and journalists, some of them of world-wide reputation, who have written their books and sung their song through the medium of Modern Armenian.

The absolute fallacy and mischief of the statement that Modern Armenian "has no grammar, no literature to speak of and with hardly any vocabulary," is immediately exposed if we consider the fact that many of the works of eminent European authors, novelists, poets, historians, dramatists, scientists and philosophers such as Homer, Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Byron, Herbert Spencer, Smiles, Darwin, Heine, Goethé, Schiller, Nietzsché, Dumas, Dumas (Fils), Hugo, Rousseau, Boccacio, Ibsen, Cervantes, Senkievitch, Gogol, Lermontov, Pushkin, Tolstoi, Dostaevski, Tourgheniev, etc., have been translated into Modern Armenian, and many of the versions are as good as the originals. Many books and text-books of a purely scientific nature have also been translated into Modern Armenian, which has been able to produce many a technical term from its own sources.

Before the war there were more than a hundred Armenian newspapers, magazines, reviews and journals published all over the world. They dealt with subjects educational, scientific, social, commercial, political, medical, artistic, sporting, agricultural, etc. I ask Mr. Seth, which of these was issued in Classical Armenian ?

Armenians rank among the lettered nations of the world, and their claim to distinction is partly founded on their Modern Language and Literature, and to attempt to belittle or even deny the existence of the latter is a profanation of the valuable literary treasures which are evidence of the unlimited resources of Modern Armenian, and the cultural heights to which the Armenian race has attained.

Classical Armenian found its last, but by no means least staunch, advocates in the Mkhitharian Order at Venice and Vienna, a monastic brotherhood of learned monks to whose indefatigable efforts, extending over two centuries, we greatly owe the development of both our Classical and Modern languages and literature. To expect that these venerable Fathers should easily surrender Classical Armenian, to the promotion of which they had contributed enormously, would be foolish. They strenuously contested the introduction of the new language. They tried to prevent "sacrilegious" hands from "tarnishing" the ancient idol; but eventually they, those really worthy exponents of Classical Armenian, realised that it was futile to try to infuse life into a language which was practically dead.

As far back as 1830, M. Thaghiadiandtz, a reputed scholar of Classical Armenian and a well-known writer (of whom, by the way, Mr. Seth would be a great disciple), while editing the *Azgaser* (Patriot), published in Calcutta, used a language which was a mixture of Classical and colloquial Armenian, but still colloquial, for like many others he also came to understand that "the language is for the people and not the people for the language." (See V. Papazian's "History of Armenian Literature," p. 234.)

In spite of its initial glory and eminence Classical Armenian died a natural death. It is right of Mr. Seth to set a high value on Classical Armenian, as high a value as the Englishman sets on Anglo-Saxon or the Bengali on Sanskrit, but his zeal makes him ridiculous when he denies even the fact of the existence of Modern Armenian as a recognised language, and when he denies to it a vocabulary, a grammar, and a literature.

Mr. Seth would seem to have lost touch with modern developments in Armenian letters. In any case he does not appear able to reconcile himself to the change in our National Schools where Classical Armenian has been relegated to a secondary place in favour of Modern Armenian. It is just so in England, where many a veteran of the older universities shudders at the thought that Greek and Latin are no longer compulsory subjects at Oxford and Cambridge. But the world moves forward: and if Mr. Seth is determined merely to mark time, he must not be surprised to find that he is a back number.

From what has been said in the preceding pages, it will be apparent that Armenian has reached the position of all cultural languages of the world. It has its old and its modern forms. We have Modern English arising out of Anglo-Saxon; Bengali evolving from Sanskrit; and Modern Armenian descending from Ancient Armenian. Modern English superseded Old English not without a prolonged conflict. Bengali has outlived ridicule and contempt until it has established itself as worthy to be the medium of examinations conducted by the Calcutta University, and a subject for which the highest academic degrees are granted. Modern Armenian has supplanted Ancient Armenian. M. Abeghian, one of the greatest living authorities on the Armenian language, writes: "The *Grabar*, or Classical Armenian is the name given to the ancient literary language of Armenia, in which books were written till the first-half of the Nineteenth Century. The *Grabar* is an ancient or dead language, as it is not spoken anywhere" ("Modern Armenian Grammar," p. 2). Max Muller includes Ancient Armenian in his list of dead languages, and Klaproth writes "the ancient or literary Armenian is so different in its grammar from the present Armenian, that it may be considered a dead language." (Encyclopedie des Gens du Monde, A. 11, p. 298.)

Although he is a University Examiner in Classical as well as Modern Armenian, Mr. Seth is so far behind date in his acquaintance with Armenian advance, that he is under the impression that unless a person speaks or writes Ancient or Classical Armenian, he is not speaking or writing Armenian at all. We all know he speaks an amalgam of Classical and Modern Armenian with a tincture of the Julfa and Constantinople dialects thrown in. But apart from this he might as well expect an Englishman to talk Anglo-Saxon ; a Mohammedan of the United Provinces to speak Classical Arabic ; a Bengali of the Calcutta University to converse in Sanskrit ; as expect a student of the Armenian College to express himself in Classical Armenian. The Englishman who insisted upon inflicting Anglo-Saxon on his hearers would be called a prig, and the Armenian who pretends to be living in the sixteenth century when he is living in the twentieth century deserves a place in Thackeray's *Book of Snobs.* Has Mr. Seth forgotten that the Armenian National Anthem itself is in Modern Armenian? In his letters to *The Englishman* he has written voluminously in praise of Ancient Armenian and in contempt of Modern Armenian, but he has burked the only issue, and I again put it to him—Does he still maintain that Modern Armenian is "a language which has no grammar, no literature to speak of with hardly any vocabulary ? "

H. C. LUCAS

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II ; CHAPTER X

PREPARING FOR THE WEDDING

Uncle Shyamu had not forgotten anything. The house was fresh painted; all invitations had been sent; all preparations for the feast were also complete. Mr. Karamdas too was very eager to marry Tanman. His last "nest" had already been mortgaged the fourth time. The big mansion at Valakeshwar[1] had also been rented. Thus in his hour of need Harilal's inherited riches were a veritable godsend to him. His family had already come down and the gentleman was to arrive in a few days. In about a week's time Shyamlal had as it were created a new world.

As soon as Harilal arrived he was sent up to the topmost storey so that it was impossible for him to get out or go anywhere. He was practically a prisoner. Shyamdas had won over every servant with the promise of a month's extra pay. For two days after Harilal's arrival he found no time even to see him. At last he came up to greet his relative.

"Well, Shyamdas, what are you about?" asked Harilal.

"What a question? Why, there are preparations for Tanman's wedding."

"But why am I not consulted at all?" the sick man remonstrated with considerable heat.

"Because you are ill, and it is not advisable to worry you."

"But I do *not* want Karamdas to wed Tanman."

"You are not your proper self yet. Are we the scum of society that engagements could be made one day and broken the next?"

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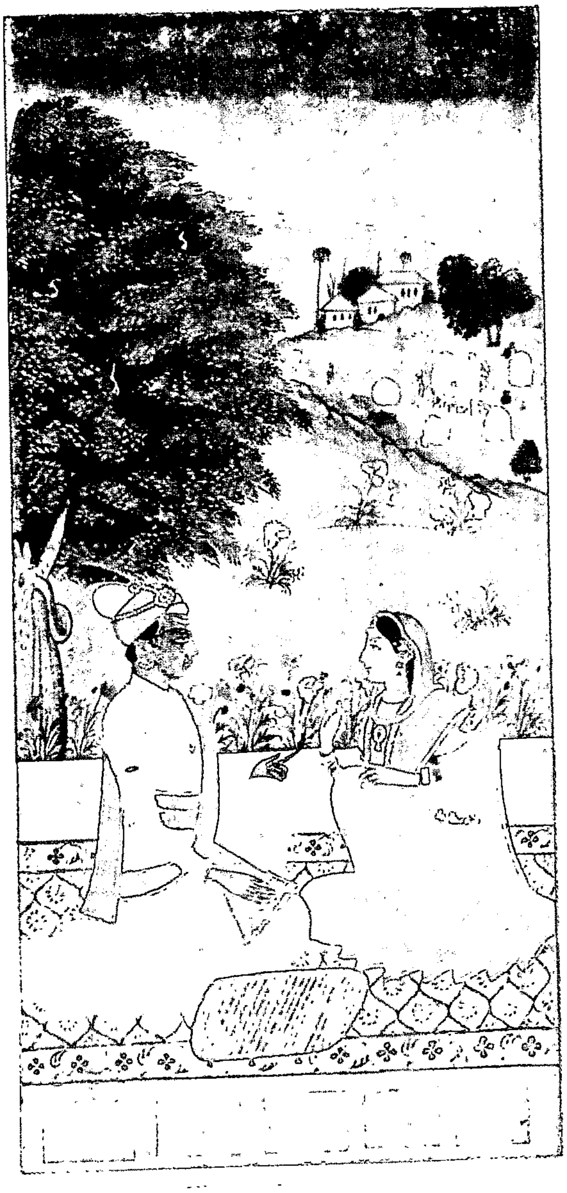
[1] The most fashionable quarter of Bombay.



LOVE'S DILEMMA

By courtesy of the *Bharati*
—from an old painting]

"But—"

"Pardon me, my dear Sir, I am very busy at present. We will talk it over presently."

In despair poor Harilal vainly beat his hands upon his bed. Tanman sitting by felt being tortured to death. She saw how the plot had been arranged, and she understood quite clearly its results.

"My father, this is my death-sentence."

"What shall I do?" cried Harilal bursting into tears; "my hands are powerless. Not one servant even is faithful to me. I sent one to call my lawyer and he has not shown me his face again. Oh what shall I do? My child, my darling! Alas, what has fate in store for you!"

"Father, shall I run over to your lawyer?"

"Can you do so?"

"Oh, surely. I will certainly be able to find him," she cried running downstairs.

"I say, Tanman, where are you going? Stop, do you hear?" Gulab shouted after her.

"I have to go out."

"No, you can't go! Just wait, I will call your uncle."

"Who are you to prevent me? You mind your business," she retorted, and ran rapidly downstairs. Gulab at once informed Shyamdas and sent him after her. Tanman wanted to kill two birds with one stone—to give her father's message to his lawyer and to inform Jagat. She saw that at this critical juncture she must seek his aid.

She reached the lawyer's place and left her message. It was already near sunset so she walked briskly. She had never seen the house of old Raiji, so she resolved to hire a carriage, for she knew the address. Taking a short cut to the public square where carriages could be found she entered a narrow lane. Immediately she was caught from behind by two strong arms. Before she could scream a hand was pressed upon her mouth. She struggled desperately but in vain.

All the fatigue of the last few days, and the sleepless nights, the separation from Jagat and the torture of the subsequent events had rendered her handsome graceful figure wan and worn out. The blooming flower which Jagat had left a few days ago was already withering. At last in her struggles her senses gave way and Tanman fainted away.

CHAPTER XI

DESPAIR

When Tanman came to herself she found herself lying on a bed in Harilal's room. Harilal himself was fast asleep. Her head was aching, and her whole body was stiff with pain. She got up and washed her face. She looked at herself in a mirror, the light of a dim night lamp showed her the reflection of a pale girl with dishevelled hair, sick and faint instead of the graceful, joyous proud Tanman of old. She sighed over the change and sat down in an arm-chair to reflect seriously upon her position. That last experience had convinced her that uncle Shyamu would get her married forcibly. Whatever view Harilal might hold, his support was worse than useless in this crisis. In fact, in his helpless paralysed state, Tanman herself was *his* help and support—how could he then be expected to stand by her. Except Tanman no one in the house seemed to worry about Harilal.

It was impossible to call Jagat. She had asked for a bit of paper the day before, but none had brought it. Now, however, she had another thought. What could he have done even if he did come. The wedding-day was so near that none except the nearest relatives could have stopped it. Even if she ran away, Tanman was afraid that Shyamdas would bring her back and force her to marry. But her sorest trial was the impossibility of communication with anyone. Her Kishor was probably within a few hundred yards of her, perhaps he was thinking of her and was probably sending loving messages to Dumas; but at present she might have as well been in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. The servants hardly came upstairs; and if they did, they never answered any questions. Only Gulab-ba looked in frequently, but she was the root of all the trouble.

Little by little Tanman got a clearer notion of her condition. Marriage was now inevitable. She knew that Mr. Karamdas wanted to marry Harilal's money-bags and so in spite of all her pleadings was not likely to turn back. Her heart was rent in twain at the idea. The sweet dreams of Dumas would never be fulfilled. She would never see Jagat again. She would not be able to keep her promise. She would never realise the ideal happy home she had dreamt about. She would never be allowed to realise her highest ideals—to be the comrade of Kishor in everything, to be the mother of his children and to be his loving helpmate, his twin-soul in his journey through life. That was the heaviest blow of all. She pressed her hand upon her bosom and sighed aloud:

"Oh, God! My Kishor!"

"What is it, my child? What are you doing?" asked the faint voice of Harilal from his bed.

Tanman went up to him. He inquired about the message she had taken and Tanman told him all the history.

"Father dear, I see no way out now. What shall I do?" and she told him all she had thought that night.

"Alas, my poor girl! My dear, wise child! Was it for this I nursed you and taught you? It is certain these devils will crush you. I wish I were dead when I think of your state, but what will you do? How will you live with such a husband? My tender blossom, how will you pass your whole life?"

"Father, do not be afraid of that. They will force me to go through the ceremony but it rests with me to accept or reject the husband. They may break me but shall not bend me."

"Tanman, my darling, do not be hasty. There are many who have begun married life like you but later they have become really happy. Perhaps there is happiness yet in store for you."

She put out both her hands as if to stop his words.

"Oh father, dear father, don't say so. You do not know me. Never think of my life being ever happy now. I will be forcibly married, but do you imagine that I will become the wife of Karamdas and begin life with him like any other girl? Father, I told my Kishor that if I could not have him, I would be his widow through life. The day I am married to Karamdas, think my glass bangles have been broken.[1] Kishor once told me the story of the Irish girl who had loved Emmett and who had pined away when separated from him. I remember that story very often now. I see myself in her position now, and as even greater than her in spirit. She was a poor, quiet soul; but I will live so as to blacken their faces, so as to leave my memory as a burning curse to them. If death comes I will die, but as *satis* and as warrior-maids have died. The Lord of Death himself and all his host shall tremble in the burning ground, when they see me there."

Her voice was tense with emotion, her eyes—erstwhile fountains of gentle love—pierced like sword blades. Her hands were clenched, her lips were pressed tight. Even Harilal was struck with awe.

"Child, child, what are you talking of?"

"Father, I am not become mad. I am telling the plain truth. You have brought me up like a princess; my Kishor has accepted me as his queen. And when fate ordains it I shall show that I have the spirit of a queen. I will never be unworthy of you nor of your upbringing."

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[1] The outward symbol of widowhood.

"Tanman, is such, after all, the end of all your beauty and all your excellence? Oh, my God, my God!—Do you remember how I used to carry you on my bosom to make you feel less your mother's loss? Do you remember your little chair in my study where you used to sit? And how you used to bend over my face and cover it up with your pretty curls? My darling, where is your inimitable smile gone? Where are those sweet jokes of yours?" Thus wailed Harilal; his tears flowed unchecked.

"Tanman, dear child," he added after a while, "do smile a bit. Where are all your songs gone these few days? Where have their charms fled?"

"Father, how can I smile? I would do all I can to please you but I cannot smile at all. I feel as if I am not Tanman at all. I cannot sing either."

"But do sing one song. I have not heard you sing for some time now."

"Shall I sing 'My love has quite forgotten me'?"

"Why, this was your Kishor's song?"

Tanman cast down her eyes. A tinge of red crept into her pale cheeks. In a low voice she sang, at the end she sighed deeply. It was the swan-song of her love.

* * * *

A few more days went by. The wedding festivities began. From the window upstairs visitors could be seen coming in. The bride and her father were imprisoned up there. Gulab came up twice or thrice a day dressed in her best and full of joy. Harilal with great effort continued to control his shaking limbs and to stand upright and Tanman felt supported and comforted. It seemed as if father and daughter were to be offered up sacrifice upon the altar of blind prejudice and base lucre.

The day before the wedding Gulab came up to anoint her body with the auspicious yellow ointment.[1] "Tanman, come downstairs," she ordered.

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[1] Called *pithi*. The bridegroom too is similarly anointed.

"Why?" Tanman asked in freezing tone.

"I want you. You have to be anointed."

"Anoint her who is going to marry. I am not marrying and will not allow it."

"Hoity-toity, miss! Why this obstinacy again?" cried Gulab and came up to drag her downstairs.

"Gulab-ba, beware; you dare not touch me."

"Oh you woman!" moaned Harilal from his bed, "do you want to kill me? You torture her to death!"

"Now, my dear, do be quiet. You have spoilt her quite enough. How could she be wed without the yellow being anointed?"

"You she-wolf! is this why you married me in my old age?"

"Very well. If you are going to call me names I won't stop her. You ought to be ashamed of yourself to abuse your wife on the eve of your daughter's wedding." Then she turned to Tanman, "You just wait. I am sending up your uncle."

Tanman darted a withering look at her and kept proudly silent. The rest of that day passed without any further torment. At night many ladies in gorgeous dresses came in to sing wedding songs. Gulab made herself hoarse in singing about "her Tanman." Upstairs Tanman smiled grimly. She seemed like a warrior brought to bay by thousands of foes, who is determined to sell his life dearly and to ascend victorious to heaven. Tanman began to prepare herself for the last desperate struggle. That night they both locked the door of their room from within.

CHAPTER XII

AND THIS THE END!

Uncle Shyamu was up betimes. The auspicious moment was at eight in the morning and all had to be got ready by then. He saw too that the real struggle would come then, and he prepared himself accordingly. He appointed people to receive the bridegroom upon his arrival and others to distribute *pan* and perfumes and cocoanuts among the guests. He also made satisfactory provision for the priests so that the ceremony should be over quickly. He asked his wife to look after the ladies and he himself, aided by Gulab, had decided to take charge of Tanman. When the bridegroom's party had arrived about half way uncle Shyamu ran upstairs to fetch the bride.

Harilal's room was locked from inside and no answer was given to his knocking. He shouted for Tanman but there was still no reply. But Shyamdas was not to be baffled in this fashion He sent a man to fetch a mechanic and with his help they forced the lock and went in. Harilal was seated on his bed. Near him was standing Tanman, thin and pale but still proud and erect. In spite of her bloodless face she had the air of a victorious queen or an angry goddess immovable in her resolve. When the door burst open she saw before her the temple of Ramchandra at Ratnagadh, the mango grove at Dumas and the smiling face of her Kishor. She felt like Byron's Gladiator when the scenes of his motherland passed before his glazing eyes. She pressed the handkerchief in her bosom.

"Come along, you girl!"

"Where?" asked Harilal.

"Where! Don't you know? Here is the groom arrived. Do you think the auspicious moment shall pass for the sake of obstinacy of a slip of a girl. Harilal, you need not speak in this matter. The girl will be brought to her senses only this way."

"But I don't want her to be brought to her senses. Who asked you to arrange for her marriage? You have kept me a prisoner in my own house, you hound, you devil!" Harilal was fuming with rage.

Tanman intervened. She did not think this excitement at all good for her father. Her voice was cold and controlled, but sarcastic. "Father dear, why do you get excited? Uncle Shyamu, who asked you to take all this trouble? Because father is ill you are lording it over in his house and you are ready to doom his only child to death! Please do not make a scene or else there will be a different procession in place of that of the wedding.

"Oh stop it, and your processions!" shouted uncle Shyamdas. He had just put the Chief Police Superintendent under an obligation and so had not much to fear the legal aspect of this question.

"Now, are you coming or not? I will kill you otherwise."

"Who are you to kill my daughter? Get out of my house this minute," roared Harilal blazing and got up with a bound.

"It is a thousand times better to kill such a girl than to let her live. Get along; are you coming or not?"

Harilal felt something snap inside his head.

"Villain, hell-hound, de—" he could not finish the word: his tongue got twisted in the attempt, he had his third stroke and fell headlong on the bed, his eyes glazing rapidly. Tanman shrieked. Shyamdas went up to her and stood by her side.

"Gulab, please see to Harilal. I will take Tanman down. The procession has arrived it seems."

The owner of the house was gasping out his last breath in that room upstairs: while down below drums and fifes were playing the wedding music.

"Oh father, father dear"—cried Tanman kneeling down beside him. Gulab went up to his bedside and pushed Tanman aside. Shyamdas caught her by the arms. Tanman tried to wrench herself away, but could not.

"Uncle, let go my arm or I will kill myself! Let go!" Her eyes were wild, her shriek resounded through the room. Shyamlal, a little abashed, loosened her arm.

"Are you coming?"

"Yes, I am coming. You villain, may you be accursed! You killed my mother;—and now you kill me. Gulab-ba, you have killed your husband and so enjoy your widowed liberty! You demons, you will kill me but you shall suffer in hell-fire as long as you live." Her eyes were wild and blazing like flames of fire. She proudly drew up her body and stood erect. Her face was ghastly, without a drop of blood, but firmly set. The tender laughing nymph Tanman walked out of the room firm and erect like *Durga* going out to vanquish the demons. She wrapped her garment tight round herself—the swan was folding her wings before death. Shyamdas followed.

Tanman's mind was whirling in her passion. Her sight was getting dim. With slow steps she descended the stairs; she saw a crowd of people, saw something like an altar and men rushing to and fro. She wondered why it was so dark although she knew the sun had arisen. Everything was whirling round and round;—some one was shouting noisily near the altar. Suddenly there was a great noise—the drums and fifes joined in;—all was confusion. Tanman felt something rising in her bosom, she pressed the handkerchief to her heart with her left hand. Some one had caught hold of her right hand, but who she could not make out. "My Kishor!"—a faint smile—darkness was falling—had fallen.

* * * * *

In the wedding enclosure there was a great uproar. The bride had fainted away; the bride's father was at that very moment dying. (*To be continued*)

Kanaiyalal M. Munshi

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Versus

Education Ministry in Bengal

The unfortunate struggle which has developed between the Senate and Government in Calcutta cannot be a matter of indifference to educationists, no matter to what presidency they may belong. Doubtless outsiders should walk warily over ground rendered insecure by much bombarding and, shall I add, discharge of poisonous gas and indulgence in personalities ? They cannot know much of the inwardness of the struggle, the motives, feelings, secret objects, etc., which underlie the activities of the political stage and of which the actors themselves may not be fully conscious. Having thus premised the limitations to which outside judgment is necessarily subject, I yet venture to offer an opinion on how it strikes distant observers whose only claim to intervene is that they are educationists, educationists first and educationists throughout the range of their being.

The struggle, though local in operation, is national in its significance; and national in a double sense. If it is an indication of a settled antagonism between representative democracy as it now exists in India and the agents of the highest education in the land, it will open up a field of infinite possibilities for mischief all round. If ministerial Government and post-graduate courses cannot co-exist, the country will have to consider seriously whether it will exchange the lamp of knowledge for the smoky lights of party; and whether the cure does not consist in improving the representative character of our Councils and Ministries and making responsibility effective. Existing Senates are at a tactical disadvantage in conflicts of this nature, since they are not as largely elective as they might be without encroachment on their character as corporations of experts and custodians of quality. I admit Senates must primarily be aristocracies of intellect—they cannot descend from that level very far without plunging into the gulf. But within the limits to democratisation thus imposed, they ought to be put into greater contact with the people by the adoption of some such measures as were recommended by the Sadler Commission. In Madras a democratic party is in power : but it does not propose " to axe " the higher branches of learning ; on the contrary it is all for furthering their growth.

In addition to the constitutional there is an educational aspect viewed from which also this conflict acquires nation-wide scope and meaning. Universities are broadly speaking of three kinds, the local, the national, and the inter-national. Oxford and Cambridge, the famous German universities, the Sorbonne at Paris, and Chicago, Harvard, and Yale are instances of cultural centres which exert an attraction going far beyond the national frontiers. The higher category includes the lower, and the great universities which have an international clientele are the pride and illumination of their own countries as well. Till the post-graduate courses were organised at Calcutta, not a single university in India had risen above the level of a local institution ; in fact they were a loose association of colleges with limited scope for teaching and hardly any scope at all for investigation and research ; with examinations filling the horizon with a grim aspect ; the substance of university life and training uncatered for and unthought of. Under the benefactions of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rasbehari Ghose and the inspiration of Sir Michael Sadler, who, it was hoped, would become the genius of the new era of education as Macaulay was of the old, Calcutta was preparing to become at least a national university. Its post-graduate courses are a national asset ; they provide a field for the youth of the country thirsting for the highest knowledge and eager to give a fair chance to their inborn genius or power for originality; they have provided the only atmosphere so far developed in the country for the fruition of the intellectual stir in our more fertile youth, and also a place for our Rays and Ramans, who otherwise would have wasted their gifts in the monotonous routine of college lectures. It appears to me that the new scheme is being condëmned by a certain section of politicians before it has had a fair trial and that the dispensation of the Bengal Ministry is insensible to the highest and therefore the truest claims of our youths. I hope that the Mandarinism of mediocrities will not be allowed to prevail. We, in Madras, at any rate are bent on organising research and investigation on a large scale; and when the new University Bill passes we shall have cleared the ground for the contemplated advance and provided the machinery. But Madras is poor in the generous rich; she has the desire; but not the requisite finance. You in Bengal are more fortunate in private patronage; it is in governmental patronage that you seem to have suffered, temporarily as I hope, a reversal of your usual good fortune, which other presidencies used to envy and the latest instance of which is the reduction of your provincial contribution.

I have read with astonishment and pain the narrative of the fatuous attitude of the Bengal Ministry towards higher education—the highest grade of education we have in the whole country, namely, the magnificent post-graduate courses which have been organised in the Calcutta University. Far from being proud of this achievement, as the entire country is, they seem to have developed towards it an attitude of settled unreasoning hostility, which educationists deplore and resent. Government failed to give the university the financial support they had every reason to expect and with reference to which they undertook to extend sympathetic consideration. In view of the munificent donations made by Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rasbehari Ghose, educationists expected that Government would make grants by the aid of which the intentions of the donors and the educational needs of the country would be amply fulfilled. Far from helping they are hindering. Even when the Senate proposes to finance its schemes by the levy of increased fees, they veto the proposal on the extraordinary grounds that the income thus derived should be spent for the benefit of the majority of students, which means, I suppose, intermediate courses in which the attendance is most numerous; and that in the absence of a guarantee that it won't be used for post-graduate courses—necessarily catering to a smaller clientele—they as new-pattern democrats, I suppose, could not give their sanction. This is really democracy gone mad,—if indeed it is democracy at all, whether sane or insane. No countries are more democratic than the United States and Canada and in no countries have larger state endowments and grants been given in aid of research and the very highest grades of education than in them. Higher studies had not received under the British Government the encouragement due in India; we had hoped that as a result of the Sadler Commission report and the installation of ministerial control of education, the lean years would pass and the fat ones would arrive. The Bengal Government have proved false to the trust and the needs of the Educational World. All India had been looking up to Calcutta for a model, and if that is smashed by the Government, we shall all be the poorer in example and inspiration.

The argument of the Government is amazing. Apparently all the watering should be done for the leaves and flowers, but the fruit, being numerically far smaller, should be cut off from nourishment. And yet these are the days when the cry for the Indianisation of services is loudest; and when we find it impossible to secure admission for Indian candidates in sufficient numbers in the advanced universities of Great Britain; when recourse to countries outside the empire is not free from impediments or objections; and when therefore it is not merely essential but imperative and urgent that the highest grades of education and research should be organised within our own frontiers. It is no secret that many educationists are in favour of starting a new type of High Schools—something intermediate in character and scope between the English Public School, in which instruction and study are to a certain extent sacrificed to games and training in life; and the Indian High School in which it is all work and no life, and indeed so much of work as to leave little scope for the development of a healthy manhood; and one of their reasons is that institutions preparatory to Military, Forest and other services cannot be postponed without injury to the country's future.

I learn that Sir Henry Sharp was opposed to post-graduate developments and had written to that effect in the London *Times* and that the Bengal Publicity Officer, under instigation, has made himself the medium for broadcasting that article. No good purpose will be served by a discussion of the ethics of this indirect attack by Government on the most important public corporation of the presidency; and acrimonious controversies should as far as possible be avoided. But the alliance with our late Educational Commissioner deserves consideration. I yield to none in my admiration for his capacity and devotion to duty; but unfortunately his ideals and those of the country, as I have reason to believe, were poles apart; and we, as Indians, cannot take his view of our present or future requirements. The Calcutta University Commission's report is a terrible and unanswerable indictment of the policy of our Government in regard to University training and organisation in India. With this policy Sir Henry Sharp was identified for a long number of years; and it is impossible for us therefore to accept him as witness, still less as judge. Is it not a fact that the best available training—let alone facilities for research—in arts, or science were never organised in India;

and that Government did not even attempt their organisation; and that so far as applied sciences and technology were concerned, they were so badly and so systematically neglected as to cause not a few to mistrust the good faith of Government in this respect? Our very drivers of mail trains had to be imported from abroad and the entire field of exploitation of the material resources of our country was monopolised by foreign-trained brains, though Indian brains were by no means scarce in quantity or defective in quality. The excuse has always been want of funds; there are always funds in plenty for wars, railways, and increments of salaries etc. The poverty of Government commences exactly where our national needs begin. All this should convey its own lesson and warning to the reader who has not sacrificed his judgment to his politics. Further, was not Sir Henry associated with the Government of India in its evasion of its financial responsibilities to the Calcutta University, which, according to its own language, it was morally bound to fulfil? Is there not more than an indication to prove that the real reason why the monetary assistance due and expected was not given was to discourage and destroy the post-graduate developments organised; or to put it differently to penalise the university for attempting to place itself on an equality with European foundations, for freeing itself from foreign dependence in matters intellectual and aiming, as it were, at educational Swaraj? Strange that a Minister should stoop to enact the sorry drama more appropriate to the un-regenerate Simla of the pre-Reforms regime! Our youths are not tolerated in English Universities; the welcome they receive is colder than their climate; if they go to foreign countries, they run serious risk of being excommunicated from useful careers and civil status by the Political orthodoxy of the Bureaucracy; and the one opening now made in our own country, imperfect and inadequate as it is, is sought to be blasted by one of our own ministers! If this is the way our "Nation-building" departments act, there

FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

IV.

Dr. C. A. Bentley, Director of Public Health in Bengal, delivered some lectures in Calcutta early in 1916, which have been interpreted by the *Statesman* newspapers (13th Feb., 1916) as follows :

> "Dr. Bentley affirms that there is a whole series of facts showing that malaria in Bengal has been brought about by an extraordinary diminution of water on the land surface. This mischievous decline is largely due to the manner in which the natural operation of the rivers has been interfered with by embankments and roads. Dr. Bentley thus brings us back to the old and widespread belief in Bengal that railways and raised roads have been the means of causing prevalence of malaria. But he holds that the damage has been done not by causing areas to become water-logged so much as by contributing towards the decay and death of rivers. The question of the alleged ill effects of roads and embankments has been repeatedly discussed since 1864, when Raja Digambar Mitra maintained that they had obstructed drainage and aggravated sickness. It has always been found that the charge was baseless because the evil consequences of the obstruction were sought for in water-logged conditions. If Dr. Bentley is right, the harm done by roads and railways is that they have deprived the country of health-giving water."

Dr. Bentley has confirmed this interpretation in his later pronouncements. In a note on the "Influence of embankments upon the Malaria of the Delta tracts of Bengal" (1919), he says:

> "The theory of water-logging and obstructed drainage has been shown to be untenable; the theory of borrow pits is equally inadequate, but as we have already seen there are grounds for believing that it is the shutting out of flood water by the restriction of river spill and the interference with the natural flow across country that is the most potent factor in the causation of these outbreaks of malaria in delta tracts."

The latest deliverance (so far as I am aware) on the subject by Dr. Bentley was at the Rotary Club in January this year (1922). He says:

"I wish to point out that Sir Bradford Leslie and my other critics are agreed with me on one point, which is alluded to in the last paragraph of his recent letter to the *Statesman.* That paragraph states: 'The loss of the flood spill of muddy water of the Ganges has doubtless resulted in decreased fertility.'

In this remark lies almost the whole secret of Bengal malaria. Decreased fertility means decreased agricultural outturn, and decreased agricultural return means a decline of agriculture, and a reduction of population; and as the loss of flood water also leads to a great increase of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, the changes referred to are accompanied by an appalling increase of malarial infection."[1]

Dr. Bentley observes, that "the theory of water-logging and obstructed drainage has been shown to be untenable," and that of borrow-pits is "equally inadequate." I have in my last article shown that the hypothesis of borrow-pits is practically the same as that of obstructed drainage, so that if the former is only "inadequate" the latter should not be so indefensible as to be "untenable." There are many experts who have considered the hypothesis of obstructed drainage to be inadequate, but few have condemned it as untenable. In fact, Dr. Bentley himself would appear to have modified his condemnation by considering almost in the same breath the hypothesis of borrow-pits to be "*equally* inadequate" and by admitting that "interference with the natural flow across country" of flood water is an important factor in the genesis of malaria.

The arguments urged by Dr. Bentley against the hypothesis of obstructed drainage are that "malaria was not confined to the immediate vicinity of embankments," and that "villages at a considerable distance from embankments were often affected, and the epidemic in many cases appeared to travel towards and not away from the embankments."[1] When an epidemic is started, one would not expect it to be "confined to the immediate vicinity of embankments," and it might easily spread to places at a "considerable distance" from them. That there should be cases which would be difficult to explain on the hypothesis of impeded drainage may be readily conceded. But the apparent anomaly of an epidemic occasionally travelling "towards and not away from embankments," might in some cases at least, be explained by local causes. For instance, railways and trunk roads generally pass over comparatively elevated ground and avoid the congested parts of populous villages. Their vicinity therefore, over such ground is likely to be more salubrious than thickly populated villages at lower levels. Moreover, there are various other factors which should be taken into account, such as obstruction to drainage caused by small roads, the material condition of the people, condition of drinking water, etc. A populous village on low ground, with numerous ill-drained roads, bad drinking water, and a good portion of its inhabitants so sunk in poverty as not to be able to afford wholesome nourishing food in sufficient quantity, though not close to railway, would probably suffer more than a sparsely populated village on high ground in its immediate vicinity, the inhabitants of which are economically better off.

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[1] *The Statesman*, Dak Edition, Jan. 12, 1922.

Dr. Bentley opines that the embankments of roads and railways have caused malaria, but not so much by obstructing drainage as by "contributing towards the decay and death of rivers" and thus depriving "the country of health-giving water," especially of the flood-spill of the Ganges. There are high Engineering authorities, Sir Bradford Leslie among them, who assert that "such loss is not attributable to railway embankments."[1] Anyhow, as a matter of fact, neither the East Indian nor the Eastern Bengal Railway, in the area where malignant malaria originated about 1860, crossed any rivers that had not been already reduced to a moribund condition such as the Sarasvatí and the Jamuná (or rather *Bager Khal* near Kanchrapara, which connects it with the Hooghly). So far as the flood-spill of the Ganges (the Hooghly) is concerned, the districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Hooghly, Burdwan and the southern portion of Nadiya had long been deprived of it. Thus the argument of Dr. Bentley based upon the loss of the flood-spill of the Ganges and consequent loss of fertility and depression of economic condition falls to the ground. The malaria centre had for centuries been deprived of that flood spill, and whatever other effects the loss may have led to there is, as we have seen in a previous article (September, 1922), no evidence that it had before 1860 affected the productivity of the soil, at least so seriously as to tell on the material condition of the people.[2] I am afraid, Dr. Bentley in building up his argument has drawn very largely on his imagination.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

A good portion of the area which was devastated by malaria in the sixties of the last century, that lying between the Damodar and the Hooghly rivers in the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly, was then deprived of the flood-waters of the Damodar as its embankment was strengthened and made effective for the protection of the East Indian Railway about 1860. Dr. Bentley appears to be of the opinion that it is this shutting out of the flood-waters that caused the outbreak.

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[1] *The Statesman*, Nov. 24 (Dak Edition), 1921.

[2] Dr. Bentley in a "Note upon the Relationship between obstructed rivers and Malaria in Lower Bengal," quotes authorities (p. 12) to show that there has been recent diminution of fertility in Central Bengal. But that has been since 1860, and may have been due at least partly to the interception of the washing of villages, the manurial value of which must be pretty high, in their course to paddy fields by the pits and ditches bordering embankments of roads and railways.

For he says in the Note mentioned above (para. 5): "By the measures referred to, the spill-water of the Damodar was thus completely shut off from the tract of country lying between it and the Hooghly which had previously formed the natural delta of the river and this closing of the channels and shutting out of flood-water was followed by the outbreak of Burdwan fever in the areas deprived of its natural supply of river water."

The effective embankment of the Damodar was constructed concurrently with *and for the protection* of the East Indian Railway, so that the latter appears to us to be the more important cause of the outbreak of Burdwan fever. This conclusion is strengthened by the consideration, that the good of the influx of flood so far as health is concerned would depend very largely upon its free efflux. But this has been rendered impossible since the late fifties of the last century by numberless obstructions prevented by the railway and its feeder roads. There is no question that in Bengal floods have a beneficial influence in that they give a good flushing to the area flooded, replenish sluggish, moribund streams and silted-up marshes (*bils*), and deposit fertilising silt in the fields. But, their beneficence in regard to malaria would depend upon their subsiding at the close of the rainy season so as not to leave any water behind except in reservoirs so shallow as to dry up very quickly or so deep as not to dry up at all. The comparative immunity of a good portion of Eastern Bengal to malaria has been cited by Dr. Bentley in support of his hypothesis. But the immunity is due as much to floods as to paucity of railway and road embankments. With an infinity of such embankments in West Bengal, the "health-giving" flood-water becomes health-destroying towards the close of the rainy season stagnating in the borrow pits and ditches with which they are bordered and which are deep enough to serve as breeding grounds of the Anophelines, but not deep enough to harbour fish and other natural enemies of the mosquitoes.

Dr. K. McLeod who was Health Officer of Calcutta for sometime observed in a report (1879), having, no doubt, in view the conditions of Central Bengal, that "nothing in the etiology of malarial fever is more certain than that excess of rain or inundation is followed by excessive prevalence and fatal type of fever."

We have discussed Dr. Bentley's views at some length, because, he being the custodian of the health of Bengal, they naturally influence the authorities upon whom the adoption of anti-malaria measures depends. Apparently inspired by them Lord Ronaldshay said at a meeting of the representatives of the District Boards of Bengal in January, 1918 :

> "If you could dry up Bengal, mosquitoes would very soon disappear. But you cannot of course dry up Bengal : you might as well dry up the sea.......If then you cannot get rid of the water, the next best thing to do is to change its character, that is to convert the numberless small shallow pools with a maximum of edge and a comparatively low temperature into large expanses of water with a minimum edge and a higher temperature. The water which covers the land, especially during the wet season is derived from two sources, *viz.*, spill-water from the rivers and rain. Under these circumstances, the object which we have in view can be achieved by holding up the water on the land during the wet months, in other words, by flooding the country; and by draining off the flood at suitable seasons. To do this satisfactorily we must call in the Engineer and get him to construct embankments and sluices."

Lord Ronaldshay probably meant "dams and sluices." But the Engineer, as a matter of fact, has also constructed embankments which, as we shall presently see, have proved a serious menace to health.

Three fairly large anti-malaria schemes were foreshadowed by Lord Ronaldshay—the Nowi-Sunthi, the Jabuna, and the Arul Bil—the aggregate estimated cost of which is over twenty eight *lákhs* of rupees ; and some action has already been taken in regard to them. The idea underlying them is to excavate moribund streams (*khâls*), and to regulate the water in them by means of sluices across their exits so that "should the rainfall be excessive they will be opened to drain off the surplus, otherwise they will be kept closed so as to allow the water to gradually rise as the crops grow up, submerging more and more of the cultivated lands as the season progresses; when the time for harvesting arrives, they will be thrown open and the water drawn off, so that harvesting can be carried on on dry land; without such means of regulation the project would prove a failure, and the gradual submersion of the land will destroy the breeding grounds of the anopheles." [1]

In the first place, the more or less silted-up *khâls* are being excavated in the form of canals and the earth dug out heaped up along their banks forming embankments which by obstructing drainage like the railway and road embankments are calculated to be highly prejudicial to health, and to be pro-malarial rather than anti-malarial. Then again, if it were possible to flood Central Bengal so as to submerge the pits and ditches by the sides of roads and railways, and keep them submerged till the advent of winter, virulent malaria would be stamped out in two or three years. But that is not possible. The destruction of the breeding-grounds of the anophelines by flooding is, under existing condition practicable only in low-lying swampy lands un-intersected by borrow-pit-bordered roads and railways and at some distance from human habitation, at least from populous malaria-stricken villages on comparatively high ground. Even under existing conditions the anophelines in such low lands are kept down during the rains, and as they would have to be drained off in the harvesting season, which is also the height of the malaria season, it is much to be doubted whether their breeding grounds would be destroyed much more effectively than at present. Anyhow, as we have seen before, they do not, as a rule, trouble the far-off villages much, so that even if the consummation aimed at by the schemes under consideration were effected, there is no likelihood of any abatement of malaria. I am glad to find that these conclusions are confirmed by Rai Bahadur Gopalchandra Chatterji, M.B., who unlike myself has appendants to his name signifying high medical qualifications and their recognition by Government. In the Report of the Central Co-operative Anti-Malaria Society (Ld.) for the year ending in 1922, he observes :

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[1] Jabuna anti-malarial scheme by C. Addams-Williams, para. 11.

" This measure (the Nowi-Sunthi anti-malaria scheme) is estimated to cost twelve lacs of rupees, but actually it will exceed the sum by several lacs. It consists in draining a big *Bheel* and a large tract of country by excavating a large canal along the beds of two rivulets which have formed extensive marshes in the region. In construction of the work which is taking several years, earth excavated from the canal has been allowed to be deposited on two sides of the canal through the neglect of the contractor thereby effectually obstructing the drains of the villages situated along the banks of the rivulets. Besides, from the big pits which have been deliberately excavated recently in the main drains along the Barasat road situated near the canal, by the contractors employed for metalling the road, it is evident that filling and drainage works for controlling mosquito population within the village sites or towns situated near the canals have not been included in the above scheme or thought of. A number of small excavations within the village sites situated near the dwelling houses of the villagers, can give rise to myriads of anopheles for the propagation of malaria. It does not add materially to the well-being of the village if the beds of dead rivulets are excavated at an enormous cost. Besides, the sum spent on them are in part derived from the funds which are meant for improving the village sites and are used up in work of problematical value; moreover recurring charge for maintaining the canal has to be added to this."

Dr. Chatterji informs me in a letter that as a result of the canal excavation " malaria has increased to a marked extent" in the villages situated on the canal. The present Governor of Bengal, Lord Lytton, said recently in regard to the schemes we have discussed above, that Dr. Bentley hoped to "serve at the same time the three needs of the population for drinking water, of agriculture for irrigation, and of public health by washing out the malaria-carrying mosquito." In regard to agriculture, there is no need, at least no pressing need for artificial irrigation in the areas covered by the projects during the rainy season. The want of wholesome drinking water, however, is keenly felt in many villages since their desertion by the well-to-do, and the diminution of the spirit of benevolence or its diversion into channels other than the provision of wholesome drinking water. The schemes under consideration would secure it to some extent. But it could be secured at much less risk to health and much smaller expenditure than what would be incurred on them. And from what we have already said, it would be idle to expect them to perform the important work of "washing out the malaria-carrying mosquito," at least from the areas where malaria is most rife. Unless there is an esoteric aspect of the schemes under notice, we have not come across any, except in the sphere of politics, less calculated to serve the main purpose which they profess to have in view, and which alone could justify the enormous outlay they would involve.[1]

(To be continued)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

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[1] The Magra Hat project which is on lines similar to those noticed in the text and which was highly commended by Lord Ronaldshay at the conference of 1918 was completed in 1909. The physical conditions in the two areas being, I believe, markedly different, the success of the former would be no guarantee of the success of the latter. But it is very doubtful whether the health of the Magra Hat area has improved. Indeed, I am informed by a high medical authority that Magra Hat suffered last year from an "intense form of malaria" and lost population to the extent of 25 per cent. Dr. Bentley says in a letter which he has kindly written to me that "the project was primarily an agricultural one," and that it was devised by the Irrigation Department which is not under his control. It seems also that the schemes we have criticised were also initiated by the same Department, and that the Department of Health is not responsible for them !

In Memoriam

THE LATE HIRENDRALAL MITRA

It is with a heavy heart that we have to announce to the readers of the *Calcutta Review* the death in England after a short illness of Hirendralal Mitra, M.Sc., one of the ex-students in Physics of the University College of Science. Hirendra was one of the most brilliant graduates of the Calcutta University. He occupied the first place in Physics Honours in the B.Sc. Examination of 1918, and joined the Physics Department of the University College of Science. During his stay of two years, he won the love and esteem of all his teachers by his sweetness of behaviour, and by his ardent devotion to science. In the M.Sc. Examination of 1920, he came out first in the list, as expected by his teachers and fellow students.

After winning these laurels, Hirendra proceeded to England. One of the present writers was then in England, and Hirendra often used to apply to him for advice in the choice of a career. Unlike many other Indian students in similar circumstances, he did not choose the easier route to Government service—namely, the degree course of London or Cambridge; for he found these courses to be the exact replica of the M.Sc. course of the Calcutta University, and rightly concluded that spending two or three years in studying the degree course would be mere waste of time. From the very first, he was fired with an ambition of winning a name for himself in the field of research and scholarship. After visiting the principal seats of physical research in England, he decided to apply to Sir William Bragg (Professor of Physics in the University College of London, and Nobel-laureate in

Physics, for the year 1915) for permission to work under him in his laboratory. After Hirendra had explained his plan of research work in a personal interview, Professor Bragg, in order to test the experimental ability of the young Calcutta-aspirant after the red robes of London asked him then and there to set up a Dolezalek type of Quadrant Electrometer, one of the most difficult settings in Experimental Physics. Nothing undaunted, Hirendra set to work immediately and in course of an hour and a half, had set the apparatus in perfect order. Professor Bragg was so highly satisfied with this proof of ability that he at once permitted him to join his laboratory.

Hirendra worked at Bragg's laboratory for more than a year, helping him materially in his studies on the micro-atomic analysis of organic crystals by the X-ray method. It may be remarked here that Professor Bragg is one of the leading physicists of the day, whose contributions to the study of X-rays is regarded as one of the epoch-making events in physics. Not content with mere subsidiary work under the direction of Professor Bragg, Hirendra started independent investigations on his own account. One of the present writers often used to pay visits to the physical laboratory of the University College, and had talks with the professors, all of whom expressed very high opinions of the experimental skills and resourcefulness of the young Calcutta student. He was not daunted by any difficulty, and was never discouraged by any preliminary failure. During the vacation of 1921, he visited Paris and was introduced by his cousin Mr. Kalidas Nag to Professor Langevin, the doyen of French physicists. Through Professor Langevin's friendliness, he was introduced to the French School of physicists, and particularly to the Duc de Broglie, the foremost X-ray worker in France. Instead of spending the vacation in mere amusement, he seized this opportunity of carrying out a research work on X-ray absorption in de Broglie's laboratory. He had finished about three papers in the short course of a year and a half, and it remained only to put the account of these works in writing, and submit them for the doctorate of the London University.

On returning to England, he was faced with an unexpected difficulty. His cousin, Birendra Lal Mitra, was suffering from a painful disease, and was advised by physicians to return to India. Hirendra had to break off his studies and come to India in attendance upon his cousin. After seeing his cousin slightly better, he returned to England, but within a fortnight of his arrival died after a short illness, deeply mourned by his friends, and other Indian, and English fellow students.

On the eve of his return to England, Hirendra paid a visit to the University College of Science to bid farewell to his old teachers and other acquaintances. He appeared to be in the best of health, and nobody could dream that the cruel hand of Death would pluck him off so swiftly! To the professors and lecturers of the University College of Science, and particularly to the present writers, who loved the deceased like their own younger brother, the news came as a great shock, almost like a personal bereavement.

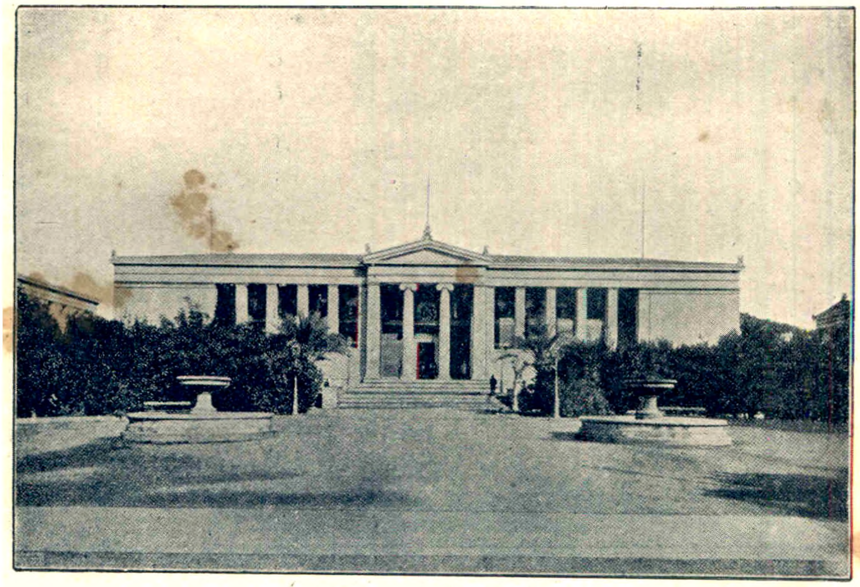
Hirendra was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He was the only son of Mr. Mahendra Lal Mitra, a rich landed proprietor of Calcutta, and nephew of Mr. B. L. Mitra, the present standing counsel of the Calcutta High Court. Though born and bred up in the lap of prosperity, there was not the slightest trace of aristocratic egoism in him. One of his ambitions was to get into touch with village life, and for this purpose, he often used to take arduous journeys to remote villages. In him, his relations lose one who might have been the brightest star of the family, and Bengal loses a son who, if he had lived longer, would have ranked very high as a scientist.

" For ever more a life behind
Behind the veil, behind the veil."

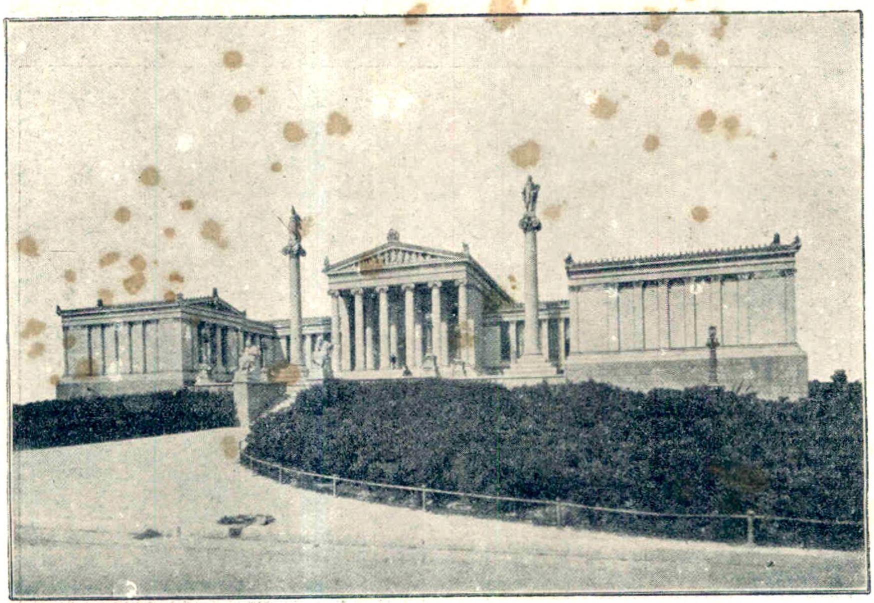
SUSILKUMAR ACHARYYA
MEGHNAD SAHA

ATHENS

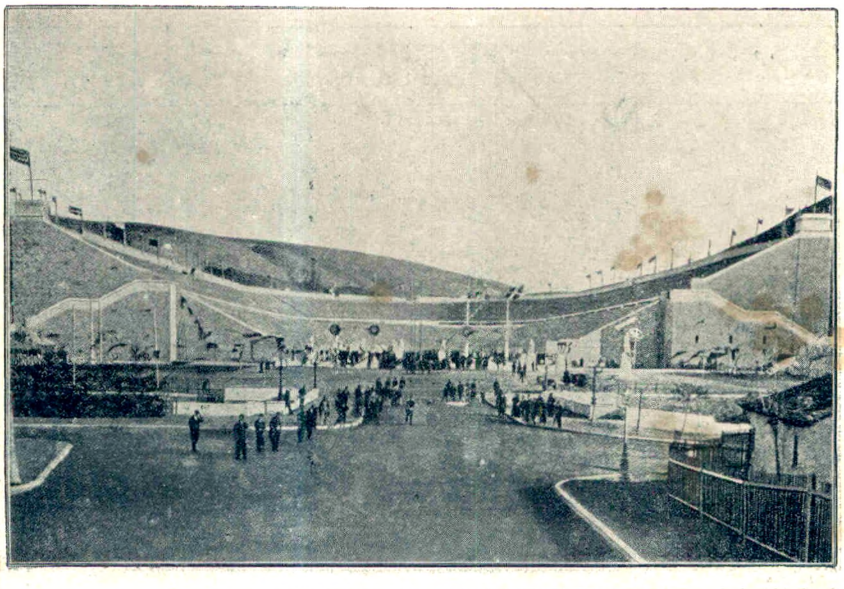
Castela.



The University.

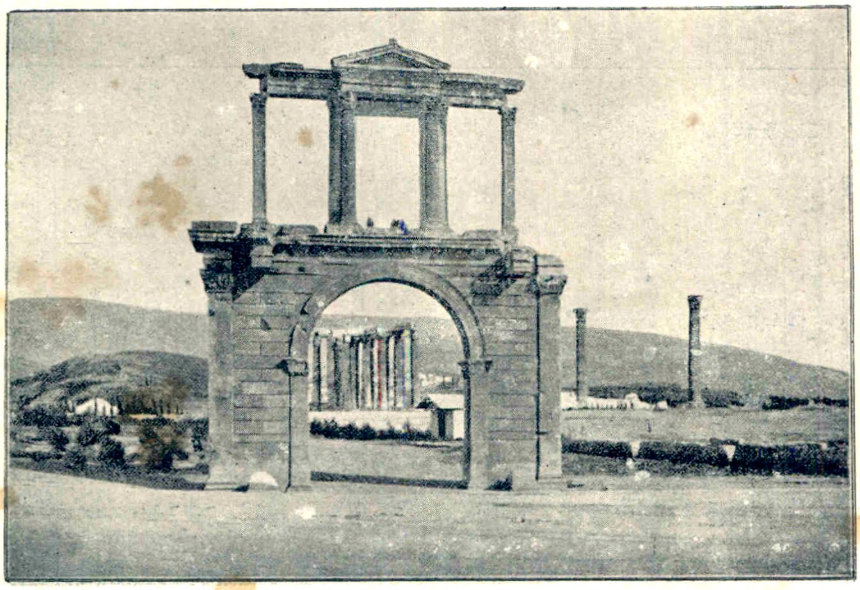


The Academy.

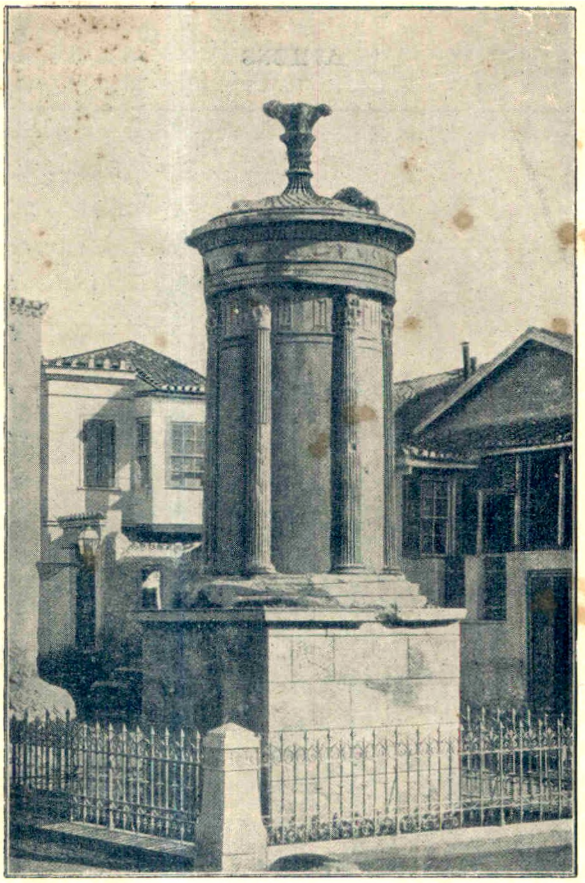


The Stadion (Amphitheatre).

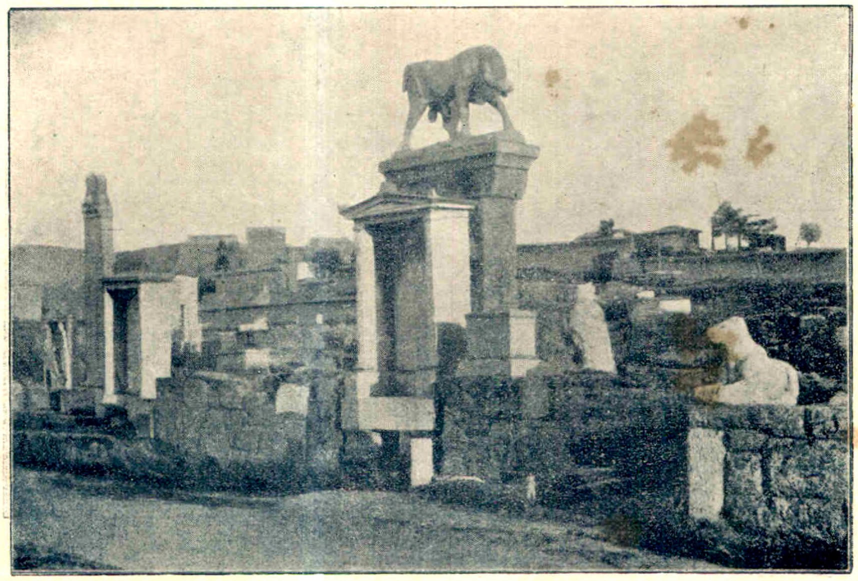
Byzantine Church.



Arch of Hadrian.



Monument of Lysicrates.



A Corner in the Ancient Greek Cemetery.

STATE *VERSUS* COMPANY MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS

The principle of management of state-owned railways by lessee companies is, as stated by the Railway Board, almost peculiar to India. It bears no similarity to company management of company-owned railways of England or of America. Each country has its own particular system of railway management and ownership. Some have national railways such as Germany, Italy, Belgium, Japan, while others have company-owned railways such as U. S. A. and England. And some other countries have both state-owned and company-owned railways, but they are in all cases managed by the owners., *i.e.*, the state-owned railways by the state and the company-owned railways by companies.

There are advantages and disadvantages of both state management and company management. But in India in the case of company management the ownership is that of the government and this has always to be borne in mind. Where the country is fully developed, its resources are vast, and there is plenty of trade and commerce and industries, *i. e.*, there is plenty of money in the country, in that case, generally the indigenous capitalists provide money for railways both for purposes of investment and for further development of trade,. commerce and industries. In such cases, the whole work of financing and building railways, devolves on private enterprise or is rather left to private enterprise. The Government have no financial responsibility there, and, therefore derive no direct benefits, in the way of revenue, from railway, although there are very great indirect benefits. But the Government control is not slack, in such cases, to protect public safety and public interests. A popular or democratic government can and does demand and sees that the railways conform to such laws and regulations as the public interests may require. In such cases, it is held that controlled private ownership of railways is better than uncontrolled state ownership. But in India it is neither private enterprise or ownership nor is the state ownership uncontrolled.

On the other hand, Germany and Belgium have stuck to state railways, and still hold the view that state railways are meant for development of indigenous industries and are a protection against invasion of foreign trade to swamp out country's manufactures by imports of foreign products.

In India, in the beginning, indigenous capital could not be found to build railways. Therefore, British-owned company lines were introduced, but the English capitalists demanded guarantee of minimum dividend and free land, and these were given. The Government felt the terms onerous and therefore made provisions for purchase of railways in the contracts with the companies. It was found that the guarantee of 5 per cent. minimum dividend took away incentive from the companies and led to extravagance in cost of construction and lack of interest to develop business. This was assigned to be one of the reasons why the state did not allow the companies to hold the railways up to the full lease of 99 years and railways were purchased by the Government after 25 or 50 years of lease.

But after purchase of railways the railways were again handed over to the companies, who then held nominal shares in the concerns, to be managed by them on behalf of the Government, and in order to create an incentive the rate of guaranteed interest was reduced from 5 to 3, or 3½ per cent., but a share of surplus profits was given.

Lord Lansdowne's Government was, however, very strong about Indian railways being owned, built and managed by direct agencies of state, but Lord Ripon's Government did not agree with this policy and reverted to the policy of continuing state ownership combined with management by lessee companies.

In the opinion of some, company management is said to have the following advantages :—

(1) There is the benefit of private enterprise and commercial management of railways, which combines with it healthy competition and efficiency.

(2) The company management is not influenced by politics.

(3) In India, it is said it is to the interest of companies to aim at efficiency to earn more money in order to gain a share of the surplus profits, because the lessee companies do not get on their share of capital a higher direct and fixed interest than 3½ per cent. and anything in excess has to be earned in the way of surplus profits, after payment of interest on Government share of the capital, annuities in redemption of capital, interest on annuities, etc. This share is bigger for the Government and much smaller for the company.

(4) The companies have the advantage of experienced and retired railway men from Indian railways to work as Directors on their Boards in London.

It is also claimed that company management would not be extravagant because of the management of each railway on the principle of commercial undertaking.

The whole question was thrashed out by the Acworth Committee and their report in five volumes (only four of which have however been made available to the public) contains a mass of interesting and useful literature in this connection.

In the first place, the majority group of the Committee of Enquiry did not find any difference between the management of Indian State Railways by direct state agency, and the management of state-owned railways by companies of English domicile so far as efficiency was concerned, and the Railway

Board themselves also admitted this in their evidence before the Committee. If there is any difference in the cost of operation of or in the earnings of the railways or in the working results it is mainly due to the situation of different railways and their varying traffic and other conditions. In some cases there is as much difference between two company-worked state lines (such as the E. I. Ry. and the G. I. P. Ry.) as between one state-worked state line and one company-worked state line. For instance, the cheap working expenses of say, the East Indian Railway (company-worked state line) or its enormous traffic are due to the favourable situation of the railway and to the traffic conditions of the railway as stated, in 1908, in the Imperial Gazetteer (the Indian Empire Series, Vol. III) in Chapter VII (which chapter again was written by the then Secretary to the Railway Board)

> " ...... it has been exceptionally well placed....The line passes through the richest and most populous districts of India, and serves many large and important cities. All the principal coal fields of India are situated on it, and for many years the only route to those lay over the East Indian Railway. As might have been expected under such circumstances the line has never lacked traffic......Its goods traffic is greater than of any other railway.......In construction of the line the physical difficulties to be overcome were the few large rivers; and out of the whole length of 2,225 miles, no more than 345 have gradients steeper than 1 in 300."

In speaking of the G. I. P. Ry. (another company-worked line) the same authority said :—

> "The Great Indian Peninsula Railway was very costly to construct and although so favourably situated it has in most years been worked at a loss to the Government. The loss however grows less every year. In 1904 it was 4½ lacs."

About the North Western State-Worked Railway we find the following observations in the same Imperial Gazetteer :—

> "It is now the longest railway under one administration in India...... It runs through the wheat granaries of India and populous cities and cantonments but it has been seriously handicapped by long stretches of strategic and semi-strategic lines."

In connection with the old Madras Railway Company the Secretary to the Railway Board said :—

> "at no period during its existence has the Madras Railway earned its interest charges during the full year...........Since the transfer of the East Coast State Railway to it its income has improved."

In regard to the Eastern Bengal State Railway it was observed, "The line passes through a populous and fertile country ....while the Eastern Bengal Railway was worked by company, under a guarantee, and for some years later it usually caused a loss to the state, but since 1887 it has always yielded surplus profits after paying all interest charges."

The B. B. &. C. I. Ry. is favourably situated and important state and Native State Railways and branches were made over to it for working, which added to the prosperity of the railway, but unfortunately, so far as the Government of India was concerned, during the period of contract of the old guaranteed company "the B. B. and C. I. Ry. Company-owned system was worked at a loss to the state......The loss was however always more than made good by the prospects of the Rajputana-Malwa Section," which latter section was state-constructed and owned but "was made over to the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company for working."

The above quotations speak for themselves, and certainly do not show the old guaranteed company management as advantageous.

The conclusions of the Acworth Railway Committee are well known.

The Committee was divided in its conclusions on the main issue of management of railways :

(1) The Chairman and four members, *viz.*, Mr. Hiley, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri, Mr. Purushottamdas Thakurdas, and Mr. Tuke declared in favour of state-management of state-owned Indian railways. This group may be called the majority group for it included the Chairman, amongst five.

(2) The other half or five, *viz.*, Sir Henry Burt, Sir George Godfrey, Sir Henry Ledgard, Sir R. N. Mukherjee, and Sir Arther Anderson, declared in favour of company management, with this modification that they recommended that in future the companies should not be English companies any longer but should be companies of Indian domicile with rupee-capital. For purposes of facilitating reference we may call this group of members as the minority group although the number was equal.

It is most essential to bring prominently to notice that the Companies at present working the Indian railways are not companies in the real sense of the word, in that they are not the owners of the property (at least not of the greatest part of it) and have no great financial responsibility in this sense that the money is provided for by the Government of India out of Budget grants, and the loans and debentures are raised on the security of and on the responsibility of the Secretary of State for India. Further even on the comparatively small holdings of the companies themselves, in the railways they manage, a minimum dividend is guaranteed by the Secretary of State. The Companies therefore really manage nationalised railways of ours on behalf of the Government, as lessees.

Thus the company-management of Indian railways is on a totally different footing to the company-management of English and American railways. In the case of the British or of the American railways the whole railway property, including the railway land, is the property of shareholders, whereas in the case of the Indian railways the ownership is that of the Indian Government, and therefore of the Indian tax-payers.

At the end of March 1921, whereas the Government responsibility for share of capital in our state railways was 482 crores that of the lessee companies was 75 crores or thereabouts. It was plainly admitted in the majority report of the Acworth Railway Committee "that it was with the money secured from Indian taxation that the Indian Railways have been almost entirely built." And the Railway Board also in their evidence said that "the greater portion of the Indian railway property was owned by the Indian tax-payers."

The Railway Board, however, said in their evidence, in supporting company management, that in democratic countries state-management would mean

(1) Enlargement of staff and enhancements of pay.

(2) Elastic method of dealing with railway rates, which is not conducive to the public interest.

These two arguments were the main supports of the Railway Board in advocating company management on commercial grounds, but the arguments do not at all seem applicable to Indian state railways as will be demonstrated presently in this paper.

Some also argue that there would be labour difficulties with state railways and frequent occurrences of strikes.

First, in regard to large salaries it may be observed that the salaries on Indian state-worked state railways were for many years far lower than the salaries on the company-worked state lines—when the Agents and the Heads of Departments on the state-worked state railways (like the N. W. Ry.) were getting something like Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,600 respectively, the persons holding similar appointments on the company-worked state railways were drawing Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively. It was only because of the latter drawing high salaries that the salaries of the former had to be raised.

The process of increasing the salaries on state-worked state railways started since 1903, when late Mr. T. Robertson, the first Special Railway Commissioner for Indian Railways, pointed out as follows in his report:—

> "As an example, the Manager of the North Western Railway who controls 3,750 miles of line, receives a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month. The

Managers of the State lines until recently only received Rs. 1,600 a month, and even now one draws Rs. 2,000 and one Rs. 1,800. The Agents of the neighbouring company-worked lines receive Rs. 3,000 a month for managing railways nearly 1,000 miles shorter. Similarly, the Chief Traffic Officer of the North Western Railway receives Rs. 1,600 a month and of the other state-worked railways only Rs. 1,350 whereas those of the company-worked railways receive higher than Rs. 2,000."

It will also be seen that it was because of the company railways officers drawing high salaries that Mr. Robertson the Special Railway Commissioner, made the following recommendations:

> "The scales of pay on state railways for Agents, heads of Departments and others should be brought more into line with those prevailing on the neighbouring Company-worked railways."

This is how the salaries came to be first raised on Indian state-worked state railways. And when the salaries on state railways had been raised nearly to the same level as the salaries drawn on company-worked lines, there came fresh increases on the company-worked lines, whose Agents began to draw Rs. 3,500 and the General Traffic Managers and the other Heads of Departments Rs. 2,500 and salaries on state railways were also raised. But these salaries have now been again raised to Rs. 4,000 and Rs. 2,750 respectively, in some cases. The above facts prove that the high salaries are due to company management and not state management.

Secondly, it is claimed that the company lines employed the most efficient staff to be found. This is not disputed, and it is but natural that this should be so, but the state railway officials must have been equally efficient because hitherto the Agents of the company-worked lines have and had been largely recruited from amongst Government officials, such as, Col. Bisset, Col. Oliver and Col. Shelly—all sometime Agents of the B. B. and C. I. Ry. The present incumbent General Sir Freeland was also a Government Railway official. The G. I. P. Ry. also got its past Agent Major Hepper and the present Agent, Mr. McLean, from the same source, *viz.*, state railways. Col. Gardiner, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Marshall, three of the E. I. Ry. Agents, out of the past 6 agents, were likewise Government officials. Sir T. R. Wynne and Mr. Manson, former Agents of the B. N. Ry. had their training and experience in Government Railway service,—Col. Magniac, the present Agent of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, Col. Izat, Agent of the B. and N. W. Ry., as well as Mr. Priestly, one of the late Agents of the S. I. Ry. were state railway officials, and Mr. Muirhead, one of the best General Traffic Managers of India and also late Agent of the S. I. Ry. was formerly Traffic Superintendent on the O. and R. State Railway before he became Traffic Manager on the S. M. Ry. and then General Traffic Manager of the G. I. P. Ry. and subsequently Agent of the South Indian Railway. Similarly some of the most successful of the Managing Directors and Chairmen of the several Indian Railway Companies on their Boards in England were Government men like General Sir Richard Strachey *and* Sir Federick Upcott, Col. Gardiner, and Sir David Barbour, the past and present Chairmen of the E. I. Ry., Sir T. R. Wynne and Mr. Manson, the present and the past Managing Directors of the B. N. Ry., Mr. Priestly, late Managing Director of the S. I. Ry., Sir Henry Burt, the present Chairman of the B. and N. W. Ry. and R. and K. Rys. Col. Bisset and Major Shelly, Chairmen of the B. B. and C. I. Ry. and Col. Constable, Chairman of the Madras Railway, were all State Railway officials.

There have been two very recent and pointed instances in this connection, *viz.*, the cases of Mr. McLean and Mr. Alexander, the present Agent of the G. I. P. Ry. Company and the Chief Engineer of the B. N. Ry. Company, respectively. They were but Executive Engineers in State Railway Service, say 4½ and 2 years ago. These two men were brought from Government service on company lines, superseding many senior men of the railways to which they were brought, thus proving conclusively that state railways also employ equally efficient staff.

Thirdly, as regards the argument that state working would involve frequent changes in the administrative staff. This may be so; but some of the principal company lines have not been free from such changes. It may be pointed out that within the last four years, there have been three changes in the permanent (not-officiating) Agency of the E. I. Ry. in the persons of Mr. Marshall, Mr. Hindley and Mr. Colvin, who successively became Agents since the retirement of Sir Robert Highet, which took place towards the end of 1918.

Fourthly, as to labour troubles on Indian railways, we see that the railway strikes originated with the company lines; the first railway strike in India was amongst the European running staff on the G. I. P. Ry. Co.'s line, 25 or 26 years ago. The second strike was also on the G. I. P. Ry. among the Indian Traffic Station Staff 23 or 24 years ago (1899). The third strike was on the East Indian Railway (also company-worked line) amongst their European running staff. The fourth strike was also on the East Indian Railway, when the Indian traffic line staff stopped work. The fifth strike was also on the East Indian Railway, when the railway working was paralysed owing to the guards and drivers (European) stopping work and going on strike, and trains and passengers were held up for days at Asansol. Before these strikes on company lines there had not been serious strikes on Indian state-worked state railways. Of course, there have been strikes on both state and company-worked state railways since, but even referring to the recent history of strikes it is seen that the most serious recent strikes on Indian railways were those on the E. I. Ry., and on the A. B. Ry.,—both company-worked lines—and these strikes lasted for long periods. So that it can hardly be said that company management would mean less labour troubles or less wages. In India, there are more labour troubles in company-managed and company-owned mills and factories than anywhere else. With the progress of industrialism in India these evils will have to be faced until labour realises the full value of capital to them and to the country.

Fifthly, as to the apprehension that state-management would lead to more elastic methods of rate-making, this argument is neither clearly understood nor has it been fully explained.

So far as the management of Indian railways in regard to rates policy is concerned, the Government of India is required to give its decision regarding the principles to be followed in this matter. The Government have dictated and laid down the policy in the past, and they specified that railway rates-making should be done on commercial principles in the interest of each line. The Government will have to decide whether any change in the present (or, rather the past) policy is needed. Each railway, whether company-worked or state-worked, was allowed in the past to manipulate its rates in its own interests and even against the interests of other railways, in the matter of competition, if such an action was needed in the self-interest of any particular railway. One interesting illustration of such a policy is to be found in the remarks of one of the managers of the Indian railways at a meeting in the Railway Board Office in the autumn of 1905. His recommendation was that the re-adjustment of rates should take place on the actual competitive basis, *i.e.*, the difference that would be reached if railways did their best for themselves and worst for their rivals, or in other words, if they quoted the lowest rates to the port or by the route that gave them the longest lead and the highest possible rates to the junction of railways serving ports which gave them short hauls. This suggestion was accepted in settling the Indian Railway rates war of 1905. So that so long as it is held that Indian railways should be run as commercial concerns, pure and simple, and managed in the individual interest of each railway it would make no difference, whether the railways are state-managed or company-managed.

But even in the system of rates-making on a commercial basis there is always room for discrimination in favour of traffic that would help the permanent advancement of the country and the ultimate good of the railways. Such discriminations are not really opposed to the interests of the railways or of the Government. For any concession granted for the real development of Indian industries or the internal trade must mean ultimately a direct addition to the revenues of the Indian railways, and also an increase in the Government resources in the shape of more income and super-taxes, resulting from the increase in the tax-bearing capacity of our industries and increase in the general prosperity of the country. And the concession rates granted to Tata's Iron-works is an example of this kind. And again, both the Railway revenue and the revenue from various sources of taxation go to the same public treasury. It may be that the adoption of the policy of developing our industries through railways may in a few cases mean only a temporary loss of revenue, yet the increase in prosperity that would ultimately be secured, would inevitably mean more economical working of our railways and higher net gains of the railways as a whole, for the running of wagons to the ports simply with raw materials, meaning a considerable amount of return empty running of wagons is less economical than the running of wagons to mills and factories with raw materials and fuel and the returning of these wagons loaded with the finished goods and the bye-products. *But in any case a railway could never be expected or required to quote non-paying rates.* And this could never be demanded so long as it is recognised that the Indian state railways should be used for earning money for the public treasury. This is the avowed object of Indian state railways at present.

Moreover, the present system of fixing a minimum rate and a maximum rate by the Government will and must continue.

At the same time, the need for elasticity has been felt in the matter of through rates and such elasticity will be insisted upon whether the Indian state railways are company-managed or otherwise; the only difference is that state management will be distinctly advantageous in this respect as it would be in the matter of interchange, standardization and pooling of rolling stock and in connection with expenditure on one or two railways in extended and better yards and to facilitate work on those as well as on other railways. In this connection I would also invite attention to my new publication, Indian Railway Economics (Transport Series), Part II.

The need for application of low scale rates on through distances over two or more railways may be taken as a case in point. The non-application of through sliding and telescopic scales of rates over two or more railways is due entirely to the principle of each railway being worked in its own individual interest and to the share of the companies in the surplus profits. It is however wrong to suppose that there would be loss to Railways because of application of low scales of rates on through distances for development of through long distance internal traffic of India, for such development can only lead to more revenue, especially if rates are so manipulated as not to decrease earnings on traffic at present existing but reductions are only made for distances where the traffic does not move at present and as a 'rates expert' I say that this can be attained in actual practice. I had worked this out for the Railway Board in 1917-18. So far back as 1903, Mr. Robertson, Special Railway Commissioner for India, unequivocally expressed his view in favour of the application of through scale rates. "On through traffic," he observed, "that is, traffic going over more than one company's line, all fares and rates should be calculated on the through distance (this is really expected by the Railways Act, but in practice is rarely done), and, the reduction should always be applied on the entire distance and not merely on the local distance of each railway. It is the practice that prevails in India of calculating rates on the distance to the junction only, which is to some extent responsible for a good many of high rates now obtaining, since the traffic only gets the benefit of sliding scales of rates on the local distance to the junctions, instead of on the whole distance that the traffic is carried. But if the long-distance traffic is to be developed in the manner that such traffic has been developed in America, the distance must be taken from the station of origin to the station of destination, and the charges calculated on this through distance at the reduced rate." These were Mr. Robertson's own remarks. It may be interesting in this connection to point out that even in 1891, it was accepted by the Government and the East Indian Railway that there was justification for the concession to the public of lower rates over great distances and for large quantities, *and it was found that in the aggregate such rates were sufficiently remunerative.* But it was held that in cases where one company sent large quantities of traffic to a foreign line and for a long lead over that company's railway, it was a loss to the railway on which the traffic originated to accept low rates per mile for short distances, and this is why the matter was dropped, but the Government reserved to itself the right to impose the condition of applying the scales on through distances any time it liked, but this has never been done although justification for its being done was accepted.

The latter portion of the above remark is important because quotation of low rates on through distances cannot mean any loss to the Government, who are the principal owners of the trunk railways, as such rates are accepted to be remunerative in the aggregate on the total distance, and the Government being owners of all railways it does not matter to the Government whether one railway or the other gets more or less so long as on the whole there is no loss but an improvement. But as the interest of each individual railway (however small that interest may be) has got to be taken into account in each company-worked railway, the public have been debarred from getting the benefit of low rates for through distances, especially in connection with internal traffic and this is clear from a circular issued by the Government in 1891. In cases like this, elasticity would be asked for whether railways are state-managed or company-managed, particularly as the application of through scale rates on through distances would develop internal traffic in India for long distances and go to increase railway earnings on the whole and in the long run. In the United States it is held that the aim of the railways should be to pay more attention to the internal trade as the prosperity of inhabitants is secured more by internal trade than by external trade especially where the agricultural and numeral resources are great.

But this elasticity will not be easily attained unless there is state management of all trunk lines and absence of individual interests of companies in matters like this at least.

Sixthly, the working of state railways by companies affords some cases of clash of interests between the Government as owner of the railways and the companies as their managers. One interesting example of such a conflict of interest is to be found in the report of the Acworth Railway Committee in connection with the railway surtax. As the Committee pointed out, the surtax meant that the whole money went to the Government, instead of a share of it going to the working companies. The Committee said as follows :—" there is a further and serious objection to imposing a surtax on railway receipts instead of increasing railway charges, which is peculiar to India—that it is unfair to the shareholders of the companies which divide profits with the Government. Had the railway rates been raised, the Government would have taken, in the case of the guaranteed companies, about nine-tenths of the additional net revenue. But the shareholders would have obtained what they are unquestionably entitled to the remaining tenth. As it is, the Government takes the whole." These remarks are absolutely fair and so long as the companies and their contracts remain they must get their share but this shows conflict of interests between the Government and the companies and the interests of the Government in such matters is the interest of the people of the country as well.

The method of division of surplus profits and the allocation of expenses between Capital and Revenue afford another such example of conflict between interests of the Government and of companies. These surplus profits are divided with the companies after all charges on account of interest and annuity payments are met. As is well known all heavy renewals such as replacements of rails, are charged to capital expenditure. Under the present system, when new rails are required, not because the old rails are worn out, but because heavier section rails are needed to haul heavier traffic with heavier engines, to meet the increasing open line railway business, the difference between the cost of the new rails and the purchase price of the old ones is debited to the capital account. In the case of such replacements, however, the correct procedure should be to debit a part of the cost of the new rails to the Revenue Account and to credit the same with the proportionate sum, realised by the sale of the old rails. The reason for such a procedure is to be found in the fact that the replacement charge does not constitute expenditure on new construction, but is an expenditure for the purpose of meeting increased and increasing business, which again means more revenue to the existing open lines and the companies benefit by the increased revenue in the way of surplus profits without having to find money for the extra facility, for which money is found by the Government.

Seventhly, in connection with the evidence before the Acworth Committee urging for the necessity of having commercial and company management for attracting more capital, a portion of the evidence of the Railway Board may be quoted in this connection. The Railway Board said as follows :—

> "......... At the present time, the need for more capital is so clamant that it is a matter of the first importance to show good commercial results, as otherwise the necessary capital will not be forthcoming,"

and these remarks came in the letter of explanation of the Railway Board, which they tendered to the Railway Committee giving reasons for supporting company management in their written evidence.

But as a matter of fact, however, the raising of money does not actually depend upon the prosperity of a particular railway. For when a loan has to be raised, a fixed rate of interest is paid, and that rate is based not on the earning power of the railway concerned, but on the market rate of interest prevailing at the time. The same rate would thus have to be paid on a loan, part of which may be spent on the E. I. Railway, a good paying line, and part on the A. B. Railway, a non-paying line.

So far as debentures are concerned, although, in the past, these were issued by particular railway companies, on the guarantee of the Secretary of State, the whole money had to be handed over to the Secretary of State and the money raised on the debentures of one railway could be spent on another. Of course, this is not to be the case in future, but nevertheless the raising of money on debentures will depend on the rate of interest offered and on the guarantee of the Secretary of State. No loan or debenture has been so far successful without the guarantee of the Secretary of State even if the prospects are good.

Moreover, both efficiency and commercial management of the Indian railways are not confined to company-worked lines. The state-worked state railways are run on commercial principles to earn money for the public treasury combined with efficiency both for service and for earnings.

In the case of loans, besides the loans being raised at the market rate of interest, there is the guarantee of the Secretary of State. Likewise the Indian railway debentures are not like ordinary debentures, which are practically deeds of mortgage given by a railway or other big companies for borrowed money. In the case of Indian Railway debentures, no mortgage of railways is involved. Consequently the good or bad financial results of a particular railway, in respect of which the debentures are issued, does not concern the debenture-holders. These latter rely absolutely on the guarantee and security of the Secretary of State, or in other words, if any mortgage may be said to be involved, it is the mortgage of India's resources as a whole.

In the case of branch lines too, the money is raised on the security of the Secretary of State and a guarantee of 6% minimum dividend is to be given by them in future. Further, in the case of new branch lines, interest at the rate of 5% has been agreed to by the Government of India to be paid to investors even during construction, such money as is in excess of 4%, during the construction period, is to be advanced by the Government of India till it can be realised when the railway is earning money.

Thus it is abundantly clear that the raising of funds for Indian Railways does not depend on the commercial results of a particular railway in respect of which the funds are to be raised. The success or otherwise of the railway loans or the raising of railway capital for Indian Railways is always due to the rates of interest that is paid, the condition of the money market, and above all to the guarantee of the Secretary of State.

Eighthly, to deal with the proposal of replacing English lessee companies by Indian lessee companies.—In regard to the railway companies of Indian domicile, this was originally proposed by the Raiway Board and then by the Minority Group of the Acworth Committee, but it is to be observed that it is neither intended nor suggested that these companies should take over, by cash payment to the Government, a very large share of the financial stake in the East Indian or the G. I. P. Railway (say at least half the capital in each) and thus become equal partners with the Government. It is only when company's share is sufficiently large, *i.e.*, at least half, that the suggestion regarding nomination of half the directors by the company may be accepted as reasonable but certainly not otherwise.

In connection with the proposed Indian Railway companies one can do no better than quote the following from the majority report of the Acworth Committee:

"An Indian Company would be a new creation, operating under a new contract. What would be conditions on which these new companies would be established? What would be their constitution? What would be the nature of their contracts? Our colleagues propose that a new company should be constituted to manage the East Indian Railway, the bulk of its capital being issued to the Government; that it shall at the outset have a comparatively small amount of privately subscribed capital, say five crores of rupees; and that fresh private capital shall be subscribed year by year as new money is required for the improvement and development of the undertaking, a figure which was put to us by the Agent of the Railway, as probably amounting to about five crores per annum. At this rate after five years the share of the capital held by private investors in the new company would be Twenty-one crores of rupees. The East Indian as capitalised at present has in round figures a capital of Rupees Eighty crores. At the end of five years, therefore, supposing the capital invested by the Government has not been increased, the company's investment would amount to only one-fifth of the total we fail to see why the Government should delegate any substantial responsibility to a body representing so small a share of the total capital at stake. We know of no company in which 80% of the shareholders depute their rights to the remaining 20% when as at the outset the new company's interest is less than $\frac{1}{16}$, the proposition seems still more courageous. If the Government were to recapitalise its interest in the net revenue of this very profitable undertaking on, say, a 6% basis, the proportionate interest of the new shareholders in the company would be very much less."

If a really fair distribution of capital is taken and the E. I. Railway is valued at the present rate of construction its value would be at least double or say 160 crores and thus the respective shares of the Government and of the company would be 160 crores of the Government and 20 crores of the company or say 90 and 10 per cents respectively. Sir Thomas Catto speaking at the half-yearly General Meeting of the Bengal Coal Company on 21st December, 1922, said that if he were to choose between the so-called company management of Indian Railways and the state management he would choose the latter.

If, however, a company with at least half the interest in a railway property at its present rate of construction and value including half the cost of the land, and also if in the matter of further capital expenditure half the funds required for renewals, improvements, etc., were provided for by the company it could then be said that the interests of the railway and of the Government (therefore of the public) would be alike. Also in the case of a property like that of the East Indian Railway, it should not be necessary to give a guarantee of dividend at all and then only there would be a real incentive on the part of the managing companies to economise and to increase revenue. If all these conditions were fulfilled it could then have been claimed that the country would get the real benefit of private enterprise and incentive and initiative of company management in the matter of economy, improvements and extended facilities but not otherwise. This is what Sir Thomas Catto also asks for. But these conditions cannot be expected to be fulfilled for a variety of reasons. In the first place, it would not be possible, at the present moment, to get within the country money to the extent of half the capital of railways like the E. I. R. or the G. I. P. Railway and with Indian companies it is really intended that money should be raised in the country, that is, it should not be imported capital and thus be 'rupee capital' onlyin name. Secondly, with the object in view that the Railways must contribute to the public treasury so as to be great and substantial assets to the Government in the long run (when all the debts and liabilities are cleared off) it would not be advisable on the part of the Government to part with the property in railways at the present stage, after so much money has been spent and heavy losses borne for them by the tax-payers. Therefore, it seems hardly necessary that the company element should be re-introduced for purposes of management especially when it has not been at all proved that state railway management in India is less efficient than company management.

Even if the taking over of the management of G. I. P. and E. I. Railways by the state agency would involve the addition of two extra Commissioners, an extra inspector, an extra assistant Secretary and half a dozen more assistants for the Railway Department, Government of India, over and above what the reorganization proposed by the Acworth Committee demands, as well as appointments of one or two extra officers in the store purchasing Department in London, state management would still be less expensive than the cost of maintenance of separate Boards of Directors and for each of these Railways and the payment of a share of surplus profits. Moreover, above all, under state management the disadvantage of dual control by the Railway Board and by the Company Board would disappear.

Ninthly, and above all in connection with the efficiency of management it has been declared that there is little to choose between the company-managed State lines and the State-managed State lines. In this connection, the majority group of the Acworth Committee observe as follows:

"Para. 230"........."We have found quite as much zeal for improvement, quite as much readiness to adopt new methods, on State Railways as on the Company lines. This conclusion is identical with that reported in the Government of India's Despatch No. 18, Railway, of the 17th August, 1917, to the Secretary of State which stated their 'unanimous view that so far as efficiency is concerned, there is really nothing to choose between a company managed line in this country and one under State management.' It is also identical with that of the present members of the Railway Board, whose considered opinion in a written statement which they submitted to us in Delhi is that 'Judging from the evidence of results and from our own experience in administration, there is no ground for supposing that either system of mangement is intrinsically superior to the other.' And this is what might naturally have been expected, for the methods of management of the two classes are substantially the same. The only important difference is that the agents of the companies have the assistance of expert and experienced Boards in England. And this expert assistance and experience our colleagues in the gentleman who subscribed to the railway report, agree it is advisable for them to forego." The remarks of the majority group of the Acworth Committee on the point of efficiency are quoted in full, and they are borne out by the evidence placed before it.

The minority group of the Acworth Committee in favouring the abandonment of the policy of managing railways through lessee companies domiciled in England and recommending their replacement by Indian Companies remarked as follows :—

> "We need not discuss further the arguments for and against the continuance of the London Boards. The weight of evidence in India rejects the present system of management by companies domiciled in England, and for the reasons stated in section I of this chapter, and notwithstanding the valuable services rendered by the companies in the past we are in agreement that that system should be changed, according as the several contracts can be determined."

In connection with these remarks the majority report says that if the minority report is prepared to abandon the London Boards, where the advantage of company management was that they had the services of retired experienced Railway officials from India, they fail to see the necessity for company management again.

Tenthly, the minority group in supporting Indian Company management further observed that—

> "Following on the quasi-independence of the companies, Government has deemed it advisable to endow the Agents of the State-operated lines with powers similar to those granted to the agents of the several companies with the result that the former has been free from that amount of petty control and interference from head-quarters to which they would undoubtedly have been subjected, had there been State working only in India."

These remarks, however, do not appear to be correct. On the other hand, it is proved that the extensive powers given by the Government to the managers of the State Railways were the real reasons for greater powers being given to companies and by companies to their agents.

According to the report of late Mr. Robertson (Sir T. Robertson afterwards), even the companies themselves were only given greater powers because the Government had given the State Railway managers far greater powers than the companies had been previously given, and this was clearly stated in the report of Mr. Robertson, who used the factor of great powers given to State Railway managers as the basis of his recommendation for more powers to be given to the companies.

Eleventhly, the minority report of the Acworth Committee supports company-management on grounds of better working results. In making comparsions between the working results of the State railways and of the company railways the minority group took the average of the averages of five railways managed by companies and compared them with the average of the average figures of three railways directly managed by State agency.

As has been already observed at the outset there is as much difference between two company lines as between a State line and a company line, and this has been very clearly and fully demonstrated.[1]

For a correct appreciation of the truth in the abovementioned statement, it is necessary to examine the following examples cited by the minority group of the Acworth Committee :—

Ton mileage for Engine (in 1000 miles).

If we take the three company worked lines E. I. R., B. N. R. and G. I. P. R. for comparison, we shall find that while the first shows the mileage per Engine at 13288 and the second shows it at 10819, the corresponding figure for the third one is only 8995. Thus the figure for the O. and R. Ry. which stands at 9537, when compared with say 10819 on the B. N. Ry. or 13288 on the E. I. R. is not at all unsatisfactory.

Average mileage run per Engine per Diem.

In this respect, while the G. I. P. Ry. (a company line) shows 59 miles per Engine, the O. and R. Ry. shows 58 and the E. B. Ry. shows 57 miles, so that there is no appreciable difference between the G.-I. P., O. and R., and E. B. Railways in this respect. But it is at the same time interesting to note that while the E. I. Railway, a coal despatching and company worked line, shows a mileage of 79, the B. N. Ry., another coal carrying and company worked line, shows a mileage of 69 *i. e.*, 10 miles per day less than the E. I. Railway. The comparison is interesting because both the lines are company worked and as such it cannot be regarded as a proof of low efficiency on the part of the B. N. Railway management; the difference is due to the traffic and other conditions, which differ on the two railways.

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[1] See pages 61 to 71 of a reprint of part I of my lectures on Indian Railway Economics; issued and published by the Calcutta University. The facts and figures given in these pages disprove any assertion that the difference in results is due to management by State or by companies.

Average mileage per wagon per annum of the same two company worked lines, the E. I. Ry. and the B. N. Ry; the former shows 23007 miles while the latter shows only 13619. Compared with this big difference, the difference between the G. I. P. Ry. figure (14392), the N. W. Ry. figure (12772) and the E. B. S. Ry. figure (12659) is significantly small. (For there can be no comparison between the E. I. Railway, with its exceptional conditions, and the other lines).

Average weight of Goods Trains.

So far as freight weight is concerned the State lines are on a better footing than company worked lines, such as, the B. B. and C. I. Railway and the G. I. P. Railway. The actual figures are :—

for the E. I. Ry.	326	Tons
for the B. N. Ry.	313	„
for the G. I. P. Ry.	248	„
for the B. B. and C. I. ...	279	„
for the N. W. Ry. (State) ...	307	„
for the. O. and R. Ry. (State) ...	296	„

These differences, it must be explained, were due not to the inherent superiority of the State or company working, but to the different traffic conditions and different circumstances of working which prevail. For instance, although the E. I. Ry. and the B. N. Ry. are both coal carying lines, yet the E. I. Ry. passes through a more prosperous tracts and has heavy traffic in other goods which the B. N. Ry. have not got. It is this which really explains the difference between the freight weights of the two railways which are both company managed.

On the other hand, both the G. I. P. and the N. W. Railways have to work under certain disadvantages, for while the former has to pass through a number of Steep grades, the latter includes a large number of strategic and semi-strategic lines.

The O. & R. Railway, for instance, has to give up its traffic at the nearest junction, *viz.*, the Bombay traffic mainly at Cawnpore, or Barielly, the Kurachee traffic at Saharanpur, the Calcutta traffic at Maghalsarai, because of its position as a feeder to all the important railways of Northern India. The result is that for almost the entire traffic the O. &. R. Railway can get but short leads. On the other hand, the E. B. Railway is hampered by break of gauges and the intervention of big rivers between its own systems, and by a large volume of light load traffic in Jute, which does not help good wagon loads and economic working. But during 1920-21 the O. and R. Railway did remarkably well and its working results were amongst the best in most respects.

This brief survey enables us to realise that there is substantial difference in traffic and working conditions amongst different railways and it is this difference and not the quality of the State or Company management which accounts for the divergent results in the working of different railways. And this has now been also admitted in Railway

Boards Administration Report for 1920-21 (*vide* Chapter IV, para. 6, page 23).

It may be argued that if the E. I. R. and the B. N. R. have a heavy traffic in coal, the N. W. Ry. passing as it does through the "granaries of India" carry a big traffic in grain. But it is necessary to remember that grain trains are formed out of wagons distributed and picked up loaded from a very large number of stations over a system extending over hundreds of miles. It is true that the coal carrying lines too have to distribute and pick up wagons from several collieries, and that this operation is most difficult, but still the latter operation is confined to a much smaller area, where the traffic is concentrated.

But in spite of all the conditions described above, it is to be noted that on the N. W. Ry. (State), the percentage of freight upon capacity hauled was nearly 50%. The corresponding figure for O. and R. Ry. was 53% whereas that for the E. I. Ry. it was 45%, for the B. B. & C. I. Ry. 43%, M. S. M. Ry. 49%. As has been previously stated, this difference too is due to local conditions and not to the inefficiency of Company management.

The averages for five Company lines taken together and three State lines taken together were as follows: and on such figures the minority group of the Acworth Committee drew their conclusions as to efficiency of Company management over State management but this was not fair.

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
Company-worked lines ...	286	359	645
State-worked lines ...	274	389	663

Here the State lines are shown at a disadvantage so far as freight weight is concerned. But the actual state of things is, however, very different, for if we take individual railways, quite a different result is seen :—

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
B. B. & C. I. Ry. (Company) ...	279·84	386·21	666·05
	42%	58%	...
O. & R. Ry. (State)	296·72	355·92	652·64
	45%	55%	...

Here the O. & R. Ry. (State line) is at an advantage; it had a better freight weight.

Taking another example, we find that the figures for the E. I. Railway and the N. W. Railway compared as follows:—

	Freight weight	Dead weight	Total weight
N. W. Ry. (State)	307·89	365·48	673·37
E. I. Ry. (Company)	326·87	426·75	753·62

Thus the percentage of freight weight to total weight was 45 per cent. on the N. W. Railway and only 43 per cent. on the E. I. Railway. Therefore the State Railway results were better and not worse. All the foregoing figures have been taken from the Acworth Committee Report. The working results were in all cases due to the traffic and working conditions of each railway and not to efficiency or inefficiency of the kind of management.

To summarise, again, the main arguments put forward in favour of Company management are—

(1) that private enterprise means efficiency, because of the commercial working of railways;

(2) that Company management, by showing good commercial results would further help to attract more money for Indian railways.

But the facts and figures given in this paper show—

(*a*) that there is no real private enterprise in the real sense of the term, because there is no risk, and very little financial responsibility on the part of the lessee companies;

(*b*) that the money for our railways is not attracted by the commercial working or the financial results of each railway, but by the guarantee of the Secretary of State which implies the security of the Government of India's resources;

(*c*) that state management has in the past shewn equal working and results under equal conditions with Company lines;

(*d*) that, as regards efficiency, there is no difference between the management of state lines by companies or by direct State Agency;

(*e*) and, that there would be as much control and elasticity in the matter of rates over State-worked State Railways as over company-worked State Railways;

(*f*) further that the emoluments and the staff are not more on State Railways than on company-worked State Railways.

By these remarks it is never for a moment implied that the railway companies have not done their duty in the past. On the contrary, they have played a very important part in the history of India and of the Indian Railways, but even the minority report of the Acworth Committee does not support company management, as it stands, as suitable. At least it does not make an attempt to defend it. Further the alternative of Indian Company management suggested by the minority is not accepted by the majority report for reasons fully given by them, which has already been reproduced and discussed in this paper. It is very truly suggested by the majority report that there is no other instance than of Indian Railways where $\frac{4}{5}$ partner of a concern hands over its property to the $\frac{1}{5}$ partner for management.

The sole object of our railways and of their management should be to serve the interests of the country. It has not been proved that the State-worked State Railways of India do not serve such interests in the same way as the Company-worked State lines do, and there is no reason why nationalised railways should not be managed by the state, that is, by the owners. In every other part of the world the owners manage the railways; where the Companies own the lines they manage them and where the state owns the railways they are managed by the state. It is, therefore, only right that the same policy should be adopted in India, *i.e.*, the state should manage the railways it owns. That ought to come in the natural course of events. Also it should not be omitted to be mentioned that state railways can be worked in three ways:—

(1) either to obtain revenue for the public treasury from the profits,

(2) or to make expenses and to create public works out of railway revenue,

(3) or to render maximum of public service, through railways; irrespective of profits.

For the present, and until the finances of the Government are not sound, the Indian Railways should be worked to earn revenue from profits; this does not, however, preclude the railways from rendering service, but this service cannot yet be rendered except at a profit to the railways.

To revert once more to the question of railway rates in view of certain statements made that the Indian public would demand non-paying rates wholesale: This is wrong—such a thing cannot be accepted—what had really been complained of in the past was unduly low rates for port traffic at one time—and further in connection with the rates making policy of the railways in the past (*viz.*, of say 1899-1905), taking whole of India together, was detrimental to the interests of the Government, in some cases, owing to the individual interests of each railway being considered paramount.

Take, for instance, the case of competition that was started in 1905 to have a trial of strength between railways, at the sacrifice of Government revenue, with no eventual results in increasing railway earnings. There were similar severe and wasteful competitions in 1901-02 in Northern India, and in 1898-1900 in Southern India. If, say in 1905, the rates had been reduced to increase total traffic or to increase the revenue generally it would have been a different matter. But no, the object was to divert traffic from one railway by another and to divert it from one port to another. For instance, the wheat rates for Calcutta were brought down to the minimum on the length Cawnpur to Delhi on the E. I. Ry. and also reduced for many stations lower down, and similar reductions were also given effect to on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway and rates for Bombay and Kurachee also came down. These reductions did not increase the total traffic; the whole object was to divert the existing traffic from the Bombay lines and the Bombay port to the Calcutta port. That the reduced railway rates for wheat to the ports did not and could not have affected the price, at the consuming market, of Indian wheat and thereby increased its consumption was clear from the following remarks in the report of the Enquiry of Rise of Prices in India.

"* * * The Indian wheat is ordinarily inferior to the wheat grown in Russia, the United States, Argentine and the other great wheat exporting countries of the world. It does not actually compete with the wheat of these countries but is required from India only to supplement deficiencies. Apart, therefore from internal conditions affecting the supply, the exports are subject to violent fluctuations arising out of variations in the supply in other countries. In one year, the demand will be very large, and, even if the Indian harvest is abundant, prices will rise: in the following year, the foreign demand may be largely reduced owing to abundant supplies from Russia, the United States, and other exporting countries, and, even if the harvest in India be deficient, prices might fall."

Thus the reductions were quite unnecessary from the point of view of reducing the price of Indian wheat in the consuming market for purposes of increasing supplies of Indian wheat and the reductions meant throwing away revenue.

Similarly, the rates for sugar from the ports to the interior were reduced while such traffic could easily have borne high rates (*vide* pages 229 and 230 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates). There was ample profit to the seller without a reduction.

Moreover, the railway rates for raw hides for export practically amounted to subsidy paid by the Indian Government to foreign manufacturers, and the Imperial railway revenue was sacrificed simply to divert traffic from one port to another, and to subsidise the Hansa Line Steamer Company running from Calcutta against the Ellerman Line Steamers running from Karachee (*vide* pages 452 to 455 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates), I state these facts with first hand knowledge and, at the same time, I do not disclaim or lessen my share of the responsibility in these matters because I had a great deal to do in these matters. I freely admit that no one was more jealous of securing the best interests of and most traffic to the railway company (I worked with) than I was, but that was part of my business as servant of the particular company, irrespective of the results to the total revenues of Indian Railways and to other companies.

If the railway companies were playing such an expensive game with shareholders' money, *i.e.*, with the money of the private individuals, who provided the funds for railways, it would not have mattered so much, but they were entering into wasteful competition with Government revenue. In such cases, a change in the policy can certainly and rightly be demanded. Further, the low import rates for sugar and raw hides were directly and admittedly opposed to the interests of the Indian sugar and leather tanning industries.

Before I conclude my remarks on the report of the Acworth Railway Committee, I beg leave to say a few words on the question of financing of future railway construction in India.

In connection with the branch lines, the Acworth Railway Committee have very rightly observed that if development of branch railways in India is to take place through a very large number of small companies it must mean confusion, and when extensions are required in broader interests the existing smaller interests would be a great hindrance to the former. But in spite of all these difficulties both the Acworth Railway Committee and the Indian Railway Finance Committee, that was formed to consider the recommendations of the Acworth Committee on its financial aspect, gave their opinion that preferably the State should construct such lines but that if for want of funds this could not be done companies of Indian domicile should undertake such railways, and the latter alternative suggestion is already being acted upon by the Government.

In regard to branch lines, they should be confined to such ones as are purely local in their nature, and would not come in the way of real extensions to trunk lines. A broad line can always be drawn between short branches and feeders on the one side and real extensions of main lines on the other. If at all companies are to be introduced in making branches, care is necessary to be taken to see that they are real feeders and local lines and, if possible, they should be given to main lines for working, for that would be less expensive than separate management requiring separate administrative and executive staff for such branches. Then there is another feature, *viz.*, in majority of the cases such branches are managed by managing agents, instead of by Boards, through a Chairman and a Managing Director. The system of managing agents is peculiar to India. And in all cases the interests of the Railway Company and those of the managing agents may not be the same. In the first place, the managing agents get commission on the purchase of stores and materials, which, in some cases, did not include the fees for inspection, etc., carried out by the Consulting Engineers, who had to be paid separately; a commission on total value is not an inducement to reduce prices. Secondly, such managing agents may be, and are actually, also owners of or managing agents for collieries or agents of companies manufacturing railway materials. In such cases, the tendency may be for the managing agents to give preference to fuel and materials of the concerns, in which they are interested, instead of a purely competitive basis in the best interests of the Railway. This temptation should be entirely avoided. Further, the branch lines, in fact any railway lines to be made, would require a minimum guarantee of 6 p.c. dividend for a certain number of years and 5 per cent. afterwards and in some cases this may require to be made good by the Government for sometime to come. While, however, there may be some excuse for small feeder or branch lines or light railways to be made by companies, there is no such excuse in regard to real extensions to trunk lines.

The working of railways that have already been acquired should be taken over by the state but in regard to railways, that have not yet been acquired, and in respect of which the Government do not give guarantee of interest, such as the Bengal and North Western Railway, it may not be advisable to take them over yet (*i.e.*, to acquire them under present conditions of finance). But it is most essential that the future policy of the Government in regard to new railways should be so regulated as to be most advantageous and favourable to the Government and to the country in the long run, and the past experience ought to be a very good guide in this respect.

In the near future, besides several branch lines, there are some trunk line extensions to be made, such as a railway from the coal fields in Bengal or Behar to say Katni or Jubbulpur (*e.g.*, Dultangunge to Katni or Jubbulpur, or from Bermo to Anuppur, or from Purulia to Katni or from Gomoh to Katni) tapping also the Central India and the Central Provinces hitherto unexplored coal fields. Such railways ought, under all circumstances, be made by the Government and not by companies of either Indian or British domicile, or even by companies that may be called purely Indian.

The main argument in favour of such big and important extensions being given to companies may be that such a procedure would relieve the Government of India Budget in the beginning.

As the late Mr. Gokhale very rightly observed, on more than one occasion, in his Budget speeches "Railways and irrigation are productive works and ought to be made out of borrowings."

We already know that a share of the National Debt of India was and is raised in England for construction of railways and irrigation works, but as far as possible the National Debt should be raised in India because India must discharge her obligations by the export of food grains, raw materials and manufactures which must mean that there would be less net gain to the country out of her exports so long as her payments on account of obligations outside India are heavy. If there were no obligations to be discharged the full value of our exports would come to India minus only the value of imports. Therefore, as far as possible money should be raised in the country, so that India's exports would bring bigger net gains and her National Debt would benefit the sons of the country in the way of interest paid on such debts. From the Railway Board's Administration Report for 1920-21 it would appear that payment on account of interest on debt incurred by the Government on account of railways and on capital contributed by companies on State railways, was, during past few years, from 13·88 crores of rupees to 16·36 crores of rupees each year, but it is not shewn how much out of this money was paid in England and how much in India.

In any case, the National Debt should be incurred in the country as far as practicable. In the latter case the loans might be for longer periods, and then gradually paid off out of the earnings of new railways, for which loans are incurred.

Now, let us examine and see whether for trunk line extensions or even for branch lines of importance, direct loans by the Government to finance such railways or the raising of money through companies of Indian domicile is advantageous in the long run.

The recommendation that in future companies of Indian domicile should be introduced for making and managing big railways recognises, at least in theory, that money should be found for such companies in the country, although in practice it may be that a part of this money would be imported from England and invested in India as 'rupee capital.'

Now, in the case of companies, whether of Indian or of English domicile, the money will certainly, in the first instance, be found by companies, that is, not by the Government, but India having, from the very origin of railways in the country, guaranteed minimum dividends on capital it will have to do so in the future for this is now the "dustoor," *i.e.*, the recognised practice. That money raised on guarantee of dividend is the most expensive system of railway financing has been recognised by economists throughout the world, but unfortunately for India, the Government have not been able to do away with it. And the rate of interest to be guaranteed in future will not be less than 6 per cent. or 5 per cent. at the lowest. The extensions to trunk lines, say for instance, from Gomoh to Katni, if allowed to be made by a company, may be required by such company to be run by itself, whereas if made by the Government it can easily be included in either the East Indian or the Bengal Nagpur Railway systems, and thus save the expense of separate administration. This will be in the right order of things because besides developing a new area such a railway will throw open a new and additional route for traffic from the existing coal fields in Bengal and Behar to the Central and Western India, but if such a line belongs to a company some portion of the traffic, on which revenue is now earned by the Government-owned railways, will be transferred to the Company and this will be a distinct loss. The Government will have to do this from the very first for making the new railway a paying one. If an Indian company can raise funds in India on Government guarantee there is no reason why such funds cannot be raised direct by the Government and thus save

(1) probably the payment of guaranteed interest for the first few years,

(2) the loss of Government revenue from diversion of traffic from existing Government lines,

(3) the payment of premium on the purchase of the railway; and

(4) the payment of interest on annuity covering the inflated capital if purchase money is eventually paid in annuities. The Government will also run the risk of repeating the result of the past, when it was seen that under 5 p.c. guarantee there was no great incentive on the part of the railways to economise in the railway expenditure on construction or in working or to increase its revenue.

In any case, the Government will have to find funds eventually to acquire the railways in the long run, because no railway will be made without government financial assistance in the first instance in the way of gift of free land and guarantee of 6 per cent. minimum dividend and, therefore, having incurred these financial responsibilities it is natural that the Government should acquire the railway eventually. Thus, when the property is acquired loans will have to be incurred by the Government in any case, with this difference that the payment made eventually will have to be made on an inflated value in the way of premium and, further, even if annuity payment is made in redemption of purchase money interest on annuity, covering the inflated capital, will have to be paid also,—Thus the total cost to, and the total financial responsibility of, the Government will be comparatively greater eventually when taken side by side with the money that will be required to be raised by the Government by direct loans. There is another point and it is this. It may be argued that with Government loans at 6% for new railways in India the money available in India for other industries and loans for improvements in and additional facilities to existing lines would be reduced. But this argument would apply with equal force to the raising of funds in India for new railways on Gorvernment guarantee. Then again natural consequences of a shorter and an alternative route must be recognised. There is the instance of the Southern Punjab Railway Company's case before us (*vide* first portion of the award of Mr. Cripps, K.C., referred to on pages 122 and 123 of my Monograph on Indian Railway Rates) but if a railway, such as discussed here (say from Gomoh to Katni), is made by the Government and worked by the Government (say by the E. I. R.) it will add to the length of one of these railways, though not in a manner so as to render it too big for good management, and, at the same time, the extension could be freely and unreservedly used, without any fear of loss of Government revenue, for any traffic as circumstances might require and to the relief of the existing lines.

S. C. GHOSE

"A MIND WELL SKILL'D TO FIND OR FORGE A FAULT"

> "Many affecting wit beyond their power,
> Have got to be *a dear fool for an hour.*"
>
> George Herbert: *The Temple.*

We crave the indulgence of our readers for taking upon ourselves the not altogether enviable task of dealing with "a dear fool for an hour," whose pranks in the columns of a recent issue of an English monthly were such as neither gods nor mortals would easily find it in their hearts to approve of, unless they were prepared to discard all decency and decorum, or throw to the winds all that made for gentility and good manners. The poet's lines we have quoted rose unbidden to our lips as we chanced to light upon the infinite deal of unmitigated rubbish which disfigured the pages of the monthly in question, we mean, *The Nineteenth Century And After*, which we always knew to be a respectable Magazine. What altogether passes our comprehension is how such a Magazine could, with any regard to its established reputation, have opened its columns to so much of absolutely vulgar trash as "The Humour of the Babu," from the venomed pen of Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, C.I.E., whose career in this country was hardly such as to gain him credit for much sympathy with the people of this country. Apparently, the gallant soldier is somewhat too apt,—like so many Anglo-Indians (*Old Style*) witlings, especially when they have Babus to deal with, to mistake filth for fun, and to measure the neatness of a joke by its nastiness. It is the common characteristic of such people to think that because some wit is dirty, all dirt must be wit, "the dirtier, the droller." It need scarcely be insisted that all attempts on the part of "brazen, brainless" people to be witty, notwithstanding that the Fates have denied them the gift of wit, furnish excellent examples of "vigorous vulgarity," no less than of "stolid impudence." Indeed, every such attempt on their part is, as a rule, attended with as much success "as might be expected from that of a malignant monkey when attempting to reproduce in his grimaces the expression of human indignation and contempt," as a distinguished writer so facetiously puts it. At times, one can easily find it in one's heart to put up with a fair quantity of barefaced buffoonery, provided it does not degenerate into downright vulgarity.

Meredith, in his excellent little book on *The Idea of Comedy*, not only hits the right nail on the head but drives it home when he lays down the beautifully-worded dictum: "We know the degree of refinement in men by the matter they will laugh at, and the ring of the laugh." Judged by this standard, the Lieut.-Colonel's laughter has very little to recommend it. It is an unmistakable symptom of a singularly vacuous mind. It is "specimens of what may be called *Babuisms*" that excite the risibility of the gallant son of Mars, and make him burst into a loud guffaw, such as is heard within the four walls of a barrack room, when the wine-cup freely circles round, and unrestrained mirth has its fullest scope. The pity of it, however, is that the "specimens," evidently culled with so much care, merely represent the "dismal drivel of a drearily dull brain," and having never been, will never be actually met with, in any the worst possible piece of English composition ever consciously or unconsciously perpetrated by even the most muddle-headed Babu delighting in "a nice derangement of epitaphs." Thus it may safely be concluded that there is "a nice derangement" (in its literal sense) —in the over-wrought mental machine of the most "unappeasable" decrier imaginable, to wit, the great inventor of the so-called "specimens." The "specimens" in question, intended to furnish forth a fit of mirth to the unwary readers of *The Nineteenth Century And After*, prove beyond the shadow of a shade of doubt that the Lieut.-Colonel's Comic Muse, to use Swinburne's highly felicitous words, is "the most shiftless and shameless of sluts." *Shiftless* she certainly proves herself to be, when she goes out of her way to draw upon her distorted magination to coin such extravagantly absurd phrases and expressions, *e.g.*, "Most Becile Sir," "well-petted and well-breaded," "a female woman of the opposite sex," etc. The Babu may be a habitual sinner against *The King's English*, but no Babu that ever drew breath in God's world could, for the life of him, even imagine that "Becile" meant sane, because "imbecile" meant its opposite; nor could he rise to the conception of a man's being "well-breaded," instead of his being "well-bred." The Colonel Saheb's Babu, who is credited with the perpetration of such outlandish phraseology, had no more a veritable existence than the man in the moon, or the Cock-Lane Ghost, despite the Lieut.-Colonel's solemn assurance to the contrary. *Shameless*, too, is she (we mean, the great soldier's Comic Muse), for she makes nothing of offending outrageously against good manners by inventing such monstrosities as "he had at present no son because his wife was *impregnable*," "he will enquire how 'on this exiguous salary' he can 'make the two ends of his grandmother meet,'" etc. Could bad taste go further, we wonder? We owe an apology to the readers of *The Calcutta Review* for defiling its pages with citations which would call up a blush in the cheeks of even a hardened *roué*. No matter what the "humour" of the Babu may be, the way in which it has been handled leaves scarcely any doubt in the mind of a sensible man that the Colonel Saheb has very much overshot the mark, and in his desperate effort to make an uncouth parade of his soldierly wit has clearly proved that it has "neither salt, nor soul," and is as light-hearted, as it is light-headed. At best, it is of the "drum-and-fife" variety, its lack of point being sought to be compensated by its flippancy, for which its author, we are constrained to say, deserves to be pitied. We are really sorry to write in a strain of which we are not a little ashamed. Our only apology is that we emulate the example of the Colonel Saheb, though we know fully well that we cannot be at all a match for him in the scurrilous line.

The "too incrusted scholarly style" in which the Colonel Saheb's imaginary Babu is made to clothe his thoughts and sentiments makes it perfectly plain that his malignant detractor must have been reduced to desperate straits in palming off upon his unsuspecting readers things that are transparently monstrous to a degree. Humour of any sort or kind the Colonel Saheb, we are afraid, has not a jot or tittle of; what he thinks to be his humour, and on which he evidently plumes himself, is in the manner of 'below stairs,' fit only to suit the *depraved* taste of those who habitually revel in "rough and ribald jocosity," which, while it may set the table in a roar within the tents in a battle field, is certain to be discarded in any ordinarily decent company, being so "preposterous by its perversity." As for the "ring" of his laugh, the less said, the better. The silly artifices employed to raise a laugh at the expense of the unfortunate Babu are "staringly naked," and their effect can be no more abiding than "the effect of a painted face viewed, after warm hours of dancing, in the morning light."

Since time immemorial there has widely prevailed in our part of the country a highly interesting tradition that the gods in heaven smile twice, once, when it reaches their ears that strenuous efforts are being made by well-meaning friends to save a man who is decidedly down on his luck from the sorry predicament in which he unfortunately finds himself; and, again, when it comes to their knowledge that persistent endeavours are being made by malicious neighbours to bring about the downfall of a man who is unquestionably in luck's way, and who, by reason of his growing prosperity, becomes a veritable eye-sore to such neighbours. We are also told that the tradition goes further and says that their Celestial

Eminences not only ripple with gentle smile, but bubble over with hearty laughter as well, when they are told that a man most non-musically made hums to himself a favourite tune, or what is worse still, when another, on whose cradle the planet that presides over wit never shone, tries hard to advance his silly pretensions to wit and thereby makes himself supremely ridiculous. Either of them may well be said o be equally "a prospective candidate for Bedlam." Of every such nincompoop we may say in the words of the poet slightly modified :—

> He talks a mighty deal, but what is said
> Owes all its weight, like loaded dice, to lead ;
> His wit invites you by its froth to come,
> But when you knock, it never is at home.

The above lines are exactly to our purpose in our consideration of the claims to wit so outrageously advanced by our martial hero, Lieut.-Colonel Irvine, C.I.E., who, in his retirement, has sought to achieve another kind of notoriety in a new *rôle* by falling foul of the hated Babu in the columns of *The Nineteenth Century and After*, greatly to the edification of himself and *Babuphobists* among retired Anglo-Indian scribes, who are never so happy as when they have an opportunity of venting their spleen against the people of the country which not only gave them their bread, but made them the "big 'uns" they are. *Apropos* of this glorious brotherhood, we recall a story of one of them who is said to have remarked, with a degree of self-complacency which is their peculiar portion, to a distinguished Indian gentleman in the sixties of the last century, that the word *gratitude* had no equivalent in Sanskrit, or, for that matter, none in any of the Indian Vernaculars derived from it. The Indian gentleman, we are told, said in reply that while his knowledge of Sanskrit did not entitle him to be positive on the point, as his European friend could afford to be, all that he could be certain about was that neither the word *humbug*, nor the word *humbuggism*, had a place in any of the Sanskritic group of Indian languages, and that he was thankful to Heaven he could assert as much without any fear of contradiction. We, too, are not Sanskritists enough to express ourselves one way or the other. But, may we ask, is it not "humbuggism," pure and simple, to make an uncouth parade of a quality so little of which ever shows itself in your actions ? All that need be said in this connection is, that if it be gratitude to pursue with remorseless zeal a people whose salt you have eaten in pretty large quantities, for a pretty long series of years, there seems to be no particular reason to envy you, and more especially your language, be it never so admirably furnished with a rich profusion of synonyms for "gratitude." With gratitude on your lips and ingratitude in your heart, you prove yourself to be a humbug of the first water, fit to be dealt with according to your deserts. Indeed, there is nothing in the world that can cover "with any size of words" the "monstrous bulk" of your shameless ingratitude.

Let us now proceed to consider how far "The Humour of the Babu" represents a true state of things. The Colonel Saheb's pen seems to be dipped in vitriol, and his lucubrations on "Babu English" might well have done real harm, were it not that, while writing on the subject, he had been indebted to his imagination for his facts, to his memory for his witticism, and to his malice prepense for his inspiration. We need scarcely remind our readers that the so-called "Babu English" on which many a snobbish witling used to whet his dull wit in the Anglo-India of half a century back, is now admittedly a thing of the past, and is as rare to-day, or rather quite as extinct, as the Dodo in Madagascar. At least, the variety that the Colonel Saheb flings in our face, has long been "solemnly inurned," and only a ghost-fancier would loiter aimlessly about the cemetery where it has been enjoying its solemn repose for a pretty long while, in the hope that he might come upon its ghost, and announce to a curious world his triumphant discovery. This defunct species is occasionally sought to be galvanized into a sort of Frankenstein existence by the besotted and bewildered brain of obscure and contemptible wonder-mongers, who, when they have nothing better to amuse themselves or owners of brain of a like calibre with, have recourse to the most disingenuous devices to display their power of weird invention. But they may rest assured that however cleverly they may invent such stuff, they are certain to be soon detected and held up to universal scorn, if, indeed, they are not lost to all sense of shame.

While we cannot but admire the rare ingenuity of the gallant soldier for his clever attempt at fathering upon the luckless Babu a whole string of the absurdest phrases imaginable, minted in the darkest chambers of his preposterously quixotic mind, we, by no means, feel assured that these extravagant coinages of his will pass muster as genuine *Babuisms* among those who have even the slightest acquaintance with the real state of things relating to the English scholarship of Indian gentlemen who have received a fair share of English education. Cultured Englishmen, undeniably superior to the Colonel Saheb, and without any bias against the Babu, have been unstinted in their praise of English as it is spoken and written by average Indians, not to speak of those among them who have won the unqualified admiration of such Englishmen by reason of the extraordinary command over the English language they display, although their number, as may naturally be expected, is rather limited. That being so, Indians have absolutely no reason to be at all disconcerted by what the Colonel Saheb may say, or dozens of Englishmen of that ilk. Indians know very well that they carry in their bosom a powerful antidote against " the drivelling venom of a dotard's denunciation," or " the virulent slaver of his horrid insolence." It is true the Babu is occasionally liable to be betrayed into pitiable lapses in his honest attempt to tackle English idiom, but, all the same, it may be confidently asserted that he does not, as a rule, sin against it to that extent to which the Saheb, more often than not, is liable to sin against Hindustani idiom, despite the fact that he may have spent the best years of his life among the Indian people. Who is there amongst us that does not know how supremely awkward, at times, is the average Saheb's best effort to speak or write Hindustani with any pretensions to idiomatic elegance? We are all familiar with the story of a certain Saheb who was told by his family physician to procure a she-ass for his ailing child, so that the little thing might have fresh ass' milk whenever it had to be given its diet. The Saheb was verily at his wits' end in his endeavour to make himself understood by his *Chaprasi*; and to make his meaning as clear as he possibly could, he gave the following instruction which fairly took away the breath of his poor servant:—"*Dekho, Chaprasi, hamra mafik gaddha mat lao*; *mem saheb ka mafik gaddha lao.*" Being done into English, the above would read something like this:—"Look here, *Chaprasi*, you will have to bring an ass; but see that you don't bring one like myself, but bring one like *Mem Saheb.*" It need scarcely be said that what the Saheb evidently wanted the *Chaprasi* to do was that he should bring a she-ass for his child. There is an equally amusing story of another Saheb whose Hindustani was absolutely on a par with that of the other Saheb, and, no wonder, it was perfect Greek to the *Chaprasi* of his friend, to whose house he had been as an invited guest. Notwithstanding that the Saheb taxed all the resources of his Hindustani to make himself understood to the effect that he felt a great urging to make water, he made confusion worse confounded when he delivered himself thus:—"*Dekho, Chaprasi, ham pani banane mangta, dekhla deo ham kanha pani banaoenge.*" In other words, "Look here, *Chaprasi*, I want to make water; will you show me the place where I can do so." Needless to say, that the poor *Chaprasi* was quite dumbfoundered and gazed at the guest of his master with sheepish looks, not being able to make either head or tail of *pani banana*. As the Saheb was literally bursting, his patience was naturally taxed to the utmost. In angry tones the Saheb repeated his enquiry, very much to the confusion, nay, to the utter consternation of the *Chaprasi*, who still stood motionless with his eyes transfixed to the ground, for he found himself in a pretty fix. Unable to elicit any reply in spite of his repeated enquiries, the Saheb began to foam at the mouth and swore hard at the poor man, in blissful ignorance of the fact that his *pani banana* was a hard nut to crack, the hardest, perhaps, the *Chaprasi* had ever before been called upon to try his strength upon. The *Chaprasi*, however, had sense enough to gather from the Saheb's tone and gesticulation that a storm was brewing, and that silence on his part might no longer be golden ; and so he had no other course left to him but to open his lips for fear of having a few of his remaining teeth knocked out there and then, pretty old as he was. With piteous looks and folded hands he assured the Saheb that he was a veritable God, and if he were so minded, he could *make* water, fire, air, earth, indeed, everything he set his heart upon *making*. Needless to say, the *Chaprasi* understood *pani banana* in the sense of *manufacturing* water. The Saheb, now, bursting in more senses than one, gave the poor fellow a tremendous blow which sent him literally spinning to the ground, fortunately at a safe distance from where the irate Saheb stood, wondering at the singular hardness of his unfortunate victim's thick skull. So much for the faultless Hindustani of the average Saheb, which often proves a veritable Chinese puzzle to his servant.

A word or two, it may be hoped, will not be out of place regarding the English of the average Britisher who sanctifies the soil of our ancient land with the hallowed dust of his feet. When we have reviewed in some detail the English scholarship displayed in published books written presumably by literate Englishmen holding high positions in this country, and more specially, by those who regard themselves as the main pillars of the august fabric of High Education in this country, we shall find that the unspeakable Babu is not the only sinner against *The King's English*, notwithstanding that it is the prevailing fashion to lay the crime of culpable verbicide amounting to murdering that kind of English uniformly at his door. We are not altogether without the hope that the Colonel Saheb and men of his camp will yet realise that there are Babus who, pen in hand, are quite competent to hold their own against any odds that they may find ranged against them in the ranks of Anglo-Indian worthies, who are believed to be veteran penmen, including our Colonel Saheb himself. Hamlet-wise, we must speak by the card, or equivocation may undo us; or, which is as much to say, we must quote chapter and verse to make good our contention that the countrymen of our Colonel Saheb not only do not always write the most unexceptionable kind of English, but often times betray that their equipment of English is of the lightest sort, as will appear from the lamentable lapses into which they are occasionally led, not excepting even those who may safely be taken to be decent English scholars, we mean, the shining lights in the ranks of the Indian Educational Service. We do not pretend to a tithe of the inventive genius of our Colonel Saheb, who gives the freest reins to his imagination to regale his readers with specimens of *Babuism*, the like of which, as we have already observed, never were, nor ever shall be. Conscious as we are of the aridity of our mind, we must content ourselves with placing before our readers specimens of what we may call *Britishism*, for which we need not draw upon our invention, these delicate morsels of choice English being scattered broadcast over the pages of the annotated editions of English Classics given to the world by the most enterprising of publishing houses in the British Isles, Messrs. * * * and Co., and written for them by I. E. S. men, who are supposed to represent the finest products of British Universities.

From the citations we are about to make from the publications of Messrs. M * * Co., in the department of English Literature, our readers will fairly be in a position to judge of the picked I. E. S. men's command of the English language. We confine ourselves to a consideration of their English, because they belong to a band of scholars who are the trusted guardians of High Education in our country, and, as such, are presumably the natural custodians of immaculate English. The Babu's English may be an unfailing source of inexhaustible merriment to our Colonel Saheb, but would he care to tell us what he has got to say regarding the Saheb's English, so far as it may be gathered from Messrs. M * * & Co.'s publications? Facts are stubborn things, and even with his bloated insolence the hero of a hundred fights would find it difficult altogether to gainsay them. The specimens of slip-shod English we string together at random will bring it home to any impartial observer that ruthless depredations in the inviolable domain of *The King's English* are not all the doing of the accursed Babu, but are a pretty game in which the biggest of Sahebs occasionally take a hand. Dip into the pages of any of the numerous English Classics edited by our I. E. S. men, and you are sure to come upon rich and rare gems of elegant English by the score, if not by the hundred, before which the Babu's English would pale into insignificance. Only the other day, in the manifesto put forth by Mr. Abbott of the Anglo-Indian (New Style) Defence Association and published in *The Englishman*, we came across the following, regarding Col. Gidney's offer to fight the Turks, should it come to war with them:—" It (Col. Gidney's ill-timed offer) will alienate us from the sympathy of Indians. " Could anything be more preposterous? Col. Gidney's rash proposal might alienate from Mr. Abbott's people the sympathy of Indians; but how could that proposal, with any regard to the claims of ordinary English, alienate Mr. Abbott's people from the sympathy of Indians? In the leading article in that day's issue of the H * * * Street journal, we were not a little amused to read the following sentence:—"But Russia should have no *part and parcel* in such a thing." Russia may have no *part* in a particular transaction; but what are we to understand by her having no *part and parcel* in that transaction? Another sentence from the same *Journal*, occurring in its Editorial, is:—"The Japanese, who are a shrewd race, have *shown* (? given) the cold shoulder to Indian propagandists." We "*give*" and not "*show* the cold shoulder to a man," if we mistake not. "This class of *foreigner*" should be "this class of *foreigners*" in the following sentence:—"this *class of foreigner* is generally very simple." But neither Mr. Abbott, nor the Editor of "the paper with the most influential circulation in India" is an I. E. S. man, and the lapses of either may well be condoned. But what are we to say of the following specimens? We open at page 119 of Wallace's edition of *The Princess*, and meet with a somewhat curious phrase calculated to set one's teeth on edge:—"this profusion of wordiness (ll. 24-25)." Need we say, that the correct form should be either "profusion of words," or simply "wordiness?" "Profusion of wordiness" is just such a combination as would make one's flesh creep, were one to stumble upon it in a tolerably decent piece of English composition. What are we to say of the word "nation" being assigned a plural verb in the following sentence which occurs at page 191 of the same book:—"The reference is to the Hebrew prophetess, Deborah, who, when her nation *were* (?) groaning under the tyranny of Jabin, etc. (ll. 20-22)." At page 215 (ll. 19-20), we read:—"too transcendental a melody to be perceptible *by* (? to) the gross ears of man." At page 212 (l. 15), we meet with the following:—"She had only designed a scheme in thought, not worked it out in *action* (? practice)." We may *carry out*, or, if we like, *work out* a scheme *in practice*, but we are not sure if we can *carry* it *out* in *action*. At page 210 (l. 6), we find a curious use of the word "mixture":—"Not in the frigid heights of isolation, but only in warm-hearted and sympathetic *mixture* (? mixing) with one's kind, can the fullest human life be attained." At page 181 (ll. 22-23), the writer speaks of "the gradual recovery of a stout man from a violent *attack* of laughter." Do we ordinarily speak of "an *attack*," or "a *fit* of laughter?" *Fit*, we are inclined to think, is more usual than *attack*. At page 110 (ll. 15-17), occurs:—"A ceremony that bound the parties to nothing, being dissoluble at the will of either on attainment *to* (? of) years of discretion." At page 117 (ll. 10-12), the following sentence seems to involve a well-nigh hopeless confusion:—"This defect Heavenly Love is represented on the Prince's seal as removing through her calm and purifying influence." To remove all confusion and make the sense clear, the sentence in question, we are inclined to think, should read, "This defect, on the Prince's seal, Heavenly Love is represented as removing, etc." At page 201 (ll. 24-25), we find:—"The Prince means that he lay *shrouded round*, as it were, *with* his weakness." Would not the sentence read better, if it were, "The Prince means that he lay *shrouded*, as it were, *in* his weakness." "Shrouded *round with* his weakness" does not seem to be particularly happy. At page 213 (l. 18) we read:—"These may seem to the careless eye to act as a support to her weakness, but in fact they sap her vitality and stunt her growth, as parasitic plants *do to* the trees round which they cling." How are we to construe "do *to* the trees round which they cling," unless *to* is replaced by *in the case of*, or some such phrase? *Do* here stands for "sap the vitality and stunt the growth"; that being so, *to* after *do*, grammatically considered, makes an awful mess of—"*do to* the trees round which they cling." A similar instance of defective grammar is noticeable in the sentence that follows:—"The ridiculous ideas she has cherished so long have eaten away all its (her heart's) vital and kindly elements, as a worm *does with* a nut, leaving nothing but dry and bitter dust." To make the sentence grammatical, its latter portion ought to be, " as a worm eats away the kernel of a nut, etc. " (p. 198).

In the learned *Introduction* to a well known Edition of the First Book of the *Faerie Queene,* at page lii (ll. 10-11), we come upon a wrong use of the Sequence of Tenses:—" Before Hurd rightly interpreted Spenser's meaning, critics *have* (? had) strangely misunderstood it." At page xxix (ll. 29-30), occurs as clumsy a sentence as one can possibly think of :—"The hill of Aharlow became the stronghold of the Desmond rebellion, until routed out and hunted down by Lord Grey." What, we wonder, " routed out and hunted down " is to be taken along with ? Is it " the hill," or " the stronghold," or " the Desmond rebellion ?" Certainly, it cannot be "the hill ; " it must be either " the stronghold," or " the Desmond rebellion." In either case the sentence would be inelegant to a degree. We are by no means clear that a " rebellion " can, with any the least pretence to elegance, be said to be " hunted down," although, of course, *rebels* may be said to be *hunted down.* What are we to say of a *rebellion* being spoken of as being *routed,* or, what is even more preposterous, still, as being *routed out* ? If we choose to construe " routed out and hunted down " along with " the stronghold," nothing could be more awkward. A band of *rebels* may be *routed out* of a stronghold, but a stronghold cannot, at all, be said to be *routed out,* much less *hunted down.* If we are not much mistaken, " deference *for* women " at page xxxiii (l. 21) should be "deference *to* women." *Reverence* is always followed by *for*, but *deference* never; at any rate, in modern English, so far as we are aware. At page 273 (l. 4), we meet with the following :—" Spenser avoids the extravagance that brings the incident *on* (? to) the verge of the comic." A business concern may be said to be "*on* the verge of ruin," but it cannot be said that it has been " brought *on* the verge of ruin ; " in the latter case, it would be proper to say " brought *to* the verge of ruin." At page 277 (l. 11), we find the phrase "a *relict* (? relic) of the astrological vocabulary of the times." *Relict* is evidently a misprint for *relic.* Such a misprint, however, is unpardonable in a book which has run through, at least, half-a-dozen editions, all printed at the University Press at Glasgow, and published by Messrs. M * * & Co. An equally unpardonable misprint is to be found in the spelling of the poet's name as " Spencer," occurring at page 249 (l. 20). Will the Indian agents of Messrs. M * * & Co., be pleased to advise the home authorities to see to it that such mis-spellings do not disfigure their publications in future. Let not the books that are sent into this country for the consumption of our students be mere " pot-boilers." In the notes to Canto. X., stanza 2, " sinews woxen weak and raw " is paraphrased as sinews "fallen out of training." Could anything be more clumsy? " Sinews disused and grown weak " would be a decent enough rendering.

In Mr. X's other performance, we mean his edition of Milton's *Samson Agonistes,* we find, to our great surprise, that the word " Chorus " should have, in almost half-a-dozen instances, a singular verb given to it, to be followed immediately by a pronoun in the plural number. We give three instances : (1) " The Chorus *invokes* a blessing on Samson, and in so doing *they* utter one of those unconscious prophecies that characterise the Chorus in Greek dramas: (2) " Though the Chorus does not say so, the drift of *their* remonstrance implies it." (3) The Chorus *tries* to reason with Samson......... To *them* he replies, etc." What is still more outrageous is that the same word should have once a singular, and again, a plural verb assigned to it:—" The sober Chorus *sympathises* with the more rational hopes of Manoah, but *refrain* from noticing the fond belief that he has just expressed (page 175, ll. 25-26)."

In the late Mr. D * * * 's *Introduction* to his edition of Shakespeare's *Henry IV, Part II,* we come across a few specimens of English which, we must confess, we do not know in what category of *isms* to include, unless, we choose to place them under what, for want of a better expression, we may christen "I. E. S.—*isms*." These will be read with considerable interest, we feel sure, by our college-goers, who have mainly to depend upon D * * *'s editions of Shakespeare's plays to pull them through their B.A. and M.A. tests. We are prepared to offer a prize to whoever among them will take the trouble to construe grammatically the following sentence :—"We first meet with Henry in the opening scenes of *Richard II*, where his rivalry with the Duke of Norfolk *and in it* the disturbance of his country's peace, he is banished from England (page xiii)". The italicised portion, we candidly admit, is wholly beyond our humble capacity properly to construe. The removing of *and* and the placing of *involving* immediately before *in it* will make the sentence easily capable of being construed. The substitution of *the consequent* in lieu of *in it* will equally obviate the difficulty. A no less awkward sentence is the following :—"He knows what he wants, and goes straight forward to his point (pp. xiii-xiv)." To "go *straight* to one's point" is nothing unusual ; but it would be difficult to conceive of a queerer combination than to go "*straight forward* to one's point." At page xvii we find :—"With Sir John are his low associates, who *on* (? in) the first scene in which the Prince comes before us, have arranged a robbery of some travellers during the night." At page xxviii, we come across the following sentence :—"He is unable to resist the charm of his witty buffoonery, and cannot for the life of it take him altogether seriously." What may "for the life of it" mean, we wonder ? "For the life of him" is what is wanted here. Do we ordinarily speak of a "cloud" "falling in rain ?" At page 174, we find :—"The metaphor is that of a *cloud falling in rain*." A cloud is usually said to "dissolve itself in rain;" but it may well be a question if it is quite elegant to speak of a *cloud falling in rain*. At page 169, we find a very curious expression :—

"His hand is all generosity, when his heart is softened by a tale of distress." "He is all generosity" would have been simply irreproachable; but the temptation of the antithesis between *hand* and *heart*, apparently, proved too irresistible to the writer to make him think of the more usual form of the expression. If "his hand is all generosity" is to pass muster, then why not "his mind is all attention?" Here is a sentence from the same Editor's *Introduction* to his Edition of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*:—"So pressing was the emergency that the Consul, Publius Servilius, was obliged to suspend the laws and liberate those confined *to* (? in) prison." (Page xxii). A rainy day may confine a man *to* his house, or, for that matter, an attack of the gout; but nobody ever heard of a debtor being confined *to* prison. At page xx, occurs the following sentence:—"But the time is at hand when she must *make choice* between her country and her son." The italicised phrase should be "make *a* choice." The following sentence is rather awkward:—"The people built a temple to Fortune to commemorate her patriotism, but *her monument is the memory of all time*." What is evidently implied is, that her memory, cherished through all time, is her monument. "The memory of all time" may be replaced by "her memory for all time."

A few more instances, and we have done. In the *Introduction* to Mr. E——'s Edition of Milton's *Sonnets*, published by Messrs. L * * * & Co., we meet with the following sentence:—"He cried for freedom from the lower laws of the world in order to leave no obstacle in the way of implicit obedience *in* (? to) the higher laws." (P. 4). Even an Indian school-boy knows that obedience is always followed by "to," and in no circumstances, by "in." "In order to leave no obstacle" is not at all happy. The sentence needs to be recast:—"He cried for freedom from the lower laws of the world *in order to ensure* obedience to the higher laws that should govern it." At least "in order to leave" ought to be something like "so that there may be no obstacle," or, "in order to remove all obstacle." At page 40 of the book we read:—"Milton being deeply *read* in classical *learning*, etc." Is it ordinarily said that a man is "*read* in classical *learning*?" One may be said to be "deeply *read* in classical *literature*," or, "deeply *versed* in classical *learning*." At page 45, *exposition* is followed by *upon*, and not, as might be expected, by *of*, in the following sentence:—"*Tetrachordon*, or expositions *upon* the four chief places in Scripture which treat of marriage." At page 38 occurs the following:—"It (Milton's fitness) shall come in the fulness required by the destiny or mission which he feels to be his, *viz.*, to become a great poet." Not quite an elegant sentence this: it would much improve by being put thus:—"It shall come *in the fulness of time necessary for the fulfilment of* the destiny, etc." At page 62, we find:—"This phrase plays *with* (? upon) the double meaning of the word *light*: (i) the natural light of day: (ii) the sight of the eyes." "*By* loss of his ears" ought to be "*with* loss of ears" in the following sentence:—"(His) writings against Episcopacy and play-acting were punished *by loss of his ears*." (P. 51).

Mr. D * * * of Muir Central College, Editor of "The Indian Library of English Poets" (published by the O * * * Press), generally writes excellent English but there are one or two things in his *Introduction* to Coleridge's poems which, though by no means ungrammatical in the least, are not altogether what one might expect they should have been, in view of the fact that the writer ordinarily writes so well. Would not "sense of colour" be a better substitute for "feeling for colour" in the following sentence, which occurs at page 15 of the *Introduction*:—"This *feeling for colour* shows itself throughout the *Ancient Mariner*?" We are not quite certain if we have followed the sense of the writer in the following sentence:—"When not grossly material, their ('Monk' Lewis and Mrs. Radcliffe's) apparitions are obviously unearthly and remote ; *they admit no doubt of their origin.*" (P. 20). So far as we can make out the writer's meaning seems to be—"Their (of the apparitions) origin admits of no doubt," in other words, their origin is palpable. *Rarity* for *rareness* is not at all common in ordinary English, as we have it in the following sentence :—"The *rarity* (? rareness) of the gift is too often forgotten." (P. 12). Thomas Hood, no doubt, speaks of "the rarity of Christian charity" in his *Bridge of Sighs*, but the word is ordinarily used in the sense of "tenuity," as when we speak of the *rarity* of the air in the upper regions. In the *General Preface*, which is common to Mr. D—'s editions of Wordsworth and Coleridge, we read :—"Much as they desire that he will in time become acquainted with those authors in their entirety." (P. 4). Do we *read authors in their entirety*, or *their works ? To study an author in his entirety* is anything but a happy combination. We need not multiply instances. Faultless English is hardly a commodity which is to be always found in the writings of even the scholarly Englishmen who come out to this country.

From what has been already pointed out, one may as well be pardoned for having a sympathetic corner in one's heart for the unfortunate Babu, notwithstanding that he may, every now and then, be betrayed into fatal lapses of grammar and idiom in his none too successful attempts at handling that exceptionally delicate thing that is called *The King's English.* The Babu need not hang down his head in shame for sinning against English grammar and idiom, when he has so many delinquents in the ranks of English scholars, whose mother-tongue is English, to keep him in countenance. Will the redoubtable Colonel Saheb be pleased to remember this simple truth, for it will be an eye-opener to him and take off, in an appreciable measure, the keen edge of his hatred of the Babu, because of his inability to handle adequately the Colonel Saheb's mother-tongue ?

Physician, heal thyself ! "The Humour of the Babu" is not alone what makes the life of the Saheb bearable in this "Land of Regrets." "Sahabee" English may, in no uncertain measure, occasionally contribute towards the same end. So the Babu is not *the only unconscious humourist of the East,* as the Colonel Saheb has been at such considerable pains to demonstrate to his countrymen.

BABU

ALONG THE MARGE OF YOUTH'S BRIGHT SEA

Along the marge of youth's bright sea,
My fairy pinnace rare I ply;
Across that sea I'll carry ye,
On wings of love my bark would fly.

Fair blows the wind, the hour is ripe,
Full-rigg'd the bark its course to run :
On board the Loves their ditties pipe,
The Graces fair their tresses sun.

Before, behind, above, below,
Are heard rare strains of dulcet sound :
No heart but thrills with passion's glow,
For Port of Bliss they all are bound.

O'er swelling tide, the barge doth ride,
Full-mann'd with Pleasure's laughing crew :
They shout in glee, their souls are free,
No care they have that storms may brew.

They near, at length, the Bower of Bliss,
On farthest shore of brimming joy :
Where rain for aye sweet showers of kiss,
And there is nought of soul's annoy.

JYOTISHCHANDRA BANNERJEA

THE GENESIS OF THE *TIMES* ARTICLE ON *A BANKRUPT UNIVERSITY*

Of late, there has been a good deal of conjecture as to where the *Times Educational Supplement* article on "A Bankrupt University" was manufactured, whether "beyond the seas" or "much nearer home." *Re* this topic much ink has been spilt and much paper wasted. It may be as well to attempt to ascertain the genesis of the article in question. *The Leading Monthly of India,* in the December number, thus delivers itself on the subject:—"It has been insinuated that *The Times* is hostile to the Calcutta University and its Vice-Chancellor, and that the article in question is an inspired article, and that therefore what it has written deserves no attention." The Editor has been at considerable pains to enlighten those interested in the subject as regards the mode of operation usually followed by the authorities responsible for the *Times Educational Supplement.* There is a quotation from "The Literary Year Book," according to which, only those articles find a place in the Literary Supplement which "are arranged mostly with experts by the Editor." We are further told that "articles relating to India are most probably written by experts of some standing, whether they reside in India or in England." So much for the pronouncement of the *Modern Review.* We may not altogether unprofitably theorise a bit, if only to arrive at fairly reasonable conclusion regarding the article which has been the subject-matter of so much discussion.

It is well known to our readers that in order to determine the approximate date of any of Shakespeare's plays, we have to depend upon both *external* and *internal* evidence, of which the latter, it need not be said, is much more valuable than the former. Let us endeavour to apply the test of "internal evidence" in determining the probable authorship of the article on "A Bankrupt University." Before we proceed to do so, we cannot help asking ourselves as to why *The Leading Monthly of India* should be so particularly anxious to assure its readers that the article in the *Educational Supplement* of the *Times* is not an "inspired" one, nor "a stray contribution by some occasional contributor" either. In its concern to prove its contention, it "protests too much," we are afraid. Be that as it may, let us see what an examination of the *internal* evidence may reveal. The precious contribution could never have been from the pen of an English "expert" on the staff of the *Educational Supplement*; and we have the best of reasons for our conjecture. No English "expert" could possibly have written the kind of English in which that precious contribution is written. And not only that; none of the articles in the *Educational Supplement* may be supposed to have been written by an English "expert." A few instances, we presume to think, will suffice for our purpose. We begin with the article which appeared on April 22, 1922, a portion of which is quoted in the December number of the *Modern Review*. We find a few curious specimens of English in the article:—(1) "Lord Ronaldshay spoke with the greater authority on this subject because he has occupied the dual capacity of Chancellor of the University and Governor of the Province" (*Modern Review*, p. 790): (2) "Their complaint is that under his dominating influence the Senate has allowed an *imperium in imperio* to be built up, and to be an excessive drain upon the University resources, etc." (P. 790). The English of neither of the two sentences are at all of the *Times* type: they are both "Sircar-*ese*," if we are not much mistaken. Can it be said of a person that he *occupies* a dual *capacity*? A man may *act* in a dual *capacity*, or *fill* a double *position*, but he cannot *occupy* a dual *capacity*, if ordinary English is not to be ruthlessly sacrificed. As for the second sentence, we entirely fail to construe "and to be an excessive drain upon the University resources."

What is it that is implied to be "an excessive drain upon the University resources ? " Is it the *imperium in imperio* which the Senate has allowed to be built up ? If so, *and to be* after *built up* does not admit of a decent construction. *Which is* before an *excessive drain*, in lieu of *and to be*, would make it easier to construe the sentence. A short paragraph is quoted in the *Modern Review* from an article which appeared on August 12, 1922. In that paragraph a most uncouth phrase occurs, as will appear from the following extract:—"The letter from the Registrar reached the Government of India after its special relations with the University had been closed by transfer to the Bengal Government.'' (P. 790). " *Relations* with the University *had been closed* " is, we feel certain, no English "expert" would have written. He would undoubtedly have written—"*relations* with the University *had ceased.*" " By transfer to the Bengal Government," might as well have been " by *its* transfer to the Bengal Government." The article of the 14th October is not wholly free from occasional lapses. The first sentence occurring in the article is as follows:—" The unhappy financial position of the University of Calcutta investigated by the Accountant-General of Bengal, and his report discloses, etc." (P. 790). Had the " unhappy financial position of the University of Calcutta " and " the report of the Accountant-General of Bengal " been one and the same thing, the verb might have been singular ; but no one will maintain that the two things are identical. And so we do not see why it should be " discloses " and not " disclose." Elsewhere we read:—" There are costly professorships and readerships which, with few, if any, students are almost sinecure." " Professorships and readerships " " with few, if any, students " does not appear to be what an English "expert" would ordinarily write. He would probably have written—" There are costly Professorships and readerships which are almost sinecures, in view of the fact that there are few, if any, students to profit by their establishment." What are we to say of sentences like this !

"At present little heed has been taken of the advice of Lord Ronaldshay in his farewell speech" (P. 791). What is evidently meant is, "*up till now,* little heed, etc." If *at present* is to stand, the sentence may as well be—"At present, little heed is being taken, etc." Another sentence is hardly very happy:—"This haughty tone was at variance with the fact that the *discussion had been originated by* applications for large and supplementary grants." (P. 791). The italicised portion would improve if it is changed into "the discussion *had originated in.*"

We venture to think, that from the instances we have cited, any fair and impartial man will have little difficulty in concluding that the "English expert" theory falls to the ground. The composition part of the different articles referred to above, makes the conclusion almost irresistible that they had their origin, not "beyond the seas," but "much nearer home." The English, to our mind, is unmistakably of *The Leading Monthly of India* type, as also, the sentiments expressed. *Internal* evidence, at any rate, favours this conjecture, or, if we may be pardoned for saying so, proves it beyond all doubt.

ONLOOKER

Correspondence

ORIGIN OF HINDU DRAMA

(*A Rejoinder*)

FLENDYSHE, FEN DITTON.
CAMBRIDGE.
Sept. 21, 1922.

FROM
PROF. SIR WM. RIDGEWAY, SC.D., F.B.A.

TO
THE EDITOR, "*The Calcutta Review.*"

DEAR SIR,

My friend Sir George Grierson has sent me a cutting from your *Review* (May 1922) with an article by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar on Indian Drama, in which he refers to my views and dismisses them summarily. He evidently has not read my Chapter on the Drama of Hindustan very carefully (Dramas and Dramatic Dances, etc.) or he would not have assumed, that I hold that all kinds of dramatic performances, Comedy as well as Tragedy, arose from the worship of the dead. On the contrary both in that Section and in my general Appendix on Comedy, I maintain that Comedy has had an origin everywhere perfectly distinct from Serious Drama. It is the latter only which I derive from ancestor-worship or the worship of the dead in India as elsewhere.

2. Moreover he himself admits an original Vedic ritualistic drama, but as this drama was closely bound up with the worship of the ancestors, he admits my thesis.

3. He also admits that the worship of Rama, Krishna, Siva, etc., played a great part in the development of the Hindu Drama. But as he does not deny what I maintain with the vast body of Indian and European scholars, that these deities were once men deified for their great exploits, virtues, etc., he again admits the importance of the worship of the dead in Hindu Serious Drama.

4. In the *Quarterly Review,* Oct. 1921, I have brought forward a large body of evidence in support of my doctrine, supplied to me by Rai Sahib Dinesh Chandra Sen, Dr. L. D. Barnett and the late Dr. James Anderson, tracing the evolution of serious drama from Vedic times down

to the present day. May I ask you to be so good as to give space to this letter in your valuable journal?

Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM RIDGEWAY

* * * * * *

[EASTER TERM 1920:[1] At a General Meeting of the Society held on Thursday, 6 May 1920, in Professor Housman's rooms, Trinity College, a paper was read on "The Origin of the Hindu Drama: additional evidence," by Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, and Dr. L. D. BARNETT (Keeper of the Oriental MSS. and Books, British Museum) of which the following is a summary:

The evidence given in the Indian Section (*Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*) led to the conclusion that in Hindustan serious drama arose not merely from the cult of Krishna, whether regarded as a deity from all time, or as merely a vegetation abstraction, but, as elsewhere, from the worship of the dead, often deified, *e.g.* Rama, Krishna and numberless others termed "gods" by the Hindus. Since S. Lévi (1892) suggested that the cult of Krishna formed the chief element in Hindu drama, the overthrow by that god of his uncle Kansa (*Mahabhashya*) has been cited as the earliest evidence of Hindu dramatic performance. But a whole work, *Bharata-natya-sastra* (Bharata's Treatise on Drama), ascribed to the 2nd century B.C., *i.e.* the same date as the *Mahabhashya*, has an account of the first beginnings of drama and the first dramatic performance. Mr. Haraprasad (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. V (1909-10), pages 351 sqq.) gives an account of this work and the origin of the drama there set forth. In the Second Age of Vaivasvata Manu men became miserable, so Indra and other gods prayed to Brahma for something to benefit all. Brahma summoned the four Vedas, and a Fifth Veda, Drama, came into existence by their aid. Bharata the sage asked Brahma to let him and his sons perform the new Veda. Brahma answered: "The ceremony of raising the Flagstaff of Indra is at hand: show your skill in the ceremony." Bharata and his sons accordingly performed a drama representing the great battle in which Indra defeated the Asuras or demons. Krishna is not even mentioned in this account of the first drama nor amongst the gods who are associated with the building of the first theatre. The Jarjara or Flagstaff of Indra became henceforth the emblem of the stage. It might be of any wood, but usually a bamboo, covered with cloths of different colours. This staff and its connection with drama recalls the pole called Gohei, " Imperial Presence," by the Chinese, Mitegura,=Lordly-Cloth-seat, by the Japanese. It represents the tree planted over the dead, with its offerings of cloths, etc. on the branches. One of these stands before the shrine of each Japanese god, and as it is supposed to attract the spirit, it is regarded as the seat of the god, and even the god himself (*cf. Dramas* pp. 211, 297—8, 393). The *Mahabharata* (Adh., 63) says that King Vasu was told to set up a bamboo pole adorned with garlands, and with it perform the worship of Indra. Poles of the kind are still often set up in Hindu festivals. The worship is performed on the 12th of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, to ensure good crops and general prosperity (*cf.* J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales* [Old Jain], page 143), " The nautch girls danced, poems were sung, a multitude of men danced, etc." The whole performance thus closely resembled the modern Holi festival at the equinox (*cf.* J. C. Oman, *Brahmans, etc.*, and *Indian Life*, pp. 66, 73 sqq.).

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[1] Reprinted from the *Cambridge University Reporter*, 18 May 1920. Published in full in the *Quarterly Review*, October 1921.

That the vast majority of Hindu deities were once human chieftains there can be no doubt. *R.-V.*, x, 129, is probably the earliest evidence for this. How the gods got immortality is told in *Satapatha Brah.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIII, p. 336, x, 4, 3, sect. 1—10). In *Dramas* t was shown that the ritual in spring was regularly directed to the spirits of the dead to procure good crops, and the autumn festival after harvest was simply offering first fruits to the dead in gratitude and to win their further aid. For these ceremonies in China see also Ridgeway, *Quart. Rev.*, April, 1919. All four seasonal sacrifices were performed to the ancestors, Spring and Autumn being the most important. So at Athens the Spring festival, Anthesteria, was mainly concerned with offerings to the dead; whilst the Eleusinia was a great harvest thanksgiving to the two goddesses, heroes and other dead. The Indian Holi festival at the spring equinox and connected with the wheat harvest in western India, is a good example. It honours, says tradition, a giantess slain by Krishna, who, when dying asked o have her memory commemorated by a festival. Ceremonies for the dead re intimately bound up with it, the lighting of the cremation bonfire and he sound made by beating the mouth with the back of the hand form part of the funeral rites all over India. More significant still is it that amongst he Marathas proper the *vir* or people who died on the battlefield are " danced " by their descendants, who go round the fire with a drawn sword until they get into a trance, or believe themselves possessed by the spirits f the heroes. The prescriptive right of lighting the chief bonfire and of dancing the *vir* round it are still respected by all Hindus (Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, pp. 88—90). In *Dramas* it was suggested that as the actors in sacred dramas are Brahmans, "because for the time being they are the gods," this indicates that they are or were regarded as mediums of the spirits of those represented, as is the case with the Burmese, Chinese and Japanese actors, etc. The belief that the dancers of the *vir* become the embodiment of the heroes confirms this view, which is also corroborated by the fact that (by laws of Manu) at a sacrifice made to a god or a dead man, the Brahman not only personates the god or the spirit, but is regarded as the medium. Amongst Ceylon Buddhists there is a like survival (*Sacred Books, etc.*, Vol. XI, Introd., xliii). Dramatic performances were held at spring festivals, e. g. the *Dutangada (Dramas*, pages 164—5) was performed at the Dhooly festival, March 7th, 1243, in honour of the ancestor of the reigning king. That Indian kings were deified after their deaths is shown by an inscription from Kurgod, but Rajaraja I of Tanjore did not wait for this but built (in 1055) a temple in his own honour with a troupe to act the play of Rajaraja, *i. e.* a play on his own exploits (*South Ind. Inscrp.*, Vol. II, pages 306—7). But at this hour there is a performance in honour of a dead king at Anekal. Outside the temple is a circular mound, said to represent Saindhava, slayer of Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, the great Pandava chief, and during the festival a huge head is fixed on the mound and cut off. Sham-fights also take place in imitation of the great battle in the *Mahabharata*, on the 2nd day of which Abhimanyu slew Lakshmana, son of Duryodhana, but on the 13th he fell fighting against fearful odds. His son Parikshit became king of Hastinapura. In the cult of Osiris a chief feature was the sham-fight showing the overthrow of Set his murderer, whilst in the cult of Wu the founder of the Chou dynasty, his victory at Mu (B. C. 1122) was regularly performed.

There are dramatic dialogues in *Rig-veda*, which treat of saga and myth and presuppose interlocutors. In the age of the *Brahmanas* there were recitations of old sagas, *e. g. Pariplava*, at the *Asvamedha*, which told the valiant deeds of the king's forbears, whilst in other ceremonies Kshatriya lute-player sang verses referring to former victories, with the *envoi*: "He fought, he won that battle" (*Satapatha Br.*, XIII, 4, 3, 5). In Vedic times the bones of warriors were honoured by dance and song; "So the next of kin, so the women, then the female dancers," etc. Like dances, dramatic or pantomimic, were held at the funeral of the Buddha, and it is therefore not strange that one of the oldest fragments of Hindu drama is a piece on the life of the Buddha. But these cases are not isolated. In hundreds of temples in Southern India, as well as in Bengal, not only are dances constantly performed by women before the images in the shrines,

ut dramatic performances relating to their lives are given. The deification
f human beings is likewise there in full operation. Thus a late Chairman
f Town Commissioners has been deified since 1910, within a very short
me after his death, and is wordshipped as "The Chairman God." The
undation-deeds of Temples constantly direct the benefactions to be applied
) *Ranga-bhoga* (" scenic representation " of the life or legend of the deity).
ubrahmanya (*Historical Sketches of South. India,* Vol. 1, page 337, 1917)
ys : " In the temples of Southern India, there was invariably a spacious
anga-mandapa, and almost all days dancing was practised there and on
pecial occasions dramas were staged conveying religious instruction." Mr.
illai (*Some Mile Stones in History of Tamil Literature,* 1895, page 4)
eating of Tiru Nana Sambhandha, the greatest of Tamil Rishis (*floruit*
th cent. A. D.) says : " There is scarcely a Siva temple in the Tamil country
here his image is not daily worshipped. In most of them special annual
asts are held in his name when the leading events of his life are dramati-
ally represented for the instruction of the masses." In Travancore the
hakyars or dramatic reciters give performances at the festivals in the chief
emples on the proper legends. Dr J. D. Anderson and Pandit Dinesh
handra Sen amply confirm from Bengal the evidence of the rest of India.
very village has a Chandi-mandapa, and dances are given there in honour
f Chandi (Fortune) and other deities and saints. Dinesh Sen states
hat the Bengal *Mangala Gāns,* which grew into melodramas, began as short
des in praise of Manasā Devi, Mangala Chandi and other local deities, to
ach of whom was attached some story of might or glory. The recita-
ion of these poems was held to be indispensable to, and formed part
f, the ritual of worship. As particular gods and goddesses became more
opular, the poems became more elaborate, and were no longer recited but
ung and played before the deities whose acts they described by professional
roupes, and the dramatic element increased, the lyrical still predominating.
ll this is still done before an image of a deity, when he is worshipped.
he *Mangala Gāns* and *Yātrās* have all originated in this manner, the
ātrās being more dramatic in form, often with prose dialogue. The chief
lace for performances has always been the Chandi-mandapa, or the
ourtyard facing a temple. Even when the performance is not for a
estival, a picture of the deity associated with the play is set up in front of
he troupe, and the performers begin by bowing down to it.

There can therefore be no longer any doubt that Hindu Serious Drama
rose in the worship of the dead.]

Reviews

A History of the Maratha People; By C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, Vol. II, from the Death of Shivaji to the Death of Shahu, pp. 332, Oxford University Press, price Rs. 7.

Mr. Kincaid writes in a fascinating style and he has carefully avoided those dry details that might have been distasteful to that gradually increasing class of readers who turn to History as a diversion. His History of the Maratha people will, therefore, win more popularity than has as yet been the lot of any other work on the subject. We can confidently assert, that so far as Maratha History is concerned, his second volume is decidedly better than the first. Mr. Kincaid has wisely selected Mr. Sardesai as his guide and a safer and more reliable guide is not available to-day. We get in the volume under review an extremely readable and interesting account of the rise of the Maratha people. The pen pictures of the leading men have been rendered almost life like by a judicious selection of a number of anecdotes but a serious student may well wish that some of the *pauranic* legends and myths had been replaced by a little more detailed account of historical events.

The period which Mr. Kincaid surveys in the present volume is almost romantic. The death of Sambhaji under well-known circumstances, Rajaram's flight to Jinji, Dhanaji and Shantaji's brave struggle for their king and country and last but not the least the return of Shahu and the rise of the Peshwas under him cannot but interest any student of history, Indian or European. The latest results of research by Maratha scholars have been made available in English and a non-Maratha reader will find the genealogical tables very useful.

It is needless to say that all students of Maratha history will not agree with Mr. Kincaid in his estimate of Kalasha or Kalusha's part in the tragedy that ended with Sambhaji's cruel death. Kalusha was a Kanojiya and it appears that Kanojiyas have enjoyed a sinister reputation in Maharashtra, the pretender Sadova was a Kanojiya and the notorious Ghasiram came of the same stock. Mr. Kincaid has made a chivalrous defence of

Rajaram and an attempt to establish his innocence so far as Shantaji's death was concerned, but here also there is considerable room for difference of opinion. But such difference will always exist.

There are some minor inaccuracies which, we hope, will be removed in the next edition.

On p. 1 Mr. Kincaid asserts that Sambhaji was present at his father's funeral and the only evidence he cites in support of this statement is a Raygad tradition. But all chroniclers and historians agree that Sambhaji was ignorant of his father's death, the circumstantial evidence also goes against Mr. Kincaid. Soyrabai's conspiracy to deprive Sambhaji of his inheritance would hardly be possible if the latter had been really aware of his father's demise.

On p. 11. Mr. Kincaid writes—"About this time an Abyssinian named Sidi Misri, a relative of Sidi Sambal, who with Sidi Yakut and Sidi Khairiyat had deposed from his command the Afghan Fatih Khan deserted to Sambhaji." Yakut Khan had at this time become the hereditary title of the chiefs of Janjira so the sentence quoted above is rather ambiguous if not misleading.

P. 7. Jaswant Sing can hardly be styled as "one of the chief pillars of the Moghul throne." He was a sworn enemy of Aurangzib and had often made common cause either openly or secretly with the Emperor's enemies.

On p. 76 occurs the following statement—"He created specially for him the office of Pratinidhi or the King's Mirror and gave him a precedence superior to seven of the eight ministers and equal to that of the Peshwa himself." The salary of the Pratinidhi was 15,000 Hons, as compared to 13,000 Hons, the salary of the Peshwa. The Pratinidhi was in status superior to all the eight including the Peshwas.

On p. 160 Mr. Kincaid narrates the story of that well-known affray between the troopers of Chinkulich Khan and a woman named Zahra who had insulted Chinkulich. The author then observes "such was the unpromising beginning of the career of the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, the ancestor of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad." This is hardly accurate. Chinkulich had already served under Aurangzib in the Deccan with distinction and renown and the beginning of his career was certainly not unpromising.

On p. 169 Mr. Kincaid states that Shahu was granted by the Emperor,—"*babti* or twenty-five per cent. of the whole of the revenue, the *sahotra* or 6 per cent. of the whole of the revenue and the Nargaunda or three per cent. of the whole." It is rather surprising that Mr. Kincaid does not say on what authority he makes such a statement. Shahu certainly got an imperial farman for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. As for *babti, sahotra* and *Nargaunda* it is generally known that they were mere subdivisions of the total Maratha revenue. Elphinstone, Grant Duff and Sardesai, all explain these revenue terms in the above manner. It is therefore all the more necessary for Mr. Kincaid to state what evidence there is for a statement that is opposed to all known authorities.

On p. 298 Ramraja is described as Rajasbai's husband's nephew. Ramraja was a grandson of Rajaram and Rajasbai was the latter's wife.

One of the chief attractions of the present volume is the English translation of several new Marathi documents among which are two letters of Shahu that may be styled as his death-bed will.

The book is well bound, well illustrated and well printed, though there are several misprints, certainly a new feature in a *Milford Publication*, but very few books published in India are free from it.

SURENDRANATH SEN

Catalogue of the English Records, 1758-1858, preserved in the Historical Record Room of the Government of Bengal—will be very useful to those who may wish to study the original records of the Bengal Government. The records it appears have been classified according to the subject, and department they deal with.

"The Cathedral"—(*A Novel*)—by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan).

The scene is a Cathedral town, the chief actors are a Bishop, Dean, Archdeacons, Canons and, generally, the members of the Cathedral Chapter, and the author is the son of a Bishop. Great expectations are aroused in the reader and—fulfilled. Mr. Hugh Walpole has been eminently successful in his new novel. He has favoured us with a slice of life—the self-centred, ecclesiastical life of a Cathedral town, with its petty scandals and scrambles for power. This narrow world of "Polchester" Archdeacon Brandon doth bestride like a Colossus. The story ends, as it begins, with him, is full of him. From the smooth-faced arch-enemy, Ronder, to the gossip-gathering, insignificant Mrs. Combermere, all the actors are grouped round him as their centre, and the Circus, no less than the Jubilee, is in the story because of him. In the rapid succession of the hero's sufferings, in the conception and development of his character, in the almost rigid observance of the classical unities, "The Cathedral" is at once a "Book of Job" and a Greek Tragedy. And, in his conception of the part played by the Cathedral in the action of the tragedy, Mr. Walpole betrays a beautiful bias. He pictures the Cathedral standing stern, severe, majestic, like an avenging deity, exerting a sinister, though silent, influence on the lives and fortunes of the weak mortals who render it homage and worship. At no moment, is the dominating, commanding presence of the Cathedral permitted to be forgotten: it perpetually, ominously, ironically asserts itself.

"The Cathedral" has once more revealed Mr. Walpole as a novelist of superior powers.

P. E. D.

Calendars; by the Madras Ayurvedic Pharmacy; (P. O. Box 151 Madras),—Eight Calendars with coloured portraits of Lokmanya Tilak, Mrs. Naidu, Desbandhu Das, Pandit Malavya, Messrs. Mahammad Ali and Saukat Ali, Pandit Matilal Nehru and a perpetual Calendar (Date Card) have been sent to us. They are all nicely printed. Our congratulations to the management.

S. K.

Purātattva: Vol. I. No. 1. (A Quarterly Magazine; yearly subscription Rs. 5. Published by Rasiklal Chhotolal Parikh, Ahmedabad.)

This new quarterly magazine published in Gujarati aims, as the name implies, at investigating the past history of our country (especially of Gujarat) on scientific and approved methods. This is part of the general movement indicating that India is coming into her own and that her own people are now coming forward to interpret her history and her ancient glories instead of depending solely on the authority of the Western scholars. Roughly speaking, the history of Indian scholarship in all branches can be divided into three phases. In the first which lasted from about the beginning of till about the last decade of the 19th century it was the case of accepting without question light from the west. No statement was acceptable until some European scholar's name was quotable to back it up. The second phase is marked by a natural reaction against this "intellectual slavery" and it is not yet over. It coincides with the quickening of the national consciousness dating roughly from the advent of Lord Curzon. In this phase there is a clearly marked sentimentality for everything Indian and a tendency to exaggerate everything Indian and a corresponding desire to pass over the shortcomings in Indian culture or at any rate to minimise their effects. The third phase is now beginning, where the position of equilibrium is being attained. The right perspective is being attained in exact proportion as the scholars take *truth* to be their goal The second phase has been responsible for a good deal of the ridicule cast upon Indian scholarship by Western scholars. But as the third phase gains ground and as our scholars become more and more impartial we will surely command the respect of the rest of the world. Truth will always command a respectful hearing. This new quarterly is professedly an exponent of the third phase and as such it will surely do good work. The following are some of the articles in the first number: "Our historical literature," "The extent of Buddhist literature," "An historical Jaina *prasasti*," "The great poets Vijayapāl and Śrīpāl." Another notable feature is a Gujarati translation of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra with annotation. The first number is distinctly good and we extend our cordial welcome to it and we hope it will keep to its high ideals—the search for truth—and will do better and better as time goes on.

I. J. S. T.

Umar Khayyam and His Age: Otto Rothfeld, B.A., I.C.S., F.R.G.S., M.L.C. (D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay; price Rs. 7-8-0).

Mr. Rothfeld is one of those Englishmen who think it worth their while to study deeply the thoughts and aspirations of the people among whom their lot is cast. I remember having read many years ago his two books of Indian tales and I have ever since been partial towards him. His book on Umar Khayyam shows us a sympathetic and deep scholar though one cannot always agree with his interpretation of the inner meaning of Umar's philosophy. He has rightly emphasised the worth of Whinfield's translation. Fitzgerald's version, however charming in itself, is not for the deeper student. The most valuable part of the book is that dealing with the age of the poet. Unless we clearly understand the times when the poet lived we can never hope to understand his message. This is what Mr. Rothfeld has done in his book and it is most valuable for the general reader. As to the interpretation of Umar's philosophy, each individual must form his own opinion. Mr. Rothfeld's view is undoubtedly fair but still typically English. So perhaps a person brought up in oriental surroundings may not quite agree with him. Still his interpretation is a possible one and as such it may be recommended to all lovers of Umar Khayyam.

Post-Graduaie

Creative Revolution; by Prof. T. L. Vaswani, pp. 166. (Ganesh & Co. Madras, price Rs. 1-8.)

The author in a series of essays explains the aims and utility of what is popularly known as the Bardoli programme. He makes many observations on the political condition of the country and indicates the reforms both moral and political that should at once be effected. One of the causes according to him of the failure of the N. C. O. movement was lack of honesty. Some of the pretended disciples of the Mahatma cared more for their purse, than for their soul and it is no wonder that the huge Congress fund has disappeared like a mist. Prof. Vaswani says—popularity is no test of truth. It is easy to preach Swaraj when cheers are given us. But it cannot be roses, roses all the way! We must, I humbly submit, have the courage to say *unpleasant* things in the service of truth. Don't wish to be popular,—I say to every young man. Have the *courage* to speak the truth and walk according to your light.

We agree with the Professor. Courage and honesty are essentially necessary for the salvation of a nation and popularity is certainly no test of truth.

S. N. S.

Ksatriya Clans in Buddhist India; by Bimalacharan Law M.A., B.L., with a foreword by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; Published by Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., price Rs. 8 only.

A scholarly and entertaining account of some of the clans who played an important part in Ancient Indian History. The Licchavis occupy the place of honour as a matter of course and the author has, with admirable industry, brought together all that is known about their government, history, religion and philosophy. He has also dealt with the Videhas, the Mallas, the Sakyas, the Balis, the Koliyas, the Moriyas, the Bhaggas and the Kalamas. Mr. Law has practically exhausted all the available sources of the History of these clans, but his monograph leaves an impression that after all we know very little about these once great and now forgotten brave and liberty-loving peoples. The author possesses many qualities that go to the making of an accurate historian and he has done a real service by supplying a much needed handbook on the Ksatriya clans of Buddhist times.

S. N. S.

The Principles of Hindu Ethics; by Maganlal A. Buch, M.A. (pp. 18, xi, 600; published by M.A. Buch, Hathipole, Baroda.)

The title of the book would perhaps lead one to suppose that it deals with purely abstruse, ethical problems as expounded by the ancient savants of India—rather an uninviting subject to a layman. But that would be a mistake; and we can vouch that both scholars and ordinary readers will immensely profit by a perusal of the book. One would find in this book along with an exposition of the abstract speculations of our ancient sages, a fair presentation of Aryan culture and civilization in all its aspects, social, juristic, political and moral. We have been struck by the depth of scholarship evinced by the author and the facile, lucid way in which he has handled many a knotty problem of Hindu Ethics and Sociology. There is no room for speculation that the author is a sincere admirer of Hindu culture and a strong under-current of sympathy and reverence enlivens all his writings. But his admiration has not blinded him to some of the obvious defects and back-slidings and he has boldly presented them to the reader along with the excellences of Hindu civilization. But there is everywhere that genuine sympathy and spirit of reverence, the lack of which has been responsible in certain quarters for a good deal of confusion and irreverent criticism.

The author's bold, clear and scholarly exposition of such subjects as 'womanhood,' 'marriage,' 'caste-system' '*ahimsā*,' '*Sannyāsa*' and other allied topics will serve to clear away the mist of confusion that has gathered round them, and our social reformers and political workers would do well to read the pages dealing with these. In conclusion we must say that the author has done an excellent service to the cause of Hindu civilization and culture, and his popular, lucid and excellent exposition of the ethical values of the Hindu institutions and customs will be of great service in the matter of re-assessing the ethical values of a large body of customs and usages prevailing at present.

S. M.

Ourselves

Our Frontispiece.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had the following characteristic paragraph in its issue of the 5th December, 1922:

> "M. Clemenceau has thrown a bombshell in America by his latest speech calling upon America to join England and France in an attack against Germany for her failure to meet Reparations obligations as imposed on her by the Big Four. The American Press and public men have not, it seems, caught at the pacific proposal of the *French tiger* very enthusiastically and so the "old" tiger came in for some trenchant criticism which, he said, was what he had come to America for. *By the way, those who have seen the portrait of the French "tiger" declare that his face bears an uncanny resemblance to the great Bengal tiger now presiding over the Calcutta University.*"

This attracted the notice of a well-known young artist, Mr. Atul Bose, who forthwith drew a portrait of the Vice-Chancellor in charcoal. This was exhibited at the annual exhibition of the Fine Arts Society under the telling designation of "the Bengal Tiger." We present to our readers a faithful reproduction of this picture as a New Year gift.

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Professor Cullis.

Professor C. E. Cullis, who has just vacated the Hardinge Chair of Mathematics, has been made Emeritus Professor by a unanimous vote of the Senate. The Vice-Chancellor emphasised the special excellence of the scientific work of the Professor and was not slow to dwell upon its recondite character.

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Professor Saha.

We are pleased to learn that at the last meeting of the International Astronomical Union held at Rome, Professor Meghnad Saha of the University College of Science was elected a member of the said Union, and attached to the Section for the investigation of Stellar Spectra. The distinction was conferred on him in recognition of his contributions to Astronomical Physics.

The International Astronomers Union is an international organisation and is composed of representatives of all the civilised countries of the world. It meets every five years —the next meeting taking place at Cambridge, England, in 1925. The personnel of the Committee to which Professor Saha has been attached is composed of the following men of Science:—

Adams (Pres)-Asst. Director, Mount Wilson Solar Observatory, U. S. A.

Bohr—Prof. of Physics, Copenhagen; Author of the Quantum Theory of line-spectra.

Fowler—Prof. of Physics, Imperial College of Science & Technology London, discoverer of the lines of ionised Helium.

* Hertzsprung—Prof. of Astophysics, Leiden, Holland.

* Russell—Prof. of Astrophysics, Princeton University, N. J. U. S. A.

Cannon—Curator, Harvard College Observatory; author of the Henry Draper Memorial Catalogue containing accounts & classification of the spectra of more than two hundred thousand stars.

Newall—Prof. of Astrophysics, Cambridge.

Shapely—Director of the Harvard College Observatory.

Lockyer—Director, Sidmouth Observatory; son of the famous astronomer, the late Sir Norman Lockyer.

Wright—Asst. Director, Lick Observatory, U.S.A.

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* Joint authors of the modern form of the theory of stellar evolution.

Dr. Sahayram Bose.

Our congratulations to Mr. Sahayram Bose, whose thesis has just been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Mr. Bose took his M.A. Degree in Botany in 1908. Notwithstanding his love for the subject, he drifted for a time into the domain of law, but he had the courage to return to the fold before it was too late. He ultimately joined the staff of the Carmichael Medical College, and under the generous auspices of the authorities of that institution, undertook very important researches in Botany which necessitated a journey to Ceylon. The thesis he submitted for the Doctorate dealt with the subject of Monograph of Bengal Polypores. The Board of Examiners consisted of Professor A. C. Seward, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., of the University of Cambridge, Professor V. H. Blackman, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., of the Imperial College of Science and Technology at South Kensington, and Dr. E. J. Butler, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.B., formerly of the Imperial Research Institute, Pusa, now Director, Imperial Bureau of Mycology, Kew (Surrey).

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University Ideals.

His Excellency the Chancellor presided at the function held on the "College Day" of the Scottish Churches College on Monday the 11th December, 1922, His Excellency is reported to have made the following observation in the course of the interesting address delivered by him:

"May I also say one word to your students. As you say, I have made rather a special study of the needs of the Indian students in Great Britain. I have visited every University in England and Scotland and discussed with the Indian students there their difficulties, their needs and their interests. I hope that the labours of my Committee may do something to help the Indian student in the future to gain admission to the University of his choice and to make the best use of his time while he is there. But my main anxiety, I confess, is to see the education available in India in all branches of study so improved that it will not be necessary for Indians to go abroad at all. I believe that the best service that could be rendered to India would be to enable her sons and daughters to get all the education they require in their own land and to save them the time and money at present spent on an education abroad."

This has been precisely the ideal of those that have laboured for years to transform the University into an institution for Post-Graduate study and research. People will wonder how the ideal which His Excellency has in view can be reconciled with the theory that the expansion has been "thoughtless" if not "criminal!"

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University Mining School.

Our readers will be glad to learn that the scheme for the transfer of the *Basanti Bijay School* at Ikhra to the University for the establishment of a University Mining School has at length been completed by the execution of the requisite deeds by Babu Prankrishna Chatterjee and his co-sharers. It is expected that the arrangements for instruction will be shortly taken in hand. Much credit is due to the energetic Head Master of the Institution, Babu Sasibhushan Bose, who is one of our earliest M. A.'s in Geology and Mineralogy and is keenly interested in the success of the present project.

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Study of Agriculture in the University.

It is well-known that the University authorities have for a long time been anxious to provide for instruction in Agriculture. On the 5th February, 1921, in the course of a letter addressed by the Registrar to the Government of Bengal under the direction of Sir Nilratan Sircar, then Vice-Chancellor, it was requested that a sum of two lacs of Rupees might be granted for initiation of studies in Applied Botany including Agriculture. It was explained that as a preliminary to the undertaking of instruction in Agriculture, the most urgent requirement was an experimental farm. This need not be situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta; a site in some place easily accessible by rail would be sufficient; the acquisition of land and the construction and equipment of such a farm would cost at least a lakh of rupees. Subsequent to this communication to the Government, a very important step was taken by the University, when two conferences were convened of Head Masters and representatives of Managing Committees of recognised schools to discuss the question of the introduction of vocational instruction. The proceedings of the Conferences were in due course communicated to the Government of Bengal. We shall set out here the correspondence which followed:

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated Darjeeling, the 17th June, 1922.

I am directed to request that with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate, you will be so good as to inform the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) whether the University has formulated any definite scheme of Vocational Education and if so to send me a copy of the scheme at an early date.

From the Registrar, Calcutta University, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, dated the 27th June, 1922.

With reference to your letter No. 1161Edn., dated the 17th June, 1922, enquiring whether the University has formulated any scheme of vocational education, I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to inform you that the following steps have been taken by the University for the purpose:

A Conference of the Head Masters of recognised schools was held at the Senate House, Calcutta, on the 7th May, 1921, to consider what steps might be taken up by the University to facilitate the introduction of scientific and vocational education in schools. Copies of the Proceedings of the Conference together with a note thereon by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor were forwarded for the information of Government along with my letter No. G 491, dated the $\frac{28}{30}$th May, 1921. Another Conference of the representatives of the Managing Committees of recognised schools was held on the 9th, 11th and the 12th June, 1921, for the purpose of discussing the steps to be taken to give effect to the resolutions of the Conference of Head Masters. Copies of the Proceedings of this Conference also were forwarded for the information of Government. When the reports of the above Conference were placed before the Syndicate on the 29th July, 1921, they were referred to the Joint Faculties of Arts and Science for consideration. The proceedings of the joint meeting of the Faculties of Arts and Science were laid before the Syndicate who ordered them to be placed before the Senate with the recommendation that the draft Regulations for the Matriculation Examination as framed by the Joint Faculties might be adopted. The draft Regulations are now being considered by the Senate. Copies of the Proceedings of the Senate will be forwarded in due course; meanwhile, the draft prepared by the Faculties which is now under consideration by the Senate is enclosed herewith.

The Syndicate has already placed itself in communication with the schools with a view to ascertain how many schools are willing to take up the different vocational subjects. A summary of the replies received is given on page 119 of the Proceedings of the Conference of Representatives of the Managing Committees of the Schools. Ninety one of these schools, it will be observed, have expressed a desire to take up Agriculture and Gardening. Many of these schools have, however, expressed the apprehension that suitable teachers will not be available on a moderate salary. This, the Syndicate realise, is a real difficulty, and many other Schools, specially in the mofassil, would no doubt have expressed their readiness to take up Agriculture, if they could be assured that teachers would be available. The Syndicate accordingly consider it essential that arrangements should be made by the University for instruction in Agriculture, and particularly for the training of such persons as might desire to be teachers of the subject in secondary schools. The matter has been considered by the Guruprasad Singh Professor of Agriculture and by the members of the Botany Department. It has been found that arrangement could be made for this purpose on a modest scale in the Palit House at Ballygunge which has a compound exceeding twenty-five bighas in area. This was the reason why in my letter No. A318, dated the 14th February, 1922, a request was made that an initial grant of Rupees one lac should be made to enable the University to initiate without delay vocational education, particularly agriculture and technological.

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, University of Calcutta, dated Calcutta, the 11th July, 1922.

I am directed to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter No. 7818, dated the 27th June, 1922, on the subject of the introduction of vocational education in secondary schools in the province and to say that the question is under the consideration of Government.

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, University of Calcutta, dated Calcutta, the 30th November, 1922.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with this Department letter No. 1369-Edn., dated the 11th July, 1922, regarding an initial grant of Rs. 1,00,000 to the Calcutta University for the arrangement of instruction in Agriculture, and particularly for the training of such persons as might desire to be teachers of that subject in Secondary Schools.

2. In reply, I am to say that in view of the present financial position of the province, it is not possible for Government to consider the matter. The scheme has not also been fully worked out. If, however, a complete scheme is placed before Government, they would be prepared to examine it and, if it meets with their approval, they may try to provide money for it when the finances have improved.

The Syndicate have resolved to inform Government that in view of the financial stringency mentioned which makes it impossible for Government to consider the matter, they propose to defer further correspondence on the subject. The situation speaks for itself and comment is superfluous.

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Bachelor of Commerce.

The Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Commerce framed by the Senate have at length been sanctioned by the Government. The correspondence on the subject furnishes interesting reading and is set out below:

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, Education Branch, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, No, 1597 Edn., dated the 3rd August, 1922.

"I am directed to convey the sanction of the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education), under the provisions of Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act No. VIII of 1904, as amended by the Calcutta University Act No. VII of 1921, to the draft regulations for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce and the amendment in the regulations for the Intermediate Examination in Arts forwarded with your letter No. G. 435, dated the 19th June, 1922, with the exception of clause 3 of the regulations for the degree of Bachelor of Commerce. In this connection I am to suggest whether it will not be advisable to make the clause clearer by adding a time definition to the phrase "a regular course of study" and by adding the phrase "in the subjects included in the course" after the words "University lectures." Government will also be glad to be informed whether in the present financial condition of the University, it is in a position to contemplate post-intermediate teaching in Commerce, however commendable such an attempt may be.

2. The Government of Bengal recognize that in the regulations for the Intermediate Examination in Arts the cultural side of education cannot be ignored but in view of the demand of general public for the introduction of vocational subjects in these courses, I am to suggest for the consideration

of the University whether it would not be desirable to include subjects like precis writing, commercial correspondence, etc., in the intermediate stages at a suitably early date."

From the Registrar, Calcutta University, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Education Department, dated the 15th September, 1922.

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 1597 Education conveying the sanction of the Government of Bengal under the provisions of Section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, 1904 to the regulations for the degree of B. Com. and the amendments in the I.A. regulations. Your letter under reply conveys sanction to the B. Com. regulations with the exception of clause 3. I am directed by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, to point out that under section 25 (1) of the Indian Universities Act, sanction cannot be granted with a modification, whether the modification be by way of omission, addition or alteration. This is the interpretation which has been uniformly placed upon that section since 1904, and also upon the corresponding section of the Act of Incorporation of 1857. It may further be pointed out that there has been some misapprehension as to the scope of clause 3. Clause 3 was not intended to confer any new power on the University authorities which are unlimited as is clear from section 19 of the Indian Universities Act. The object of clause 3 was to regulate the mode of exercise of the power possessed by the University authorities under section 19. It may also be explained that there is no intention on the part of the University authorities to embark upon undergraduate instruction specially if the undertaking involves new expenditure. At the same time there is no reason why the University teachers in the department of Economics and Commerce should not within the limit of the time at their disposal assist such students as may be anxious to qualify themselves for the B. Com. degree. The desirability of such a course, to the extent it may be feasible, is obvious when the fact is borne in mind that even the Government of Bengal does not appear to be at present in a position to provide for instruction in the subjects of the B. Com. Examination in the Government Commercial School at Calcutta.

As regards the suggestions that subjects like precis writing and commercial correspondence may be introduced at the Intermediate stage the Faculty of Arts have been consulted and they have expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to proceed cautiously and to watch the effect of the new regulations, for some later time."

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, dated Calcutta, the 7th December, 1922.

With reference to your letter No. Misc. 2177, dated the 15th September, 1922, and in continuation of this Department letter No. 1597, dated the 3rd August, 1922, I am directed to say that in the circumstances stated in your letter under reply, the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) sanction, under the provisions of section 25 (1) of the Indian University Act VIII of 1904 as amended by the Calcutta University Act of 1921, clause 3 of the draft regulations for the degree of the Bachelor of Commerce forwarded with your letter No. G.405, dated the 19th June, 1922.

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University Reform.

We reproduce here a series of remarkably thoughtful articles on University Reform from the columns of the *Bengalee.*

I

To reform a University is a problem requiring considerable knowledge and skill. The problem is acute when it becomes the subject of a rancorous controversy, when there are divergencies of opinion as regards its functions, and when it has forfeited the sympathy of the Government. In the case of the Calcutta University, the public mind is so much excited over its administration that arguments, however reasoned and logical, are likely not to appeal to their judgment and sanity ; and the complexity and technicality of the question enhance the difficulty to such an extent that a solution satisfactory to all concerned becomes difficult to find. At the same time, all these circumstances should not stand in the way of a solution, if the matter is judged from a calm, broad, and national point of view. It is not our object to discuss the merits and defects of the existing system, which has already been exhaustively analysed and examined by the Sadler Commission. Our purpose is to explain the fundamental principles which should guide the legislators in their reforming activities. We concede that the fundamentals of academic questions are not suitable things for discussion in the columns of a newspaper ; but events have been given such a turn by some of the legislators that it is incumbent upon us to educate the public mind as to the right course which they should follow in such a momentous issue. We, therefore, propose to discuss, in as popular a way as possible, the following fundamental aspects of the question : (1) the functions of a University and its place in the educational system of a country ; (2) the organic character of the educational system ; (3) the application of the representative system to the administration of education ; (4) the relation between the legislature and the University ; and (5) State control of education.

The University occupies in the educational system of a nation a position similar to that occupied by the Church and the Caliphate in the Christian and the Mahomedan religions system respectively. Its function is to minister, directly or indirectly, to the moral, material, spiritual, and intellectual needs of a community. If this function is too great and wide for a single University to perform, and there is a demand in the country for the care of all the faculties of its youths, the number of subjects taught and of the Universities must necessarily have to be multiplied. But it must not be forgotten that its function is universal and all-pervasive, comprehending all aspects of human life which call for development by education. The University never represents any particular type of education as is wrongly supposed ; but it represents innumerable types corresponding to the innumerable types and tendencies of the human mind. It is the centre from which emanate all the activities in every possible sphere of life, in which the application of the intellect is the determining factor. Whether it be letters or fine arts, science, or the utilitarian branches, such as commerce, agriculture, technology or any other pursuit,—wherever intellect plays a part in discovering new processes of work and new avenues to social and human advancement, there is the need for a University. The University occupies a place in the social organism similar to that occupied by the brain in the human organism. It is the centre of social consciousness: destroy it, and you destroy the life and intellectual activities of society. It betrays a mistaken conception of University education to say that it is not a bread-winning type of education; because the teachers as well as the initiators and organisers of every kind of education must come from the University, which imparts or ought to impart knowledge in all branches of intellectual activity—be it utilitarian or cultural,—technical or literary or scientific or artistic. The educated Indians who are the products of the Calcutta University, when it was merely an examining agency, find it difficult to distinguish between the functions of a true University and the University with which they were familiar: for traditions and ideas die hard. Their knowledge of the functions of the old University is too narrow to enable them to grasp and appreciate the mission, and the possibilities, of the post-graduate department which has been inaugurated for the development of education in all its branches; but it is unable to undertake them all, because it is handicapped for want of funds, and the public seem to believe that the teaching which it now imparts benefits only a particular class. This is a mistaken notion; its sin is not the sin of expansion and extravagance: but its inability to expand freely in all the diverse directions which offer scope for the development of every youth who has his own individual or peculiar talent to develop, first, for the benefit of himself and, secondly, for the benefit of society. The University of Calcutta errs on the side of restriction rather than of expansion, and all complaints about its activities would, we are sure, be hushed into silence, if it were given a crore of rupees to enable it to expand freely in all possible directions. Some politicians place a wrong emphasis on vocational education and think that it should be fostered at the expense of cultural education: but they do not appreciate the absurdity of this proposition. Cultural education is the basis and mother of vocational education; the former furnishes ideas and principles, the latter facilities for organisation and to carry out the details. Cultural education means the extension of the bounds of knowledge; vocational education implies the application of this enlarged knowledge in particular times and circumstances, and cannot thrive without cultural education. In short, University education in any country can never be uniform: it must be diversified to suit every talent, every capacity every natural or hereditary aptitude, and lastly, it must suit the environment in which the recipient lives and is destined to work. In any attempt to suppress cultural education, we run the risk of suppressing the opportunities of the fittest and best talents. It means the waste or destruction or suppression of the best brains which supply the motive power of all intellectual activities in the country; it means the destruction of the centre of social consciousness, and, with it, the destruction of all activities to which the intellect supplies the necessary stimulus.

II

In the last article published on this subject in the "Bengalee" of Saturday last, we defined the functions of a University and emphasised the absurdity of divorcing cultural from vocational education, because, in the opinion of many persons, who have not studied nor have any experience of educational problems, the University does not, and cannot, form the centre of vocational education. The second point on which we laid stress, in connection with proposals for the reform of the educational system of a country, is that no branch of this complex and many-sided system can be reformed or changed without its effects being felt throughout the entire system: in other words, the educational system of a country is organic, *i.e.*, all the branches or organs of education are inter-dependent, each drawing its nourishment and vitality from, and supplying them to, the others. The defects of University or high, education, if they are grave and patent, may be attributable to defects in the earlier stages, *viz.*, the primary, the secondary, and the collegiate stages. Conversely, if there are defects in the 'pathsalas', schools and colleges, they may be attributed to the defects in our University system. The reason is obvious: a bad University system supplies inefficient teachers to schools and colleges; and a bad school and collegiate education feeds the University with students who come to it, with faculties not sufficiently developed to appreciate and assimilate University education. Whether we look at the primary, the secondary, the collegiate or the University education in its many-sided aspects—such as scientific, literary, or technical—we observe that no branch can flourish and thrive without the others. There cannot be an exclusively literary system or an exclusively technical system, unless there are University systems to supply the necessary ideas and agencies. Every branch of social service is managed by lay and expert knowledge. Lay knowledge corresponds to ideas and principles by which educationists study the educational problems of a country with special reference to its social and political conditions. These ideas and principles are contributed by cultural education, and their application is the subject of vocational education. Higher educational institutions, such as Universities, are essential for the creation and dissemination of ideas and principles: vocational schools and colleges are necessary for the practical application of these ideas and principles. Just as principles and details must work together for the production of useful and beneficent results, so vocational and higher institutions must be associated in organic connection to produce valuable results in society. It is the function of 'principles' to devise the means by which the needs and requirements of society can be determined and solved; it is the function of 'details' to work out how they can be determined and applied in practice with reference to surrounding conditions, the hereditary pre-occupations, and the individual aptitudes and tendencies of the young men of a particular geographical and ethnic division. Just as the connection between principles and details is close and intimate, so is the connection between the University and other educational institutions. These and other examples (which can be multiplied) are expected to convince the reader of the organic connection between the different parts or branches of an entire educational system. The University is the vital organ of that system of which the primary, secondary, technical and other schools are the limbs. This organic connection, which is not appreciated by men in the street, will be patent from the fact that the falling-off of the numerical strength of the students in schools and colleges reacts on the University; but the converse case, namely, that the falling-off in the strength and vitality of the University affects the strength and vitality of the schools and colleges is more difficult to appreciate although both the propositions are equally true. If the schools and colleges cease to function in the organism, the University will also cease to function; and, conversely, if the University ceases to perform its many-sided functions, the schools and colleges will wither and die. It must not be overlooked that, by "schools and colleges," we do not mean schools and colleges which impart literary education only; but they are meant to include medical, legal, technical schools, and technological colleges and schools, and colleges for the study of commerce and agriculture,—indeed all institutions for the education of youths organised with the help of ideas, principles, knowledge, higher skill, and intelligence, which are developed by University education and worked by persons who have learned to apply these qualities to practical problems. It is, therefore, a misconception of the educational system of a country to assert that the University can be destroyed without destroying the life of the schools and colleges organically connected with it, or that utilitarian or technical schools can be successfully started is a region detached from the University. The life and nourishment of the one depend on the life and nourishment of the other, and they are inter-dependent and inseparable.

III

In the preceding article on this subject, we pointed out the organic character of the educational system of a country, and argued that the different organs,—be they literary, technical, medical, legal, commercial or agricultural—are mutually inter-dependent, being parts of an organic whole, whose heart or centre of consciousness is the University. In the present article, we propose to discuss the character of public opinion and its influence on education.

A representative assembly, like the Bengal Legislative Council, is believed to be 'representative' of public opinion. This is true only with certain reservations. In all representative legislatures, a convention has grown up that the government of the country is not always bound by the resolutions of the legislature. This is not without significance and reason. The genesies of this convention is that, although the government is bound by the public opinion of the country, it is not bound by the opinion of the legislature, which is not always a faithful reflex of the opinion of the public. Representative government is normally conducted on party principles; a resolution of the legislature, moved by a party politician and supported by party followers, who are bound to the party by many subtle, though material, bonds, may not express the will of the people. It is true that "public opinion" may be created or manufactured under certain circumstances, but, in order that it may be accepted as such, it must be strongly founded on knowledge of facts, and not on mere opinion, which is the very oposite of knowledge. After the opinion is expressed by a single man or by a group of men united in associative work, it is subjected to analysis, criticism, and discussion in the light of skilled knowledge, superior wisdom and empiric facts, and by the action and interaction of many subtle and invisible forces, it finally emerges as "public opinion," when it is acquiesced in by the general public. The value of public opinion on any question is measured by technical skill, knowledge of facts, and superior intelligence brought to bear upon its formation. "Public opinion," therefore, remains in the stage of mere *obiter dictum*, if it is not shaped, moulded or modified by knowledge and experience. A 'representative' who represents other than educational interests and has no expert knowledge of the principles and problems of education cannot be expected to express a correct view on educational reform. True and effective public opinion may not exist within a representative assembly, but outside it. A resolution of a representative assembly, though it may be adopted by a large majority, is not necessarily an exact image of the public opinion outside. If it survives the scrutiny and discussion of the educational section of the public outside, then it is acceptable as public opinion. A resolution of the Council is not always a faithful expression of public opinion, for it may be the accidental result of party voting. It is not invariably the result of a free, well-considered, and well-reasoned opinion of that section of the public which is peculiarly competent to express its opinion from its expert knowledge of facts and principles. It is, therefore, an insecure and irrational basis of determining the principles of university reform. To identify a Council resolution with "public opinion" is to betray a lamentable ignorance of the fundamental principles of representative government. The duty of a 'responsible' Minister is not to accept that resolution as public opinion, as a passive or irresponsible person would do; but his supreme duty is to submit it to the bar of public criticism and judgment with incontestable facts supported by expert knowledge and higher ideas of public good, and to guide the public in the formulation of true public opinion. A "responsible" Minister ceases to be responsible to the public if he blindly accepts a resolution arrived at by its representatives without gauging the depth and intensity of public feeling in the country. He is gravely mistaken if he believes that he is 'responsible' to his followers in the Council alone, and is 'irresponsible' to the great body of the outside public, for whose welfare and to guard whose interests he holds his office as Minister. A "strong feeling" in the Council, however, strongly expressed by persons bound to the Minister by party loyalty and party ties, and other personal obligations which these imply, is not necessarily a "strong feeling" of the public, which is governed by higher and wider considerations than these. A "strong feeling" in the Council is, therefore, a wrong and delusive index to public feeling, and is valueless as "public opinion," because it admits of being easily manufactured. To dignify a "strong feeling" in the Council into true and "general public opinion" is not a happy diagnosis of "public feeling."

Incidents abound in English political life to show that measures may be hatched in party caucuses and clubs for gaining victory in elections; but they are liable to be rejected by the general public opinion of the country. This is a contingency which is taken into account by leaders of the ruling party in England, however strong in party cohesion, to submit measures first to the judgment of the public, before they are submitted to the judgment of the representatives. They are not projected in secrecy and carried through the legislature by the dictates of Party whips and then flung as laws on the public. This is a fundamental principle of representative government which we ask the Education Minister to take to heart. He ceases to be a 'responsible' Minister, as soon as he choses to carry out only the wishes of his party followers, but has not the courage to face the large volume of intelligent and well-informed criticism of the wider public outside, and render an account to that body. Political tactics and subtlety are different from political straightforwardness. The former may serve some purposes for some time; but the latter will serve all purposes for all times. Legislation for university reform is neither a personal nor a party question: Education stands above personal or party considerations, and is a question of national importance. It is, therefore, essential to bring to bear upon the solution of this question the highest virtues of statesmanship, the loftiest considerations of public good, and all the sane and stable elements of human nature, and not mean considerations of personal ends and the unstable elements of human nature, such as passion, prejudice, and abuse of power.

IV.

In our third article on this subject, we attempted to explain that a Minister ceases to be "responsible," when he blindly follows the dictates of the Legislature without regard to the higher dictates of public or national welfare. That would be the denotation of an automaton without any indivduality, or judgment or reason, which are the attributes of a 'responsible' Minister. In the present article, we shall discuss the relation between the Legislature and the University.

The Legislature is usually a large and heterogeneous body, which, perhaps, is incapable of administering such an important and technical branch of the public service as Education. No one has stressed this point with greater logic and emphasis than Mill, and his arguments bear repetition: "There is a radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it. . . . In many cases, its control over everything will be more perfect, the less it personally attempts to do it. It is one question what a popular assembly should control; another, what it should itself do." Among the few kinds of business which a large assembly is competent to perform properly, the voting of taxes is considered by Mill to be the most appropriate. With regard to the rest, its proper province, he says, is not to do it, but to take means for having it well done by others. "An assembly can deliberate better than administer, and it is the least fitted to dictate in detail to those who have the charge of administration. Even when honestly meant, the interference is almost always injurious. Every branch of administration is a skilled business, which has its own peculiar principles and traditional rules, many of them not even known, in any effectual way, except to those who have at some time had a hand in carrying on the business, and none of them likely to be duly appreciated by persons not practically acquainted with the department. The interests dependent on the acts done by a public department, the consequences liable to follow from any particular mode of conducting it, require, for weighing and estimating them, a kind of knowledge and of specially exercised judgment, almost as rarely found in those not bred to it, as the capacity to reform the law in those who have not professionally studied it. All these difficulties are sure to be ignored by a representative assembly which attempts to decide on special acts of administration." The advent of representative government has clothed the legislators with a certain amount of political freedom, attended with certain powers. New freedom accompanied with new powers, like new wine in old bottles, is liable to have dangerous consequences. The tendency to interfere in details of administration becomes very strong in transitional periods, and there arises a stronger temptation to make excessive use of these newly-acquired powers. It is commonly supposed that the Legislature, being the supreme authority, has the right to interfere in administration. But this conception of the supremacy of the Legislature is entirely wrong. That the Legislature is a repository of supreme power is conceded, but a constant exercise of this power destroys the judgment, the independence, and the initiative of the administrative authorities and reduces them to mere automata. The supreme power is usually kept in abeyance, sometimes for an indefinite period, because it is supreme, and ought not to be exercised until a real occasion for it arises. And even when it does arise, it should be exercised not in the form of direct and actual assumption of administrative functions, but in the indirect and remote prescription of new and improved principles for the guidance of the administration. The supreme power should seldom be active: for, when it is roused to activity, all other powers are silenced and reduced to inactivity. It is like a wild tiger let loose among a crowd, whose powers of resistance are benumbed and stupefied in the presence of a great power and who lose all powers of self-defence and self-control. The Legislature can, therefore, best perform its functions while asleep: when it is roused to administrative activity, it produces strifes and revolutions in the State. It has never been the function of the British Parliament, which is the model of the Indian Legislatures, to actually administer any service or department, and we are not aware of any instance in which the affairs of a University in the United Kingdom have been the subject of detailed Parliamentary discussion. No member of Parliament has ever interpellated the Education Minister about the qualifications of teachers, their relations to persons holding positions of authority in the different Universities of the United Kingdom, the number of hours they work, or the subjects taught by them. These are all matters of internal management, with which the University authorities are trusted. The real control of Parliament comes in when it is required to vote funds; and funds are voted or refused not according to the strength or weakness of the feeling expressed in Parliament, but according to the considered and informed opinion of recognised experts who are entitled to speak with authority on University matters. Such an authority in the case of the Calcutta University is the Senate, and an authority higher than the Senate is the Sadler Commission. The Bengal Legislature, by ignoring the opinions of these two expert bodies and relying on the opinion of a few members supported by a majority, is acting in a way which is contrary to all accepted principles of responsible government.

V

In the fourth article on the above subject, we discussed the relation between the Legislature and the University, and emphasised the fact that the control of the former should be limited to the voting of funds and the laying down of the constitution on such broad and elastic principles as would admit of the University exercising a free hand in the pursuit of its multiform activities. In other words, the control should be mainly legislative leaving ample freedom to domestic administration. The State control ought not to be carried to such excesses as undue interference with details involves. An educational authority like the University of Calcutta, which has studied the problem of national education from a time long anterior to the birth of democratic government in India, is surely competent to judge where it is defective and by what means the defect may be rectified. It is probably more conscious of the educational needs of the diverse classes of our people than the Government can be expected to be at this incipient stage of its existence; for the University is, to all intents and purposes, the educational committee of the State which has complex and various duties to perform and a multitude of interests to harmonise. The State, in its complex structure, has many phases: economic, political, commercial, industrial, artistic, educational, moral, etc., and the University represents one of these phases only, *viz.*, the educational. The University is the expert committee, instituted by statute for devising the best types of education suited for various individuals and classes, because it is the body pre-eminently fitted for such a task, owing to the possession, as Mill says, of "peculiar principles and traditional rules." The Government, standing in the position of a mediatory and corrective authority, can hardly be expected to function for such a duty. These principles and rules are the sole property of the authority which has a practical hand in the skilled business of education, and cannot be found in any authority, however high, which is not bred to it. It would be an assumption of super-human powers by the State, if it were to take upon itself the herculean task of doing every business itself without the intervention of an expert authority. If this were attempted, the activities of the Central Government would be soon paralysed and the work itself would result in a muddle.

It is, therefore, highly undesirable to control the details of the University without an adequate and practical acquaintance with the rules and principles which are peculiar to that body, and which have grown with it. The details refer to academic questions in respect of which the University ought to enjoy complete freedom. The new principles, sought to be introduced by Government with a view to reform should be of such a character as would promote and not hamper the carrying out of these details and would serve the public ends in a higher and better way owing to changed conditions of society. If the conditions under which funds are to be granted promote this object, the conditions are necessary and beneficial; if they hamper the object, they are the reverse. There may exist, of course, a difference of opinion as to whether the conditions are beneficial or otherwise; but this difference can be adjusted by consultation, co-operation, and compromise. This in our opinion, is not, however, a material issue. The material points are: (1) to what extent funds should be allotted to the

University; and (2) to what extent the Government should control the application of these funds. These points can be decided by a common test, *viz.*, how far the autonomous (*i.e.* academic) functions are promoted by the grants from Government. The answer lies plainly, not in the restriction, but in the expansion, of University activities as has been done; because the University is the best authority to judge the educational needs of the various classes of people within its special jurisdiction. If the Government, for reasons of financial stringency, is unable to provide the funds, the University would be glad to meet the wishes of Government, and all causes of conflict would cease. But it would be contrary to all sound educational principles if the Government were to take upon itself to dictate the lines on which the education of our youths should be conducted, because the University has not sufficient money to pay its way.

Finally, we feel that the Hon'ble Minister is not quite clear in his ideas, nor precise and certain in his language, about the four cardinal principles which he has recently enunciated. In the first place, he would give autonomy to the University, both in academic and financial matters, but would make some provision to limit its activities to its "available resources." Apart from the fact that this is a new definition of autonomy, we are inclined to ask what should the "available resources" be? Will they be the existing resources, supplemented by occasional doles wrung from him by protracted and acrimonious correspondence and negotiations, in which the University's distress will be taken advantage of to put it in chains? Or, is the University to be free to raise fees and free to expect generous grants—not generous in the estimation of the Minister but generous in the estimation of the recipient? Will the "available resources" of an autonomous University then consist of such income as it will be free to raise and free to receive without going down on its knees? In the second place, he would give the persons who have made education as their vocation better opportunities to participate in the affairs of the University. Does it mean that the participation would be direct or indirect? He should remember that the administration of the highest affairs of education is a 'skilled' business. It is the business of the aristocracy, and not the democracy, of intellect. Elective principle and democratic government are attractive catch-phrases to capture public conscience; but they are not sound principles to be applied in practice. Educational reform requires the highest exercise of the highest type of intellect, and cannot safely and profitably be left to the mercy of Democracy. Even in the most democratic countries Government is either aristocratic or autocratic. And nowhere can the principle be abused with greater mischief than in this country, where the politicians hold mistaken and exaggerated notions of the scope and possibilities of representative government, which is, after all, a new wine in an old bottle. Especially is this principle liable to be abused by such a body in solving the great problem of education.

Again, how does he propose to extend the elective principle consistently with academic interests? The provisions of Mr. Mitter's projected Bill of which we gave a summary a few weeks back, may give effect to the elective or representative principle, but are, without question, subversive of academic interests. His idea of a Senate, with apparently no expert academic council, constituted on the broadest elective principle, intermixed with a communal element, may be a stately council, but will be inefficient as an academic body. With all his good intentions, he has been unable to reconcile democratic principles with academic interests: and, as this is a problem which has taxed many very distinguished men, he may probably be excused for his enthusiasm for new-fangled democracy.

There is a fundamental difference of opinion as regards these "cardinal principles" between himself, on the one hand and ourselves and the Senate, on the other. But we have reasons to hope that a reconciliation or adjustment of this difference will not be long in coming, and the Minister, the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Senators, and the Legislators will be prompt and sane enough to come to an understanding, so that the University of Calcutta may again be in a position to advance the cause of higher education and culture and move along the line of progress. But here we must be quite clear and definite as to what 'progress' means. In the present economic condition of society, the activites of the University must be multiform, if it is called upon to satisfy the demands of our young men for fuller material or intellectual life. This means inevitable expansion. Indeed, the University is struggling to expand in just response to the economic and intellectual demands of the country. This expansion is reform, and this reform means money. University reform is, therefore, a question of more and more funds. People may talk glibly of "University Reform": but, from all serious proposals, these words had better be omitted, if no adequate provision for its expansion can be made. It is one thing to reform the University, another to restrict its activities, within a restricted sphere with restricted funds. Where would "academic freedom" and "University Reform" be, if the financial chains are tightened round the necks of the Senate? Academic freedom, and freedom to spend money, go together. If there are not adequate funds for expansion, a mere reconstruction of the Senate on elective principle will not answer the primary needs of higher education.

University Finance.

In our issue for October and November last (Vol. 5, pp. 249-264) we set out the full text of a letter addressed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) to the Registrar of the University regarding the grant of financial assistance, together with the report of the Accountant-General on our financial position. We mentioned that the Senate had referred the matter, on the 9th September last, to a Committee of nine members, namely, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sir P. C. Ray, Principal G. C. Bose, Rev. Father F. X. Crohan, Rev. Dr. George Howells, Mr. Kaminikumar Chanda, Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray and Dr. Jatindranath Maitra. On the 11th November last, the

Committee submitted a unanimous report.[1] The text of the report occupies 102 pages and the appendices take up 184 pages. It is impossible for us to reproduce the report here. We need only state that the report is of abiding value to all interested in the history of the transformation of our University into a Teaching and Research Institution.

The report was placed before the Senate for consideration on the 2nd December, 1922, and was adopted *nem com* on the motion of Sir P. C. Ray seconded by Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen. The occasion was historic and the report of the debate which we set out below will be read with interest by all our readers:

> The Senate proceeded to consider the report of the Government Grant Committee appointed on the 9th September, 1922.
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> **Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray** :—May I inquire how it is that extracts from the Report of the Committee, which has been sent to us marked confidential, appeared in the "Statesman" last Tuesday occupying five columns and were commented on the following Thursday; was any copy of the Report sent to the "Statesman"?
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> **The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor** :—As soon as the "Statesman" came out with several columns on this subject, the Registrar addressed a letter, dated the 28th November, 1922, which I shall place before the Senate. It is as follows :—"My attention has been drawn to your issue of this (28th November) morning which contains extracts from the report submitted by a Committee of the Senate on a letter from the Government of Bengal relating to the grant of financial assistance to the University. The report has not yet been considered by the Senate. Copies of the report supplied to the members of the Senate were marked "confidential till considered by the Senate." No copy was sent to you by this office for publication before the Senate could meet to consider the report. I shall be obliged if you will let me know how the report has come to be published by you before the meeting of the Senate."
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> The following reply was received on the 30th :
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> "Dear Sir,
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> I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. G. 88 of November 28th."
>
> **Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray** :—Is that all?
>
> **The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor** :—Yes.
>
> **Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray** :—Very kind of the Editor.
>
> **The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor** :—I shall make no comment.

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[1] Copies of the Report may be had from the Registrar for a nominal price.

Sir Praphullachandra Ray, while moving that the Report of the Government Grant Committee be adopted, said :

I submit this report for adoption by the members of the Senate. I do not think it is necessary to inflict a lengthy speech. More so because I confesss I lack the capacity. The report has been circulated, I hope, to the members in time, and, I trust, they had had ample time to go through it, as many momentous issues are involved. In the first place, I draw the attention of my colleagues to two points. Much capital has been made in the Government letter of the report of the Accountant-General on the finances of the University. It is asserted that the report reveals the fact that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. The report has been dealt with at some length in the report of the Committee, page 50, and I hope the perusal of it will convince any unbiassed person that the Report of the Accountant-General, if it points to anything, points to the extreme inadequacy of the grants made to the University from public funds. The contributions by Government in the year 1921-22, out of a total expenditure of 8,09,793-4-6 in the Departments of Arts and Science, were Rs. 68,135—a little over 8 per cent. I leave it to my colleagues to consider whether the grant is at all adequate. It will be in the memory of the members of the Senate that it fell to my lot to resist the proposal to saddle our countrymen with additional expenses by increasing the examination fees of the poor students. My point was not in any way to paralyse the activities of the University but to force the hands of the Government. (Reads an extract.) The Accountant-General does not say that the University Funds have been misapplied or misappropriated. I now come to the conditions of the Government grant. A perusal of the Government letter leads us to the conclusion that the Government desires to utilise the present financial embarrassment of the University to obtain control over its affairs in a manner not contemplated in the Indian Universities Act of 1904. It reveals the attitude adopted by the Imperial Government since the year 1912. It seems to me, Sir, that there is an unseen hand working from behind with dark and sinister purposes since the year 1912 onwards. While the Government of India had been putting off the claims of financial assistance for the post-graduate scheme on the score of want of funds, it could easily spare something like ten crores of rupees or more for the construction of new Delhi. A well-informed Calcutta daily went to the length of characterising this expenditure as " wicked waste." The Government of India also could make up its mind to earmark 150 crores of rupees during the next five years for the rehabilitation of the railway. One-hundredth of it, *i.e.*, one and a half crore could rehabilitate the University.

Mr. Manmatha Nath Ray : Even less.

Continuing **Sir P. C. Ray** said: Let us come to the Government of Bengal, which I find is the legal inheritor of the noble traditions of Simla. What am I to say of the Bengal Legislative Council which would not give us even 2½ lacs of rupees? Is this the first fruit of the so-called Reforms Act, an earnest of what was expected of an Indian member as Minister of Education? In that case, I am afraid, we have to exclaim, "Lord, deliver us from such a reform." The Provincial Council says that it is the custodian of public funds. The Council may grant five or six lacs if it comes to providing comfortable quarters for married Sergeants; the Councillors are quite willing to grant two or three lacs for Hospital Nurses' quarters. Are these things of far greater importance to Bengal than higher education? I need not take up more time by dilating on this point. There are other and more veteran exponents. If I am zealous of scientific education I never maintain that it should be carried on at the expense of culture. I am as much for the Humanities and Liberal Culture as for Scientific Education. Culture and Science go hand in hand. When I come to my own College of Science, I am apt to lose my balance of mind. I can scarcely restrain myself. I find that the people of Bengal in some shape or other contributed sixty lacs for the College of Science; in endowments alone—I speak subject to correction—it amounts to about forty-five lacs. Out of fees from my beloved poor students throughout Bengal we have got as much as ten lacs. Out of other funds we have got something like five lacs. All this makes up sixty lacs. But the Government has given a precious grant of one lac and twenty thousand—twelve thousand a year. Is this to be expected of a civilised Government, when we have to make up lost ground? I hold in my hand the latest issue of a scientific journal in Chemistry. Look at the number of original papers. Look at the record of one month's work in Chemistry alone? It amounts to 588 original papers by as many authors. A list of authors is given in alphabetical index. It represents only one branch of science. There are similar activities in Physics, Biology, Bacteriology, Botany, Physiology, and so forth. I need not amplify the names. There are several thousands of papers published in Europe, America, and Japan every month. What is the contribution made by Indians? Barely one or two. We are practically nowhere if we take our students' contributions in the scientific world. Such being the case, one might have expected of the Government of India, or of its successor, the Government of Bengal, to come forward with a liberal grant to uphold us in this struggle we are making in advancing the cause of Science? Only this morning one of my colleagues, the Professor of Physical Chemistry, an ardent student of science spoke to me with reference to the inadequacy of equipment in the College of Science. Just two years ago, about this time, while I was in London it was my privilege to attend a Conference of Chemists, at which papers on Colloid Chemistry and on other subjects were read, and amongst these papers there was one contributed by this young friend of mine. The "NATURE" remarked that of all the papers read in the Conference, the most important was the one by my young friend who need not be named. We were fortunate in securing his services on a pay, which is the initial pay of the Indian Educational Service. He was complaining to me this very morning that he could not send an order for a small table so that he might put up apparatus for making experiments. I, as responsible head of the Department, was taken to task by the Education Minister, because I had ordered a few thousands worth of articles in anticipation. We have to anticipate orders for scientific apparatus at the Presidency College. If we have to order anything, as is contemplated in the new scheme, we shall have to wait in the antechamber, not only of the Minister but his advisors. I think we had better show a bold front. The conditions which have been imposed are so humiliating, so gallingly derogatory to our self-respect, that we had better close down the concern, lock up the gates of the University and go about the country for support. It appears that the Government has actually abdicated its function. Strange doctrines of Political Philosophy are being enunciated. We are told that the primary function of the Government of India as well as of the Government of Bengal is the maintenance of "law and order." Hence they were very careful to see that only military expenditure and that of the Police of the Provincial Government were provided for. Other departments might well be left to take care of themselves, to starve, to shiver in the cold shade of neglect. We cannot put up with this state of things. Let the Government abdicate its function if it likes. I must play the role of the professional beggar. I have gone about the country with the beggar's bowl. Last year I got in this way three lacs for Khulna famine. This year I have got more than five lacs. I think the patriotism of Bengal will prove equal to the occasion if the Government adopts this strange attitude. Government was unstinted in its liberality when it came to decorate the ball room at the Belvedere. A grave crisis is looming large in the horizon of our national intellectual progress. We are threatened with a national disaster. So it behoves us to take concerted action and try our best to avert the calamity. We should gird up our loins and see that the noble heritage which has been granted to us is not bartered for a mess of pottage. I feel very very strongly on this occasion. In the evening of my life I thought I might hand down to our successors the lamp which we have been able to light so very dimly, so that it might burn very brilliantly. That feeble light is about to be extinguished. That is the reason why on this occasion I have not been able to keep my vow of silence. Seldom or never have I taken any active part in the debates of the Senate. I was content simply with recording a silent vote. On a memorable occasion, more than a century ago, Raja Rammohan

Ray, the maker of modern Bengal, nay of modern India, addressed a letter to the then Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, saying that silence on his part would be construed as a great dereliction of duty. On that occasion the illustrious Raja pleaded the cause of Western Education, in the interest of not only literature and philosophy, but also in the interest of my own favourite subject, Chemistry. The appeal which he made in the interest of high education yet appeals to the heart of the later generations. We shall not go down on our knees. Let us go to the people of the country, headed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and a deputation of the Senate, and make a house to house visit—or rather a visitation. Come what it may I am sure the cause of education will not suffer. I need not speak further. I have said what I had to say and I could not keep myself under anything like restraint.

About this barter of our birth-right, I should beg to read a very notable extract from the speech of Mr. Fisher, late Minister of Education in England. We have concluded our report with it, we cannot do better than to lay special stress upon it. It is an inducement to refuse to accept any Government grant on humiliating terms. The Minister of Education distinctly says that no one appreciates more fully than himself the vital importance of preserving the liberty and autonomy of the University as laid down in the statute. I make a final appeal to the Education Minister to read and digest every word of the report and think twice before he pursues the course which he has contemplated. With these words I submit the report for adoption.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Dineschandra Sen seconded the motion, observing that every member of the Senate should be proud of this monumental report.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—The matter is now open for discussion.

Prof. Hiralal Haldar :—The report of the Committee should be an eye-opener to many. It is an effective reply to those who say that the University has wantonly and in unnecessarily bitter conflict with the Government made arrangements for Post-Graduate teaching and research. What are the main facts ? The Act of 1904 definitely requires that the Calcutta University should be a teaching University. In accordance with its provisions, arrangements for Post-Graduate instruction were made as soon as that Act came into force. The Government of India at first viewed with sympathy the efforts of the University in this direction. For some reason or other that sympathy gradually changed into indifference and indifference into hostility. A strong and influential Committee was appointed to inquire into the teaching activities of the University. That Committee presented a unanimous report. The Government of India intimated that they would be prepared to give their sanction to the recommendations of the Committee if the Senate accepted them.

The Senate approved of the scheme and the organisation for Post-Graduate teaching came into being. How then can it be said that the Vice-Chancellor alone is responsible for the development that has taken place ? It is not necessary to be exceptionally talented to understand that in this imperfect world nothing can be done without money. While money was not wanting for the unnecessary creation of new Universities—nothing was available for the premier University of India. Not only the Government of India did not help the University, but it refused to allow it to help itself. The Government rejected the proposal for increasing the examination fees. At this juncture an important change of scene took place. The Government of India made their exit. The Government of Bengal entered, looking very agreeable and smiling most pleasantly. So bland was the smile that even a sedate man like Sir Nilratan Sircar was captivated. The outlook seemed to be bright and hopeful. This was in February, 1921. But in February, 1922, the smile most unaccountably was changed into a frown, and a few days later in March, came the famous outburst. March is, no doubt, a season of thunderstorms, but so sudden a thunder clap on the very first day of the month was scarcely expected. "Thoughtless expansion," "almost a criminal act," exclaimed the Minister of Education ! But inspite of this indictment, the Vice-Chancellor is not in the prisoner's dock. On the contrary he happens to be in excellent company, in the company of no less a man than the renowned philosopher, Edward Caird. The result of his efforts to reform the University of Glasgow is thus stated by his biographers—" There ensued a rapid and large development of teaching power in the University. A great many lecturers and assistants were appointed, more subjects were taught, and the ways in which subjects could be chosen and grouped for degrees are now not easily numbered. Moreover, the influence exerted by the large younger staff of lecturers and assistants upon both the Professors and the undergraduates is, to put it modestly, informing for the latter and stimulating for both." By what strange mischance is it that what is praiseworthy in Glasgow becomes criminal in Calcutta ?

If, after the vituperation of March and July last, the money voted by the Council had safely arrived, it would have been some consolation. But it is not within sight, and we poor teachers of the University are still starving. There is a Bengalee saying "Dog, wait in expectation until the month of *Pous*, rice will be given to you then." The month of *Pous* is coming. I wonder whether the Minister of Education is going to give us rice then.

Why the letter of the 23rd August was written is a mystery. The best course for the Government would have been, as Principal Bose suggested at the time, to send the report of the Accountant-General to the University with the request that necessary action might be taken. If the object of the Government really was to improve the financial position of the

University, they committed a sad blunder in writing a letter like that. If, on the other hand, their object was to humiliate the University, they have admirably succeeded in achieving that purpose. I have heard people asking why the University could not accept the conditions of the Government, some of which at any rate were not unreasonable. The answer is that they could not be accepted because they are presented as an ultimatum. No self-respecting body that values its freedom can tamely submit to dictation. Sir, they in the Ministry of Education would do well to study Psychology a little. They will then understand that it is not easy for a self-respecting man or a self-respecting body of men to accede to demands made at the point of the bayonet.

Although the University cannot sell its birth right for a mess of pottage, we are not obstructive in spirit and are not unwilling to do what we can, to put our house in order. Of our own motion, we have in the budget rules adopted most of the suggestions of the Accountant-General. There has been a large reduction of expenditure in the Post-Graduate department. The Government has absolutely no cause of complaint now. Then why keep up the strife any longer ? As I said on a former occasion, if there be good will and an honest desire to settle differences, the whole difficulty can be easily surmounted within a short time. Where there is a will there is a way. Eliminate personal considerations, do not ask to humiliate the University, and there will be no further difficulty. I appeal to the Minister of Education to take a broad statesman-like view of the whole question and to remember that the progress of a country depends more on University education of the right type than on primary education. I cannot think that the Minister of Education really wishes to go down to posterity as the man during whose time the Calcutta University was ruined. The policy he is pursuing is dangerous. It has brought him to the very verge of the inexpiable sin of killing his own *alma mater*, the greatest University of India. It is to be hoped that he will be saved from this disgrace even at the eleventh hour.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose :—I very much regret I have not been able to agree in many of the findings of my colleagues. Therefore, I cannot support the resolution which has been moved. In the first place, what appears to me the most regrettable thing is that the Committee got an opportunity to improve the relations between this University and the Government and it has let that opportunity slip. Next, the line of action which the Committee has recommended to the Senate for adoption is one which, in my opinion, is further widening the gulf, and the very strained relations between the parties will make it impossible to advance the cause of higher education in the province. So much has been said about the conditions of the grant that I shall make only a few observations on that matter. The grant is conditional. Every grant made for any purpose is almost invariably conditional. The grants which the Government of India has hitherto made to the Calcutta University, or the grants which we have received from private persons, were all subject to certain conditions which we never hesitated to accept. The Committee have advised us to reject the grant, because it is conditional. But there is nothing in the conditions which makes the grant unacceptable. In the first place, in the Government letter the advice has been given, which is based on the report of the Accountant-General who finds certain irregularities in the system of our keeping accounts, framing budgets, and recording Proceedings, that our system of keeping accounts should be put in order. Therefore the Government imposes the condition that the accounts should be kept properly and our house should be put in order. This is at least one of the few conditions. Now, as regards the balance sheet and the proceedings, so far as the conditions are concerned, we have already adopted certain budget rules which, I think, for the most part comply with many of those conditions, so that I do not think there is any cause for quarrel between us and the Government in this matter. In all fairness it must be said that the irregularities and the defects noticed by the Accountant-General, in spite of the pleadings of the Committee and the arguments put forward in defence, do exist, and it is only reasonable to accept certain budget rules whereby we can put our house in order. You should not incur any expenditure for further expansion of the University until your finances have improved. I take that as a friendly hint. Every friend will give that advice—until your finances have improved you should not expand. What is the harm? It is simple truth and no body can deny the soundness of the suggestions which have been made by the Government. Now, did we give proper attention to this matter? I do not think we did. For this reason let us see how our funds stood in 1908. We had a surplus. Our income went on increasing until 1918 when we had a deficit. Of course, we did incur expenditure without giving proper attention to our sources of income. Neither any institution nor any person ought to incur expenditure without the means. This is one of the conditions of the Government. Out of two lacs and fifty thousand Rupees, pay the staff and the fees of the examiners. This is a condition which the Government has imposed. I do not think we can raise any objection to it. The Committee have dealt with the ground of the Accountant-General who makes the Post-Graduate department mainly responsible for the deficit of the University. The Post-Graduate system came into existence in 1917. We had more than 2 lacs of Rupees as surplus; at the end of that year the surplus came down to 19 thousand Rupees.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor:—Do not take everything on trust.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose:—He is an expert Sir. In 1918 there was a surplus but there was a debit balance of Rupees 38 thousand. Next year the debit balance increased to one lac and in the year following it swelled still. If that is so, can we say conscientiously that in managing our finances of the Post-Graduate department we were very prudent in our action? Did we examine carefully what our income was? Of course there was the point that the Government ought to have come to the help of the Post-Graduate department. But the question is, did not we receive any assurance with reference to the allocation of certain funds upon which alone we should depend ?

Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjea:—Never.

Dr. Bose:—They put it down that we must not depend on them.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee :—That is your view of the matter.

Dr. Bose :—I leave that point. Then there is one matter and it is that the Committee have accused Government of not helping the University for raising the examination fees of the students. When this proposal was brought before the Senate, it was my privilege to oppose it, although the opposition was in a minority and the majority carried it. After that a very strong agitation was set on foot all over the country and there were also protests in the papers, against the action of the Senate. The agitation was carried on all over the province. Can you blame the Government in refusing the proposal of the Senate in deference to public opinion? These are some points in the findings of the Committee, in which I do not agree. There is another matter—the Committee ought to have come to a constructive conclusion instead of coming to the conclusion that we should reject the Government Grant.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor:—No, we have not rejected it.

Dr. Bose :—The Committee should have made some friendly suggestions as to how to meet the present deficit. This I think is what we expected of the Committee. Before the Senate accepts this resolution, I would simply ask for the assurance how the deficit is to be made up. Otherwise, it would not be wise for the Senate to adopt this course.

Rev. Dr. J. Watt:—What will be the position of the Senate if the resolution is accepted in the terms in which Sir P. C. Ray has proposed it? Does it mean that the grant will be refused on the conditions offered?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor:—I am not in the secrets of the Government of Bengal. Why assume that if the Senate were to say that it is not prepared to accept the conditions, the Government of Bengal would say—here is the rifle at your head and we would shoot you down?

Rev. Dr. G. Howells :—I am sorry Dr. Chuni Lal Bose does not see his way to accept the main contentions of the report. It is undoubtedly a sound principle that no institution should spend money beyond its income. That applies to individual institutions and also to Government. When we hear that the Government of Bengal has a deficit of some 87 lacs, and when it comes to us with a very superior air and seeks to chastise us for the few lacs that we have gone beyond our income, it is only human nature to reply—" Physician heal thyself." At any rate it does not strike me that the Government of Bengal is in a strong position there. As to the conditions, I first thought that they might be accepted by the University with a little protest. But the more I studied the matter and the more it was discussed on the Committee, the more it became perfectly clear to me that there was a spirit behind these conditions that was really dangerous to our existence as an autonomous institution. We have these conditions to-day. Accept them and to-morrow the conditions will be much more rigid. In order to get rid of the temporary difficulty should we yield and go against the best traditions of University administration all over the World? Instead of remaining an autonomous institution should the University become a department of the Government? At any rate, as educationists, we should feel very little interest in being simply a Government Department. The conditions and specially the spirit behind them are against the traditions of progressive Universities all over the World. In view of all the facts placed before you in the report, can a single autonomous University of standing in the Western World, for instance, accept conditions of this kind? Oxford and Cambridge would certainly reject them without hesitation and say—" We will go on as an inefficient institution rather than yield to conditions of this kind." I admit we shall be in difficulty. But it seems to me that we shall have a great deal more of public sympathy than hitherto, when the facts will become known after the publication of this report. I do not think for a moment that the people of Bengal will consider that we have done our duty if we sell our birth right in this matter. When Sir P. C. Ray spoke of the possibility of appealing to the people of Bengal and going from door to door with the Vice-Chancellor at the head of the procession, I noticed there was a little smile, yet the University must have real national support. Its defence must be based on the support of the people. We, Welsh people for instance, look back with pride when more than 50 years ago the first University College was established in Wales; it was a feature of real pride to us that one-fourth of the population contributed their mite or something bigger than their mite to the foundation of what was known at that time as the " University College of Wales." Surely rather than become a mere department of Government with all its red tape, with all its political expedients and intrigues, we would rather go from door to door. We cannot yield to humiliating conditions. We are here to maintain the great principles that are associated with University life, and it must be recognised that when a University becomes a department of Government, things are too often decided from the standpoint not of education but of political expediency. Such an atmosphere is fatal to the real educational character of our institution or of any similar institution. Therefore, while I deplore the difficulties of the position, I am strongly against selling our convictions. It will be a betrayal of the great trust imposed on us as a University, if we yield, and with no small regret I have come to the conclusion that we have no alternative but to refuse the conditions.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri :—I accord this resolution my whole-hearted support. I regret there has been a dissentient voice with regard to it. I fear my honoured friend has not very carefully studied the report, so carefully as it deserves to be studied. The recommendations are set out in the report and I do not find there is such recommendation as referred to by him. Conditions ought not to be imposed without consideration Conditions may destroy the authority of the institution. Authorities are cited in the report itself in support of this view. The Government has laid down various conditions. Do you think the University is devoid of common sense that it sanctions schemes for which there is no money forthcoming? There is no ground for such complaint. In February, 1922, our letter said *money was not needed for new work to be undertaken.* Is it conceivable that the Government should have misunderstood it? We say there is so much in deficit. We do not want money for new schemes. We wanted money to meet the deficit. We said it was required to meet liabilities which have been already incurred. Is there any indication in the letter, any ground for suspecting that it was intended for any other purpose? Has there been anything said or done by the University since that time which indicates that we wanted to expand the Post-Graduate or any other scheme? There is no justice in the complaint made by my friend Dr. Chunilal Bose. Why are we forgetting the change which has taken place so far as the constitution of the University is concerned? When I came out from England after finishing my career in the Cambridge University I thought our system defective. The Calcutta University was said to have been founded upon the basis of the London University. I examined that statement. I remember having spoken in the Albert Hall when I likened the Calcutta University to a cabbage. In those days the Calcutta University was very much like a cabbage —one of the quickest and completest of vegetables without much substance. So far as the London University was concerned they had elected Fellows. I described the Fellowship here as the last rag of dignity in the gift of the Crown. That was one of the reasons which I believe led the Government to say, "we shall allow the graduates of Calcutta to elect." I am one of the four Graduates who were elected at the very first election.

The complaint in the country was then that the Calcutta University was not a teaching University but merely an examining University. In 1904, in February, during Lord Curzon's time, the University Act was enacted and the Act received sanction in March of the same year and the University was coverted into a teaching and research University. We were asked to frame regulations under that Act,—I was a member of the Senate then. We did our best to frame regulations but we were late. Without extending the time the Government disregarded the resolutions as framed by us as they were incomplete and appointed a Committee for the purpose of framing the regulations. Chapter XI of the Regulations says that *there shall be Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science.* Grants came from Lord Curzon. From 1904 to 1910 and 1911 we received grants. Then question arose what was to be done about Post-Graduate Studies. The matter was referred by the Government to a Committee called the Post-Graduate Committee. In 1916 the Post-Graduate Committee made its report. The Government wanted it to be placed before the Senate and the Senate approved of that report. The Government then sanctioned that scheme. The report set out the details of the work that was being done. The Government having sanctioned this in September, 1917, the University established Post-Graduate teaching. Now I ask—was Post-Graduate teaching established without the sanction and support of the Government? If we have sinned by taking up the work, we have sinned at the instigation of the Government. But we have not sinned and we claim to have done good work with the sympathetic support of Government. We expected the Government to support us. We made frequent appeals. When these appeals were made, was there a straightforward refusal at any time? There were ambiguous replies—" your appeal will be considered in connection with other educational requirements." This is the way they went on putting us off. In the meantime, you know what happened. New Delhi is being erected, but there is no money for the Calcutta University. We asked for money for a good Chemical Laboratory for the Presidency College, but no money was forthcoming although there was plenty of money for the ball room at Belvedere called the "Darbar Hall." We apprehended and the Government knew very well that during 1919 and 1920 there would be a deficit. The reason for the deficit is fully set out in the report. There was a leakage of University questions which involved us in loss to the extent of 60 thousand Rupees. That was unforeseen. Then there was the Non-co-operation movement and our fees fell off. The University pointed out that owing to the Non-co-operation movement the fees had fallen off. There were protests that we had exaggerated the effect of the movement. We had not done so. A careful note was made to show how the matter stood, which has not been challenged by any one. The University had expected that their income would continue to grow but the

Non-co-operation movement sapped our strength. We believed that financial help would be forthcoming from the Government but it did not come. We have starved, but have not ceased to live. The University will live long and live to grow and bring glory to the country. What we have said in the report now before you is this. We have asked the Government—will you kindly give us help? We want your help. What are the conditions to be imposed? Can the Government say—we pay so much to you but you must not teach the Vedanta, or the Quoran? Cut down such and such branches of study. Can it claim to have that right? We ask—Is money forthcoming to give effect to the Act? We regret this has been lost sight of. I am tempted to cite the case of a big Zemindar who did not grudge paying lacs in litigation but curtailed his fish allowance of six annas a day. As for a friendly talk with the Minister, which has been suggested, what will be the friendly talk about? Friendly talks are sometimes effective. They are particularly effective in domestic affairs. The boudoir is a very desirable place for settling domestic disputes. But with regard to public matters, a private conference has never proved to be useful. I refer Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose to the policy enunciated by Mr. Herbert Fisher as Minister of Education of Great Britain, which has been quoted with approval by the Royal Commission :—" No one appreciates more fully than myself the vital importance of preserving the liberty and autonomy of the Universities within the general lines laid down under their constitution. The State is, in my opinion, not competent to direct the work of education and disinterested research which is carried on by Universities, and the responsibility for its conduct must rest solely with their Governing Bodies and Teachers. This is a principle which has always been observed in the distribution of the funds which Government has voted for subsidising University work; so long as I have any hand in shaping the national system of education I intend to observe this principle. " This is exactly what we are saying. I refer you to another passage quoted from the report of the Royal Commission by Sir Harcourt Butler in the Convocation address delivered by him on the 4th November, 1922, as Chancellor of the University of Allahabad :—" That the attempt of the State to control opinion in the Universities and Colleges broke down in 1688, and was never revived, is a great fact that has distinguished our University system from that of France and Germany. It is a precious part of our intellectual and moral heritage as a nation. If there were any danger that grants of public money would lead to State interference with opinion in the Universities, it might be the less of two evils that they should decline in efficiency, rather than lose their independence in order to obtain adequate means. But the ways of thought and feeling of the modern British Community are hostile to any development in the direction of State control of the academic spirit, and the public grants already enjoyed by the old Scottish and new English Universities have not led to State interference with opinion and tendency in those Institutions." We ask the same to be done in our case. We are living from hand to mouth. This state of things is not confined to the poor Calcutta University alone but exists also in bigger Universities. Has it ever been suggested to the English Universities that money was to be paid to them upon similar conditions? Sir Alfred Ewing, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University of Edinburgh, while dealing with the question of a Reserve Fund in a University, said :—" I have yet to find the University which builds up a reserve fund, as a submarine cable company builds up a reserve for the renewal of its cables, knowing that some day or other the crisis must come. Our poverty has made us opportunists; we live from hand to mouth. Probably we are right to concentrate on present efficiency—to take no thought for the morrow. If saving can be carried out only at the cost of usefulness we do well not to save." Do they suffer from want of intelligence? Bureaucratic interference is frequently pettifogging and stupid red-tapism, as the *Times* once said. Should we not be congratulated on our loyalty to the University? Should Government raise a false issue and come and say that we must build a reserve? They know that as constituted we cannot now build it up so far as our fees are concerned. The Sadler Commission says that fee income is precarious. It must vary from year to year. When we wanted to raise it Government felt it should yield to public clamour against it and did not let us raise then. On their suggestion the tuition fees of the Post-Graduate classes have been raised. But the conscience of the Government sleeps from time to time. The Government considered our proposal for increasing the examination fees as a desire to slaughter the innocents. I doubt if I made a wise suggestion while talking with a member of the Executive Council some years ago at Simla that an Indian should be made the Minister of Education in the Imperial Government, because education was a matter essentially ours. I thought then that was the best thing to do. I do not know I should be prepared to support that in its entirety now, because an English graduate carries with him the traditions of his *Alma Mater*. I regret matters now under discussion should have taken such an acrimonious turn. I fear there may be invisible hands in the matter, but although Ghosts may be abroad they avoid open day light. I think it is our duty to support this report. I beg that you will accept the report which has to-day been presented to you.

Mr. K. K. Chanda :—We know the Minister cannot grant any money without the sanction of the Council. I do not know how the Minister has taken that attitude about imposing conditions. There was no discussion about it at the time. We also find that he has made a deviation; in response to our appeal for meeting the deficit of five lacs, only half that amount has been voted and the Minister directs us to pay the salaries of the teachers at once.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee:—Out of compassion!

Mr. Chanda:—I do not know how the Minister directs that out of the grant of two and half lacs the teachers and the examiners should be paid at once. I do not know how the matter stands. After all, the conditions are imposed by the representatives of the people not by the Bureaucracy. My friend Dr. Haldar seemed to have doubt whether the Minister was the representative of the people. Is it a sound thing to say that it is safe to place the University under the Government? Well, Sir, we are told there is a responsible Government in this country now. Some people believe it and some say it is only the first instalment. I find some difficulty in distinguishing it. Every student of constitutional history knows that to make responsible Government successful in the country, there should be two parties, one for the Government and the other, the Opposition. What is done by one party, is undone by the other party. Once you make education a part of politics, the result will be disastrous. Dr. P. C. Ray has placed before you opinions of several distinguished people. I only hope our first Minister of Education will accept these authorities. You will find other opinions also quoted. Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri has said that the Government of India sanctioned the scheme. So it was morally bound to support the scheme. Lord Chelmsford himself supported it and so also did Lord Ronaldshay. The Commission also recommended that an immediate grant should be made to the University towards the maintenance of the Post-Graduate department. Is the University to blame then? Is it our fault that the Government has not helped us?

Mr. Herambachandra Maitra:—I am sincerely grateful to our friend Dr. Chunilal Bose for having forcibly presented to the Senate his view of the case. There is no life where there is no difference of opinion. May I invite the attention of the Senate to one fact of vital importance which has been pressed upon our attention and which, I am sorry to find, has been lost sight of by my distinguished friend? It is a report of the Accountant-General, upon which is based the grave charge that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. This makes it necessary for us to consider the report very carefully. The Accountant-General has stated that three lacs out of a total deficit of five lacs and a half is due to causes over which the University had no control. Shall we be far wrong in coming to the conclusion that the Government, in declaring the financial administration of the University to be unsatisfactory on account of a deficit which has been so largely due to causes beyond our control, laboured under preconceptions of which it was unable to divest itself in dealing with this question? It is quite clear that it has not viewed things in the dry light of truth. If only the Government had followed the ordinary procedure of sending the report of the Accountant-General to the Syndicate and waiting for its reply before giving judgment, there would have been no occasion for this most unhappy controversy, which no body laments more than I. It is most desirable that there should be a friendly understanding between Government and the University. We are not free from shortcomings. We are human beings and ours is a human institution. But let us place the report of the Accountant-General and the reply of the Committee side by side, and say whether it is just to base a charge against the University on that report. My learned friend said that he was unable to give his support to the views of the Committee in spite of its pleadings. But I find no "pleadings" in the Committee's criticism of the statements made by the Accountant-General. I find an array of facts drawn up in a manner which made me recall to mind Lord Morley's pronouncement on Burke's *Report on the Lords' Journals.* I may now cite the Committee's reply to the charge so often brought against us by the public that the University has been lavish in expenditure. I see not far from me a friend who on one occasion advised us to economise in order that we might get out of the difficult situation in which we are now placed. Very sound advice. And what has the University done? It declared its readiness to economise *before any criticism hostile or friendly emanated from the Bengal Government.* The Registrar said in his letter of the 14th February last to Government: "It is necessary to point out that no fresh liabilities are being incurred. Wherever practicable, vacancies on the staff have not been filled up; when it has been found absolutely necessary to fill up a vacancy, a person has been appointed for the shortest possible term, and on the lowest pay acceptable." It is much to be regretted that in spite of this we should be repeatedly told that the University has gone on increasing expenditure and does not agree to cut down expenses. My friend Dr. Bose says that whenever there has been a grant of money, conditions have been imposed. We are willing to accept conditions consistent with self-respect. Government officers are deputed to examine our accounts, and they audit the accounts year after year for ten months in the year. In spite of this we are asked to send accounts to the Government every month. To do this would be to convert the University into a department of the Secretariat.

I wish to say a word on the post-graduate classes maintained by the University, from the point of view of Indian teachers. My illustrious friend Sir P. C. Ray has made out a case for the Science College with great ability. I feel I ought to say something for the University classes in Arts. I once drew the attention of my learned friend Mr. James to the fact that the noblest sentences in Plato's *Republic* read like translations of the *Upanishads*; and he said it was the duty of Indian scholars to point out these coincidences of the best thought of the East with the teachings of great Western thinkers. We Indian teachers have something to say on the relations of the literature of our country to the literature of the West—we have something to say on the transcendentalism of

Germany, England, and America from the Indian point of view. The University post-graduate classes have proved an incentive to work on these lines for many of us. They have created opportunities of useful work for us which we did not before enjoy.

We are grateful to the Committee for its thorough investigation of the questions involved. But I am constrained to say I wish certain passages of the Report had been omitted or altered. I confess I do not like the reference to inflated salaries and hill allowances. If people in high places throw off the mantle of dignity in which they ought always to be clothed, we as an academic body ought not to imitate their example.

Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjea:—The poet has sung—

> " Strange was the sight and smacking of the time,
> And long we gazed, but satiated at length,
> Came to the ruins. "

I am reminded of these lines in connection with statements made about the finances of the University by members of the Bengal Legislative Council, by the Accountant-General and the Minister for Education, as well as the Rai Bahadur for whom I have great respect and esteem. I listened very patiently to the utterances of the Rai Bahadur, just as I very carefully studied the utterances of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council, and the Minister for Education, and the Report of the Accountant-General. The more I have studied these, the more, Sir, has the feeling been brought home to me, that, in the words of the poet, we have witnessed strange spectacles and seen strange sights. The first attack that was made by the Minister for Education on this University, was made when there was no occasion for it, as his department had not been attacked. The Minister is expected to be on the defensive only when his department is attacked, but strangely enough, on this occasion he went out of his way to attack the University and charge us with "criminal and thoughtless expansion of the Post-Graduate Department," without any occasion for it. Again, when the proposal for the appointment of a Committee to look into the finances of the University was made in the Bengal Legislative Council, a member of the Council went the length of saying that it had been alleged that there were members of the Post-Graduate staff who were not equal to their work. Again, another member of the Council said there were Post-Graduate teachers who had neither the knowledge nor the training necessary for teaching their subjects. He also said that the unusually high percentage of passes at the Matriculation Examination revealed an abnormal state of things, as if sickness was the normal condition and a large percentage of failures was consequently normal. Sir, such statements were fraught with the gravest consequences, and strange indeed is the sight we see and have been seeing for some time. Later on, another strange scene opened. The Accountant-General wrote a report containing statements of an erroneous character. The Report now before the Senate fully shows that in connection with the Ramtanu Lahiri Fund and other things, the Accountant-General has made erroneous statements, and yet, the Minister for Education, without waiting to hear what we have to say passed judgment on us to the effect that the financial administration of the University has been anything but satisfactory. Sir, what shall I say ? When I consider the Rai Bahadur's utterances, I am fully confirmed in my belief that we are seeing strange sights. I yield to none in my loyalty to Government, not even to the Rai Bahadur. You may ask me why I have singled him out. Because, Sir, as ex-Sheriff of Calcutta he is a most prominent citizen. I claim that though like him I am loyal to Government, and render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, I render unto God the things that are God's. Now, loyalty to truth is loyalty to God, and hence, if it is necessary, on any occasion, in the interest of truth, to criticise Government, I am bound to do so. The Rai Bahadur has said that the Report of the Accountant-General is that of an expert, and therefore ought to be accepted. But experts are human beings, and to err is human, and the Accountant-General is not an exception to that. This has been conclusively proved in the Report of the Committee now before the House. Then again the Rai Bahadur has said that the Government of India possibly refused to enhance the fees for the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations, because there was a popular clamour against it. But I ask the Rai Bahadur—Does he mean to hold the view that whatever the people clamour for is right—and Government should therefore accept the views of the people on every occasion? Then Sir, it follows according to his logic that as the Non-co-operation movement was supported by a large section of the population, Government should have associated itself with this movement so that the Government might go down to posterity emblazoned in letters of gold, with those of the Non-co-operation party. The Rai Bahadur will at once see the absurdity of his contention. Again, the Rai Bahadur has said that all grants are conditional. But he has forgotten that there are conditions and conditions. The Minister for Education has laid down conditions, the acceptance of which would deal a death-blow to the freedom we possess as a corporate body, and to the rights which we enjoy as a University under the existing Acts. As an illustration of this, I refer to the condition that we should send every month an account of our receipts and expenditure to Government. Now, Sir, while I find that, in the West, distinguished men have been fighting for the freedom of Universities, passages from whose writings have been quoted in the Report now before the House, the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education wants to reduce the Calcutta University to a condition of slavery and servitude. Hence, Sir, I say, with all the emphasis I can command—"Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

We have seen, Sir, the Government of Bengal in the Ministry of Education putting the coping stone on the proud Babel it has been rearing, not on the plains of Shinar but on the plains of Bengal, by laying down conditions which will fetter our freedom, enslave us thoroughly and put an end to our rights as a corporate body. I, therefore, most emphatically support the resolution moved by Sir P. C. Ray, for, believe me, the acceptance of such conditions as have been laid down, not only is impracticable, so far as some particular one is concerned, but most undesirable, for no one should barter away his cherished rights for a certain amount of money. Sir, the poet has said "we came to the ruins." It indicates the ruins of statesmanship to reduce the University to a state of slavery. As the University has problems of its own to face and solve, it must be granted a considerable measure of freedom and independence, for the University men are just the men fitted by their special knowledge and experience to tackle such problems. Educational problems and connected matters require educational experts for their proper handling and this is a vision which all ought to see if the interests of the University are to be safe-guarded.

Mr. Khagendranath Mitter read the following:—Sir, I rise to speak with a sense of diffidence, because I am in the unenviable position of serving two masters. Whichever side I may take in this debate I cannot avoid the motive of having an axe to grind. But I have a duty to those who elected me. On an occasion like this when the very existence of the University is at stake, I shall not be justified in recording a silent vote. But I cannot, however, say that the Report of the Committee is based on a very strong and incontestable proposition. One of them is that we must have education and the best amount of education. The other is that we must not tolerate interference from any outside authority. These two propositions will appeal to most people. They will appeal to me and I hope they will appeal to you. They are abstract propositions. But I would just suggest a little caution. Because, the report has struck me as unsatisfactory in this that it presents only one side of the case. This is very deplorable for the reason that all sides of the case must be represented in order that nothing may cloud our vision, also in order that we may have a dispassionate view of the case which is so very essential. The report gives the idea that the Government is guilty of a dereliction of duty. It has never given money, and our financial bankruptcy is entirely due to the fact that we are not receiving additional assistance from the Government. To a certain extent it is true. We may not agree with the view but the Government knows how much it can spend on education. I do not see how we can avoid the conclusion that the Government of India left us in the lurch, because our distinguished countrymen made such magnificent endowments for the Science College but the Government of India did not supplement their funds. I do not know why. But the fact is that. We have not taken into account the difficulties of the Minister of Education. When the burden of the bankruptcy of the University fell upon the new Government of Bengal, there was not much money at the disposal of the Government. Besides, there was a great volume of hostile opinion inside the Bengal Legislative Council, also outside of it, against the administration of the University. The Minister of Education took that into account. Now, if I am permitted to review the history of Post-Graduate teaching in this University, I think it will be well to refresh our mind. The Government imposed the conditions and the Committee accepted it that there was no prospect of any grant from the Government in the near future.

Mr. Girischandra Bose—The Senate did not accept it.

Mr. Mitter—Allow me to proceed, Sir; you will have your chance. The idea was in the mind of the Senators that the Post-Graduate department should be self-supporting.

The Hon'ble The Vice-Chancellor—No.

Mr. Mitter—The University wanted to enhance the examination fees but the Government did not agree. I do not know why. It may be in deference to popular opposition. Or it may be due to the consideration that the Post-Graduate Department was based on conditions that the existing resources would be utilised for its maintenance. Then, Sir, we find that as we were struggling, we were expanding. The Government warned us against expansion beyond our means, still we went on expanding, like the Frog in Æsop's Fables till we burst. Sir, you have got your limits. I cannot accept the recommendations of Sir P. C. Ray that the Science College should be an ideal college and the Post-Graduate Department should be an ideal Department though there is no fund at the disposal of the Government.

I come now to the question of State interference. The conditions attached to the Government Grant constitute, it is said, an undue interference with the freedom of the University and therefore "we cannot escape from the conclusion," says the report, "that the acceptance of the conditions is not merely undesirable but impracticable." Sir, this argument is more likely than the others, for some people will make a political capital out of it. In these days of Non-co-operation and strikes a section of the public will only be too glad to claim a body like the University into their ranks. But Sir, that is all the more reason why we should think twice before taking such a momentous step. Do the conditions really constitute a restriction of our freedom as an academic body? The learned speaker who preceded me examined the conditions in detail and it remains for me only to offer a few general remarks. First, let me ask, do the Government conditions imposed contemplate periodical inspection by the Government? Do they contemplate bureaucratic regulation? Do the

Government propose to define the courses of study for us? Do they put any restriction on the appointment of the staff or on the freedom of opinion or religious or political creed of the Lecturers. This—any one of these things—will constitute State interference and I should be the last person to suggest that the University should sell its academic freedom for a mess of pottage. All the conditions mentioned in the Government letter relate to control of finance. We should not expand, they desire, till our finances improve, we should not appoint any lecturer in anticipation of sanction, lest further financial liabilities should be incurred, which we can not meet. Budget estimates should be prepared in time, so that the Senate may be able to exercise greater control on the funds of the University, the Board of Accounts should meet more frequently so that the autocratic methods of spending money may be put an end to. All these conditions without exception relate to finances and not to any academic matter whatsoever. Conditions are always irksome, and I agree with the opinion which the Committee has quoted in its Report with approval, *viz.*, "that with Government money given in large quantities will go Government control." Again "while Government money will have to be given to the Universities in large quantities and control exercised, such control means no more and no less than an assurance that the money is well and properly spent." The writer in the "Times Educational Supplement," who has been quoted in the Report before us, thinks that this assurance can be secured without any derogation from the dignity of the University.

I shall refer to one other point and I have done. This is a point to which I refer with considerable hesitation, for I am trying to touch upon a legal aspect of the question before an assembly in the composition of which perhaps the lawyer element preponderates.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri:—No, we are only 20 out of one hundred.

Mr. Mitter:—What is lost in quantity is gained in quality.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri:—We hope so.

Mr. Mitter (continuing):—Sir, I am referring to the legality of the refusal to accept the Government offer to help the University in its financial crisis. Are we justified in rejecting pecuniary help from Government, when that help is necessary to the very existence of the University? My submission is that we are not. If we can carry on without State aid, it is quite up to us to tell the Government—take off the conditions or take off the contribution. But if we cannot do without it, then I venture to think it is not open to us to reject the offer of help. The Government of Bengal has granted us two lacs and a half and promises to approach the Council for a further grant to wipe out our deficits. Can we afford to do without these grants? The offer no doubt is hemmed in with conditions, which, let us admit for arguments sake, we cannot accept. Is the University justified in spurning away the offer? Sir, you will be able to answer the question better. We are merely managers of the University. But my contention is that the University has no right for the time being. The University is a national institution and not our personal property. So when we cannot manage it, let others come who can. If we find it beneath our dignity to accept the offer, those who will take our place may not be of the same view. In any case, the vote of the nation is necessary, before we can decide the question in the way in which we propose to do it to-day. We have no power, I beg to point out, to shut up the University and go our own way. It is a constitutional point which requires to be cleared up before we can record our vote for or against Sir P. C. Ray's proposal.

Mr. Manmathanath Ray:—I cannot agree with Mr. Mitter. He is absolutely wrong when he says that the Committee is opposed to any interference. As I read the report, the Committee is anxious that no outside authority should hamper the University in its work. Beyond this, the Committee did not go. Mr. Mitter says that there was a great volume of public opinion against the University and suggests that this circumstance prevented the Minister from making an adequate grant to the University. I shall read to you an extract from the official report of the proceedings of the Bengal Council of the 11th of July, 1922, when the demand for the grant of 2 lacs and 50 thousand Rupees to the University was under consideration. Mr. S. N. Mallik, the present Chairman of the Corporation, who must be taken to be a person in responsible position said: "To my mind, as you know, it is best to take medicine in an empty stomach. The University has been going with an empty stomach for four months, and this is just the time when we can give a drop of medicine. It will do them good, for is it not a fact that the University has now come down? Are there not apparent signs of that? Whether they are willing to say that or not, or whether their friends here so chose to admit it or not, the fact is that they have come down. They have written a letter to say that they are willing to expose all their accounts and give information to you. Why? It is only because of the hunger that is there. There is no question about that. They are coming down, and this is just the time when we should give to them that help, for, after all, we are the mightier body. It is the mighty who alone can be relenting. And who is mightier of the two? We can be relenting to those who are smaller than ourselves. They are now down on their knees and asking for money. Is this not the time when we can be relenting?" I ask Mr. Mitter, is this the public opinion to which he refers? Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose also will no doubt appreciate the sentiment. There is the humiliating and unreasonable character of the conditions, but the Senate must also spurn a grant when it is accompanied with such sentiment, such sense of duty, such sense of decorum, and such sense of decency on the part of those who hold the purse at the present moment.

Mr. Girischandra Bose :—I was of opinion that it would be more fitting if none of us, signatories to the report, spoke on this occasion. But one of the signatories has already spoken. The Report contains everything that could be said. I became a member of the Senate when I was rather young, and I have grown pretty old in its service. All along I have been a little bit of a fighter. I did so fight on many occasions, even if single-handed, often without a seconder. I have not yet got over that instinct of fighting. It is quite plain from the Report that I have signed. I have done it deliberately. My friend on the left (Dr. Chunilal Bose) has offered opposition, which, I take it, is the sauce of debates. I thank him heartily for giving an enzyme which has set up this fermentation. Every body seems to fall foul of my friend Rai Bahadur Dr. Bose.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose :—I never mind.

Mr. Bose :—Everybody is taking his name, saying some thing against and very little for him. He is quite welcome to express his views and his suggestion is that we shall be in a critical position if we do not accept two and a half lacs which have been offered, and we may have to shut up the University. Both he and Mr. Mitter seem to have forgotten that the Act of Incorporation of 1857 has laid down clearly that the Senate "shall have the entire management of and superintendence over the affairs, concerns and property of the said University." We can sell our assets, movable or immovable, if necessary. The Rai Bahadur need not be anxious as to how we shall proceed in case the Government withholds any grant.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri :—The Government said that we could mortgage.

Mr. Bose :—We have so much power. Look at our limitations. We are required by the same Act to submit accounts *once a year* to the Government for such examination and audit as the Government may direct. We do submit accounts every year; what more do they want? If the Senate have gone beyond their powers, I shall be the first to fight against the Senate. The Rai Bahadur is an estimable friend of mine I have a very great respect for him. But I must say that his fear as to how the University would be run, is perhaps due to his want of appreciation of what the sons of Bengal are capable of. If we do not accept the Government grant I am sure we shall be able to run the University. If Dr. Ray goes out with the begging bowl, he will be able to capture all Bengal, even India. As for the proposal to raise the examination fees, to which reference has been made, when it came before the Senate many members of the Senate spoke in favour of it, but an amendment was moved by my humble self opposing the proposal, although my past experience was that perhaps it might fall through for the want of a seconder. I was fortunate to get a seconder in my friend on the right, Dr. Ray, who is a friend of poor students. All the members voted against the amendment excepting five.

A reference has been made to the past history of the inauguration of the Post-graduate Department, in respect of which the position taken up by me at the time has, it seems been much misunderstood. Then, as now, I consider, the said department to be the crown of the University, without which the University will be a headless lifeless corpse; what I did oppose was not the creation of it, but its method of making the Post-graduate studies a close preserve of the University. The colleges which had hitherto enjoyed the privilege were neednessly deprived of it to the detriment of their natural ambition for development and co-operation with the University. I take this opportunity of making a public declaration of my views to which I still adhere.

Sir Nilratan Sircar :—I shall take only a few minutes to deal with one or two points which have been raised by some of my friends. It has been said by Professor Mitter that the Post-Graduate Department has gone on expanding and expanding regardless of consequences. Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose also said that our expenditure has been increased without any heed to our resources. I emphatically repudiate the charge that we framed our budget without a proper examination of the possible sources of our revenue. But all budgets are framed in anticipation of revenue and expenditure and ours were no exception. The deficit was caused by unforeseen circumstances beyond our control.

While framing our budget we could not possibly anticipate that there would be a Non-co-operation movement next year that would deprive us of a large sum. The Accountant-General has justly held that at least three lacs out of the deficit of five and a half lacs were due to causes over which the University had no control.

There were also other causes, such as for instance—

(1) the loss of revenue due to the starting of three new Universities in the former jurisdiction of the Calcutta University;

(2) the increase of expenditure on account of post-War condition; and

(3) the increase of expenditure on account of the leakage of question papers. Any fair-minded critic would easily find that our deficit was due to other causes than *bad administration of our finances.*

Then as to the conditions of the gift. There are eight of them in one set and six others in another, the latter being the recommendation made by the Accountant-General. Of all these, the fifth and eighth of the first set are the most important. I do not wish to discuss the humiliating fifth condition which has already received much attention at this meeting. But the eighth condition is simply impossible and impracticable. It runs thus :—"All arrears of salaries and at least half the amount of the examiners' remunerations amounting to Rs. 1,75,000 up to the 30th June, 1922, should be forthwith paid." I would remind the Senate that we received the letter containing this condition by the end of August. The accumulated "all arrears of salaries" alone at that time would come up to close upon three lacs and over and above that we were to pay "forthwith" half the examiners' remuneration, and all this out of a proposed gift of two lacs and a half. I am prepared to place the matter in the hands of Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and Professor Mitter for the purpose of giving effect to the conditions. It is in no refractory spirit that we reject the grant, but it is impossible to act according to many of the directions.

Mr. Jatindranath Maitra :—Sir, at the fag end of this debate, I shall not detain you long. I like to draw the attention of the Senate to one particular point which has up till now escaped the notice of the previous speakers. I would refer to the second paragraph of the letter from the Secretary, Government of Bengal, Education Department,—the letter which is the subject matter of discussion at the present moment. The letter says—"when the demand for a grant was made in the Legislative Council, during the last July session, there was a strong feeling that it should be rejected." Sir, the foregoing statement seems to me not only not true, but it is my personal impression that the truth is just the other way about. The pages of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council embodying the discussion of this particular matter, which I have got in my hand just now, would corroborate my statement. I find there were only two members of the Legislative Council, namely, Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar and Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq, who opposed the grant. Of the remaining members, several in number, who joined in the discussion, there was hardly any one who, in spite of his prejudices against the University, was not in favour of this particular grant. Even Mr. S. N. Mallik, Mr. D. C. Ghosh, and a few others, who spoke many things against the University, were in favour of this particular grant. Mr. Rishindranath Sarkar finally withdrew his motion. Maulvi Fazl-ul-Huq also did the same and in doing so he distinctly stated that he had been round the House and talked with many of his Mahammadan friends—the majority of whom did not wish to wreck the University by starving their *Alma Mater* and that they would vote in support of the University. The Secretary, Education Department, however, writes, I think with the permission and knowledge of the Hon'ble Minister, "There was a strong feeling that it should be rejected." I have, however, stated the solid facts. How the Education Secretary arrived at this conclusion with the aforesaid premises I would better leave to the judgment of the Senators assembled here including Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and my particular friend, Professor Khagendranath Mitter.

Sir, I was one of those who joined in the discussion, when the matter came up before the Legislative Council. There was a distinct feeling in the Council that the sum of Rs. 2,50,000 should be voted for; I had not the slightest suspicion that any condition would be imposed and naturally those members of the Council, like my humble self, who took the side of the University there, cannot but feel not only humiliated but even insulted by the Minister of Education and his Secretary owing to the sudden imposition of several unacceptable "conditions."

Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray :—The Rai Bahadur said that conditions should be imposed in every case of grant. Prof. Mitter raised the question of legality. We have got certain regulations to follow. One of the regulations of the Board of Accounts requires that the accounts should be sent once a year and the Government demands *monthly* accounts. Are we justified in going against the regulations?

Sir Praphullachandra Ray :—At this late hour and after the replies of Rev. Dr. Howells, Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, Principal Maitra, Sir Nilratan Sircar, and others, I need scarcely say anything. So I conclude. We are not to cry "*peccavi.*" We are not Charity Boys. We are not Oliver Twists. If we have used strong language it is more in sorrow than in anger.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—It is now incumbent upon me to sum up this debate. I deeply regret that I have to ask for your indulgence to give me a hearing after you have listened to speeches for three hours. I do not deplore the difference of opinion which has been exhibited in the course of the debate, and though I have sometimes been described as a rather strict disciplinarian as regards time-limit, on this occasion I have given absolute liberty of speech, because I strongly felt that the freedom of the debate should be proportionate to the magnitude of the subject. I say in all sincerity that this is the greatest crisis in the history of this University, which I have witnessed during a period of 34 years that I have been privileged to sit round this table. Different men see the same subject in different lights, and I hope you will not consider me disrespectful if I were to set forth my views freely and without reserve. I feel that if I did not speak out what appears to me to be the essential truth, I would be guilty not only of disloyalty to my *Alma Mater*, but of treason to my country.

Let us go back for a moment to the 15th February, 1922. That evening, at 9 o'clock, on my return home from the University, I found a letter addressed to me by the Minister of Education. It was marked "confidential" and I shall not accordingly read it out. In short, it contained a request that an application should be made by the University to the Government for financial assistance on a moderate scale before the 15th February. It gave me just one day; there was no time to convene a meeting of the Senate, not even a meeting of the Syndicate. I confess frankly that my first impulse was to take full responsibility and reply that we did not intend to make an application for financial assistance. You might ask me, why I should ever have thought so. The events which had taken place in the preceding year had created such a deep impression on my mind that this, I admit, was my first impulse. You might ask me what had taken place during the preceding year. On the 5th February, 1921, Sir Nilratan Sircar, then Vice-Chancellor, had directed the Registrar to send applications to the Government of Bengal for financial assistance, after he had been favourably impressed by a conversation he had with the Minister of Education. I could not forget what had happened to those two applications. On the 15th November, nine months after the letters had been written, a reply had been received which, to say the least, was not calculated to inspire hope. The Government had pleaded bankruptcy. Apparently, bankruptcy is sinful when we are concerned, but it seems to have a very different effect when people higher up are concerned. The letter of the 15th November, however, added that although the University had not sent any application for immediate financial assistance in its distress, still the Government would be prepared to consider such an application, if made. The letter indicated a complete failure on the part of the authorities to appreciate that the University required funds to carry on the work already undertaken, namely, to pay the Post-Graduate teachers decently and to provide proper laboratories and workshops for the Professors employed in terms of the great trusts created by Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghose.

This letter was on the whole a document of an extraordinary character, and if you scan it, as I am afraid many of you have not done, you will now be able to realise its full significance. You will find it stated that the help so proposed would be given " under certain conditions and subject to certain contingencies." This was the first indication of a desire on the part of the Government to impose conditions in the event of a grant. The University had made applications to the Government after the Vice-Chancellor had felt impressed by his conversation with the Minister of Education. What was the result? We were told after nine months had elapsed that the Government were not prepared to consider the questions raised. On the other hand, when they received the report of the Board of Accounts which surveyed the whole situation and stated what the probable deficit would be at the end of the financial year, 1921-22, they recommended that we should renew our application in January with fuller details—as if " details" were not already in their possession.

In these circumstances, I admit, my original impulse was to write and say that we did not desire to apply. If I had done that, probably all this controversy, all this unpleasantness would have been avoided. But surely the responsibility was great. I did not also fully realise why it was expected that the application must be sent within 24 hours. The application was, however, drawn up and forwarded on the 14th February, 1922. That is the ill-fated application which has led to all this controversy. Remember, then, the letter of the 14th February was sent on invitation. The matter was, as required by the Regulations, reported to the Syndicate at its next meeting. The Syndicate approved of the action which had been taken. We waited and waited. Patience has its limit. We waited. The Budget estimates of the Bengal Government were produced, and need I say that not one single farthing was proposed to be granted to the University to meet its financial difficulties? On the other hand, although there was no question of giving assistance to the University under consideration of the Council, there came a most deplorable attack on its administration from the Minister of Education. I shall make no reference to that matter. It formed the subject of enquiry and examination by a Committee of the Senate and that chapter may well be taken as closed. In July, I heard that there would be a supplementary Budget and a demand would be made by the Minister of Education for a grant of rupees two lacs and fifty thousand to enable the University to meet a deficit of five lacs and forty-three thousand rupees—I take the exact words from a copy of the Budget estimates. I frankly confess I could not appreciate at the time how a deficit of five lacs and forty-three thousand could be met with a grant of two lacs and fifty thousand rupees.

The supplementary budget was brought before the Legislative Council. I am not an assiduous student of the proceedings of that Council; but so far as the reports were published in the papers, we found that there was some little opposition, though the majority was in favour of the grant. No conditions were mentioned at the time. The members of the Post-Graduate Department, starving people they were, excited the sympathy of a member of the Council, and he did not lose the opportunity to indulge himself in cruel jokes at their expense. The teachers came to me and asked anxiously if the money was really coming. They were starving; they could not feed their wives and children. I told them from what I heard that the money was not likely to come so easily as they expected. I heard rumours that conditions would be imposed. These rumours were in the streets of Calcutta. I was even told what the conditions were likely to be—some of them would, in short, be impossible to comply with. I declined to believe the rumours.

On the 25th July, 1922, the Accountant-General submitted his report to the Government. We waited. On the 23rd August, 1922, just about the time when the next following session of the Council had commenced, when it was impossible for any member to put in a question as to why the conditions were imposed, although they were never mentioned when the grant was made, the letter under consideration was issued from the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. That letter contained a serious charge against the Senate of this University. The gravity of that charge has not been appreciated. What, I ask, is that charge? The charge is that the financial management of this University has been far from satisfactory, and that charge is sought to be supported by an appeal to the report of the Accountant-General. I do not refer to the conditions at the present moment. Do you suggest to me that when such a charge has been made, we should take it lightly,—a charge alleged to be founded on the report of the Accountant-General, which, in my judgment, taken along with other facts, does not really support the charge. It was a most astonishing procedure. The Government of Bengal had received the report from the Accountant-General. They proceeded to pass a sentence of condemnation on the Senate of this University before we have had an opportunity even to read that report, to meet the criticisms which had been advanced by the Accountant-General. Has such a thing ever happened in the history of this University, or, in the history of any public Institution? Why, I ask, was this done?

We next find that before the Senate could meet to consider the report of the Accountant-General and the letter of the Government, the newspapers in Calcutta published both the documents. Clamours for the destruction of the University could be heard here and there, and a friend of this University reported to me that there was a Tibetan dance in certain quarters. There, you find, is an assertion made by a responsible Government that the report of the Accountant-General reveals that the financial management of the University has been far from satisfactory, and, well, the sentence of death is passed. The letter was copied from paper to paper. All India read it. People in Northern India, Southern India, Western and Central India read that sentence of condemnation, before we, as members of the Senate, had any opportunity to consider that letter and that report. Was it a mere accident, or was it the result of design on the part of somebody who wanted to defame this University? What followed? The letter travelled 6,000 miles across the seas to the British Isles. We find an article in the "Times Educational Supplement," which bore internal evidence that it was inspired from, if not manufactured in, India. That article is published in the "Times Educational Supplement," which is said to have a circulation of more than 20,000 copies, and each of these 20,000 subscribers reads that notorious article headed "A Bankrupt University,"—as if bankruptcy is our monopoly. That article comes back across the seas to India. We are also not unaware of the attempt made by the Publicity Office of the Government of Bengal to get that article circulated in newspapers in India. For what purpose ? The design is obvious—to influence public opinion against this University, to carry on a campaign of libel which had been launched against us. Do not take these things lightly. There is a sinister, perfidious campaign against this University. Who are the heroes we do not know,—they may be men small, they may be men big. But a survey of the history of the last three months shows that there is a well-planned campaign against this institution. This is the reason why the members of the Committee sat down to write this report. Our reputation has to be saved,—not our personal reputation, not so much even the reputation of this University, as the reputation of the Bengali race. Our calumniators forget that if this charge could be established, it would prove that we Bengalis are not fit for self-government, for has not this University for years largely been served and managed by the flower of the Bengali race ?

Our difficulties have been enormous; and sympathy, active sympathy has failed us in quarters where we had a right to expect it and confidently reckoned on it. Magnify our deficiencies if you choose, but do not overlook the good that has been accomplished. No friend of this University asserts that the institution which has thus been built up amidst many obstacles and difficulties does not admit of reform. But it claims reconstruction and development on the basis of a sound and generous educational policy, not destruction or curtailment according as administrators may desire. It requires help and nourishment in an ample degree, not occasional patronising compliments and least of all, incessant criticisms and directions. It is, let me repeat, not a case of " doles " to be given by way of accidental charity or compassion; we have an unanswerable claim on the public treasury.

If it is, however, assumed that financial embarrassment is an index of financial mismanagement, there is hardly an institution to-day which would be above reproach—not even such august bodies as the Government of India and the Government of Bengal would escape unscathed, notwithstanding their boundless resources and unlimited powers of taxation. This is, however, only by the way. Let me return to our Report. Its preparation was a supreme necessity. We have set out our views in the document. Pray read every single line of it. Forget your station in life; make up your mind to learn the truth, to think the truth, to speak the truth, no matter who is hurt thereby. Let me assure you that, along with each and every one of my colleagues who sat on the Committee, I take the fullest measure of responsibility for everything contained in the report, for every word and phrase that you will find there. We have spoken the truth, though truth is not always pleasant; we have done it at the most critical point in the history of modern India. Take my solemn assurance that this report was not drawn up to please anybody, high or low. We had one unalterable purpose in view, and that was to speak the truth fearlessly, in the full belief that fighting for the truth was the noblest sport the world afforded. The truth must be known to everybody who has read that article in the "Times." Truth must be out; it cannot be suppressed. It must be known to everyone in Bengal, in India. We must contradict that infamous attack on this University. If anybody is hurt, we cannot help it. Let it not be forgotten that it was not we who launched the campaign. We have always been on the defensive and we cannot but repel an attack which, in our judgment, is unjust.

Now let us come to the contents of the Report. I do not propose to discuss everything which is set out there. Many points have indeed been emphasised already. Let me, however, lay stress on one fundamental point. You have the specific statement of the Accountant-General that out of the deficit, about three lacs are traceable to circumstances over which the University had no control. I admire the courage of the Accountant-General. That fact is often ignored. Why? Let us go back to 1921. Gentlemen who are not prepared to support the motion will, I trust, remember what took place in the early months of that year. The Senate House was barricaded for days. The Vice-Chancellor of the University stood at the gate for two hours, but he could not get an entrance. The candidates for the University Examinations found it impossible to get in. A lady candidate was openly insulted when she attempted to get admission. It seemed to every law-abiding subject of His Majesty as if law and order had disappeared from what was once the capital of British India. What happened to the Colleges? The students disappeared in a miraculous manner. Government Colleges, Missionary Colleges, Private Colleges found it impossible to keep control over their students. The panic spread. The students in the Post-Graduate classes and the University Law College struck work. They were sent for. They were packed up in this hall—1,200 of them. They listened to the voice of reason of one man. Next day eighty per cent. of them returned to work. The movement however spread in the mufassil. Students vanished from Colleges in Dacca and Mymensingh. Students left the schools in Eastern Bengal by hundreds. Where were the authorities? No one amongst them would venture to come out and address the students at that time.

The Vice-Chancellor and the members of the Syndicate discussed the situation; they realised that this meant certain ruin to the schools and colleges, and that the University had received an almost death-blow at the hands of non-co-operation. It was thought expedient that a statement should be drawn up. We sent round a circular and we found out that forty-two per cent. of the students had disappeared. People in high places, very responsible persons they were, said that non-co-operation was on the surface, that it was a dying cult and that the students would come back after the summer vacation. But what happened? We discovered the facts which are set out in the Appendix to this Report. The position seemed appalling to any man, who was prepared to face the situation. The statement was submitted to the Chancellor. It was forwarded to the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. We have not learnt up to the present moment whether any notice was at all taken; our letter was at any rate never acknowledged. My learned friend Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri told me that my forecast was treated with contempt in high and responsible quarters. It was not so, however, with Lord Ronaldshay; when the statement was submitted to him, he decided to go into the matter himself. He did so. I was authorised by him to make a public statement, a statement before the Senate, because the position seemed to him to be of unsurpassable difficulty; he wrote to me a long autograph letter, discussing the details and agreeing with me in the view of the situation. The statement which I then made is published in the Appendix. We sent copies of that statement to the Education Department of the Government of Bengal. We have not heard that any notice was ever taken. We have not been careless, we have acted with the utmost caution, but we have not been able to get others to realise our difficulties. My judicial office makes it impossible for me to have anything to do with politics; so I express no opinion about non-co-operation; I am free, however, to speak of its destructive effect on our educational institutions. We gave repeated warnings, warnings which have never been heeded. Why this aspect has been ignored, I need not pause to enquire. Does the Accountant-General's report really show that our financial management has been unsatisfactory? Or does it show that the present financial situation is due, to the extent of at least sixty per cent., to causes over which we had no control? I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the statement made in the Government letter, which was widely circulated, has no foundation in fact. I am not concerned with motives, but I do feel that at that stage no condemnation should have been passed on us. The Government of Bengal would have acted wisely, if they did not commit themselves to any opinion before they knew what the University had got to say. This is the root question. The whole of the letter is dominated by one idea, namely, that our financial management has been anything but satisfactory, that our financial difficulties are the result of our mismanagement; the inference follows that we should not be trusted and should be put in chains. This is the conclusion. If the charge of financial mismanagement does not hold good, where is the justification for the imposition of conditions?

I do not propose to discuss all the points raised in the report of the Accountant-General. We have dealt with them in our report, but there is one fundamental point which has not been mentioned by speakers this evening. The Accountant-General has proceeded to criticise the educational activities of the University. I am constrained to enquire, what are the functions of an Accountant-General; what are the functions of an auditor? An auditor is an official whose duty it is to receive and examine accounts of money in the hands of others, who verifies them by reference to vouchers and has power to disallow charges incurred without authority. It is not the function of an auditor or an Accountant-General to discuss the question of policy of an institution. Where is the Accountant-General, who will come forward to examine the accounts of the Government of Bengal and say,—you have a deficit of forty lacs, sixty lacs, or eighty lacs, so you should not have four members of the Executive Council, or three Ministers, or so many Divisional Commissioners, or District Officers, or Superintendents of Police? Where is the Accountant-General who will come forward and say that Mr. Montagu or Lord Chelmsford did not launch forth a wise policy? Where is the Accountant-General who can say, while auditing the accounts of the Military Department,—you do not require so many officers or so much artillery? Where is the Accountant-General who, while examining the accounts of the railway system, can say,—you do not require such a big establishment, so many departments, officers, or, for the matter of that, so many engines? The Accountant-General is trotted out as a great authority on educational matters. But, I ask, is he here to review the educational policy of the University? That must be done by persons qualified for the task, conscious of the requirements of a great University for the people of this country. Do not, pray, be frightened by his criticisms of the educational policy of this University. He went beyond his mark, he made a grievous mistake, when he remarked that the ordinary function of this University was to hold examinations. The Accountant-General is an intimate friend of mine. He is no doubt a very capable and distinguished officer of the Finance Department. But University Education is not his speciality. I make no secret that I read with astonishment the venture that he had made and I thought that we might probably hear some day that the Accountant-General had walked into the Sanskrit College and said: "You do not require so many Pandits." But what will happen if Pandit Asutosh Sastri is sent about his business?

I must mention to you some of the extraordinary blunders he has made, even while the Accountant-General was within his province. I would refer you to his remarks about the Ramtanu Lahiri Fund. When I read them I said to myself that I must have forgotten the history of this University. I never knew that a farthing had been contributed to that fund. The Accountant-General misconstrued the whole thing. Then, again, he knew nothing of the work of the Carmichael Professor, and, unconsciously perhaps, he made the same mistake about the Carmichael Professorship Fund. The people who have helped us in that great work include neither members of the Government of Bengal nor the Accountant-General. They are Sir John Marshall and Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda.

But the portion of the Accountant-General's report that took my breath away was the charge with reference to the University College of Science. The Accountant-General has taken out three items, and he has said that, in each of these cases, the amount actually spent exceeded the budget grant. The inference, therefore, is that there has been a "loot" in the University College of Science, and Sir P. C. Ray, Professor Raman, and others have gone off their heads! But, really, does the Accountant-General portray the whole picture? What about the other Departments? What about the next year? Why does not the Accountant-General mention that in all other departments the expenditure was kept within the budget grants? We have fully met this charge in our report. A friend of mine in the Accounts Department was justifying the Accountant-General. He said that it was his business to find faults, to condemn people and not to give praise even where praise was due and legitimate. He then gave me a parallel, saying that when an Inspector of Schools or Colleges visited an Institution, it was his business, at least so the Inspector thought, to find faults and criticise people, and never to praise anybody. But, unfortunately, the remarks of the Accountant-General are apt to create the impression that there is a screw loose in every department of the Science College, and that scientists like Sir P. C. Ray, Professor Raman, and others cannot be brought under control by the authorities.

Then, there is one other point which has not been touched upon by any one round this table, and that is about the amalgamation of funds. I must at once point out that the University has as many as 150 separate drawing accounts in the Imperial Bank, and the assertion which is often emphatically made in many quarters that our funds are all mixed up has the merit of being untrue. In one portion of the Government letter, the University is asked to accept the suggestions of the Accountant-General. That expert officer suggests that some of the funds should be amalgamated. One of the conditions imposed by the Government, on the other hand, is that the funds should not be mixed up. Which of these two suggestions should be carried out? We cannot perform impossibilities. We cannot keep all our funds separate and at the same time amalgamate some. But, really, whether we have a separate drawing account in the Bank in regard to each fund or not, has nothing to do with the question of financial stringency. It does not at any rate add a penny to the funds; it is merely a question of keeping accounts. We were fortunately able to find very weighty precedents for the course that we have adopted. We find that the Government of Bengal from time to time received grants from the Imperial Government for the use of this and another University, which were merged in their own accounts and not kept separate for the benefit of the Institutions concerned. Do not imagine that I blame the Government of Bengal; I only say that example is better than precept.

Then come the conditions.—As we have demonstrated in our Report, the conditions, taken as a whole, do disclose a desire on the part of the Government to obtain control over the affairs of the University in a manner not contemplated by the present law. I have already observed that the idea of imposing conditions did not originate with the Government after the receipt of the Accountant-General's report. In their letter to the University, dated the 15th November, 1921, the Government explicitly stated that any help that they might render to the University would only be "under certain conditions." And, you should not forget that the Accountant-General submitted his report eight months after this letter had been written. No conditions were imposed by the Council, and a constitutional question has been raised as to whether the Minister has properly treated the members of the Council. I am not sure whether it is fortunate or unfortunate that I am not a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. One gentleman thus solemnly asked me, "If you had been treated like that, what would you have done?" I only said, "Had I been there, no Minister would have done so." However, let that alone.

My friends Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose and Mr. Khagendranath Mitter have said, "Accept the conditions." I regret I cannot act upon their advice. It is manifest that there are conditions which we cannot fulfil. These are conditions which—I cannot make out why—have not been mentioned by the Rai Bahadur or Mr. Mitter. We are asked to give the assurance that we shall carry out the recommendations of the Accountant-General. One of the recommendations is that the deficit should be wiped out. I have not got an Alladin's lamp at my disposal to work out that miracle; some future Vice-Chancellor may perchance have it and accomplish the feat. But, really, how are we to do it? Everybody knows that we have no cash available. The Government of Bengal propose to give us 2½ lakhs. If we accept the conditions, the Government may well ask at once, "Have you wiped out the deficit? Why have you not sold the Durbhanga Building? Surely you should have done that and adopted other similar drastic measures to carry out your undertaking." There is, indeed, the suggestion that we might mortgage our immovable property. All I can say is that people live to learn. The Government of Bengal desired that we should make an application for financial assistance. Pursuant to that request, we sent an application. We asked for a grant, and nine months elapsed before we were offered an inadequate grant, clogged with conditions and accompanied by valuable advice and suggestions. What is the advice? Why, mortgage your immovable property. We can only turn round and say, "Thank you, Sirs, we do not need advice of that description." I am afraid we might find it extremely difficult to find a mortgagee for the Durbhanga Building; but if any of my friends opposite will help us to dispose of some of the University property, such as books and laboratory appliances, he will earn the gratitude not only of the present but also of every future generation.

The Rai Bahadur asserted that when private citizens made gifts, they also imposed conditions. When Sir Taraknath Palit sent for me and asked me whether we would accept his gift, what conditions did he impose? Did he ask us to send accounts to him every month? I admit that he urged that his money should be applied in the maintenance of Chairs which should be held only by Indians. Pray, do not for a moment overlook the spirit in which gifts are offered. Did Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehary Ghosh ever desire to insult us or humiliate us? If the Government said that they proposed to send us 45 lakhs in memory of Sir Rashbehary Ghosh, Sir Taraknath Palit, or Kumar Guru Prosad Singh of Khaira, and made it a condition that the amount should be spent on the College of Science, it would be a matter of rejoicing, and we would never think that the condition was intended to embarrass us.

Pray, do not be misguided by phrases. There are conditions and conditions; the conditions which are proposed by the Government are, some of them, the badges of slavery. I would urge all of you, as also those who desire to impose conditions on us, to make a careful study, in this connection, of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Here let me emphasise in the clearest possible terms that under the Act of Incorporation, our accounts are audited annually by officers deputed by the Government. That audit has been regularly conducted ever since the foundation of the University and is an elaborate operation spread over several months. We welcome such audit of the accounts which we have to submit once in every year in accordance with the statute. But, why this demand for the monthly submission of the accounts? Is it maintained that because the Government offer us financial assistance, they are entitled to utilise our embarrassment for the purpose of imposing conditions not contemplated by the statute?

We are all aware that the Government of Bengal have secured from the Government of India a remission of sixty lacs a year for three years, call it by any name you please, a grant, a gift or a concession. Have the Government of Bengal furnished the Government of India with a written undertaking that they will not embark upon new ventures till their finances improve? Have the Government of India imposed the condition that the Government of Bengal would submit monthly accounts to the authorities at Delhi and Simla for all time to come? Have the Imperial Government asked the Local Government to surrender their autonomy even for a limited period, in return for the gift of one crore and eighty lacs?

The truth is that the conditions which the Government seek to impose on the University disclose a most regrettable spirit of distrust. Let me assure you that I fully appreciate the responsibility of keepers of public funds, howsoever temporary or transient their custody ; they are always apt to be oppressed with anxiety lest the funds should be misused or misapplied. We, on the one hand, claim to be treated as the trustees of a great national institution, who are able to realise their responsibilities. On the other hand, we urge the custodians of the public funds to realise the paramount need of a great University for the Indian people. We maintain that we have accomplished good work and that our contribution to nation-building—highly appreciated elsewhere—is not a negligible quantity. If the Government are fully convinced that this is true, and that public funds are at least as safe in our hands, as in theirs, let them give us money. If, on the other hand, they feel that our conduct has been dishonourable, that we have been wasteful spendthrifts, let them not trust us with money; for, deep distrust makes the giver and the taker alike miserable.

It is fortunate for the dissenters that our late lamented venerable friend Sir Gooroodass Banerjea is not here to-night, or else, I assure you, this hall would have rung with his protest against the manner in which the University is being treated by the Government. He would not have put up with it. He was sweet and amiable; but he was just, fearless, and self-respecting. It is fortunate that you have not amongst you here the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar. It is fortunate that you have not amongst you the late Dr. Rashbehary Ghose. It is lucky, indeed, that you are able to treat the matter so lightly when they can no longer be amidst us. It is fortunate, I say again, that there is no longer amongst us Mr. Anandomohan Bose or Mr. Kalichurn Banurji, or Bengal would have reverberated with their voice of protest against the treatment of this University by the Government.

Take it from me that as long as there is one drop of blood in me, I will not participate in the humiliation of this University. This University will not be a manufactory of slaves. We want to think truly. We want to teach freedom. We shall inspire the rising generation with thoughts and ideas that are high and ennobling. We shall not be a part of the Secretariat of the Government. Forget not that what is offered is not even a periodical grant, much less a perpetual grant. What is the offer? Two and a half lacs! And you solemnly propose that you should barter away your independence for it. Mr. Mitter raised a question of law. What authority, I ask, have we, who are assembled here to-night, to barter away for ever the rights and privileges of this University? What will Bengal say? What will India say? What will the Post-Graduate teachers say? They will resign to-morrow. They will go into banishment rather than take money under these humiliating conditions. What will posterity say? Will not future generations cry shame, that the Senate of the University of Calcutta bartered away their freedom for two and a half lacs of rupees? One of the dissenters said that he had to do his duty towards his electors.

I have also my duty to perform towards that very constituency, for how can I forget that I am the first Vice Chancellor chosen from among the representatives of the graduates. If you give me slavery in one hand and money in the other, I despise the offer. We will not take the money. We shall retrench and we shall live within our means. We shall go from door to door all through Bengal. We shall rouse the public conscience of Bengal, which has been lying dormant for some time past, and make the people of Bengal realise their responsibility for the maintenance, in a state of efficiency, of their chief seat of learning, their potent instrument for the discovery and dissemination of truth in all departments of human activity. Our cause is just and we shall not submit to humiliating conditions. Our Post-graduate teachers would starve themselves, rather than give up their freedom. Do not, my friends, believe for a moment that there is no Providence. If Science or Philosophy has taught you that, get rid of the blunder. If it is the design of Providence that high education should disappear from Bengal, let His will be carried out. But I have an unalterable faith in Providence; that has been my one, sole inspiration in moments of trials and tribulations. Reaction is bound to come. I call upon you, as members of the Senate, to stand up for the rights of your University. Forget the Government of Bengal. Forget the Government of India. Do your duty as Senators of this University, as true sons of your *Alma Mater.* Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me.

The motion was put to the vote and carried, *nem. con.*, none voting against it.

Errata.

In this number of the *Calcutta Review*: Page 39, line 14, read "*are* defensible" for "*is* defensible" and page 194, line 29, read "*is* at all of the *Times* type" for "*are* at all of the *Times* type."

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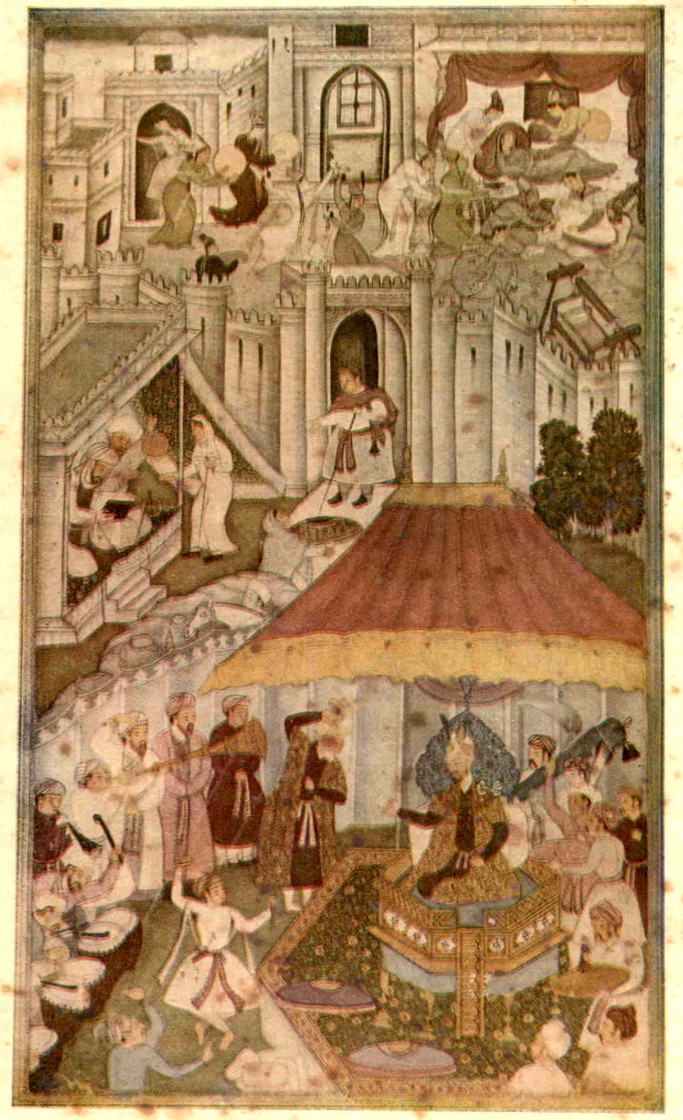

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1923

LAST DAY OF THE YEAR

(*Extract from "Withered Leaves."*)

Eckermann relates that it was an invariable practice of Goethe to spend the last day of the year in silent meditation. We can well understand this. Most people make the last day of the year an occasion for extravagant joy, culminating in what they call seeing the old year out and the new year in. This attitude, too, we can understand. It is of a piece with the mentality which, discarding the setting, offers its worship to the rising, sun. The old year will soon expire and merge into the past—boundless, irreclaimable, beyond recall. It has made its gifts. Perhaps it has done its worst. Let it then—so people seem to argue—vanish into limbo; but let us give a welcoming hand to its successor, with its infinite possibilities of pleasure and pain. Some such unconscious train of thought, passing through the mind of man, expresses itself, I suppose, in the tumultuous joy that accompanies the death of the old and the birth of the new year. In his exuberant enthusiasm he forgets the joys which the departing year has brought, as also the chastening, educative influence of its sorrows.

Man, 'tis said, is a thinking animal. This is fondly assumed as his distinctive attribute. But the most casual observation convinces us that the thinking man is an exception rather than the rule. The process of thinking is a painful process, involving strain, effort, weariness; and all such processes are unrelished by man. "Prejudice which he pretends to hate is his lawgiver. Mere use and wont lead him by the nose." He accepts things as they are, follows them, adopts them with unquestioning acquiescence, without a thought, heedless of their significance or implications. Virgil would not have sung with lyrical rapture "*Felix qui potuit rerum causas cognoscere*," if knowledge, circumspection, thinking, were the normal characteristics of man. And it is as well that it is not so. Else would the world have been robbed of its charm, and man of his sweetest pleasures. It is as well that we think little, and allow ourselves still less to be worried by the vexing, entangling, fruitless problems of life and fate. Well that we do as the world doth; think as the world thinketh; go as the world goeth, along its old, old, well-trodden ways. This rejoicing over the dying of the old year is perhaps a relic of ancient days, when life and property were insecure and precarious; when warfare was the order of the day; when chaos was rarely and fitfully relieved by gleams of peace and good-will. Yes! perhaps. For then—as might be expected—humanity would look forward with straining eyes to the New year to effect a happy change, or, perchance, to usher in the millennium—that mirage-like Golden Age which man has ever devoutly looked for, and —disappointments, nay despair notwithstanding—will ever continue to look for, till the end of time. Such a possibility—such a dream—such a hope—how it would stir the human heart! What passionate longing would it not inspire! What a vision of a land of plenty would it not evoke—a land where no fears would shadow happiness; where no sound of human sorrow would mar the beatific calm. It was presumably the hope of such a prospect that led man to give a tumultuously emotional welcome to the New year. Intermingled in that celebration were hope, feelings of relief, desires for peace. But though conditions have changed, man has not. He cannot rid himself of his ancient heritage. Does not the savage peer through the thin veil of civilised man? And this undoubtedly is one of the many survivals of primeval man.

But to some—to the rare group of thinking men and women—neither the end of the old year nor the beginning of the new is a day of mere joyous feasting.

> New year! new foes and old to face or fly;
> Old friends, a lessening band, to grapple fast;
> The end more near; another milestone past;
> The shagreen of desires shrunk wofully.

It is a day of stock-taking of the year's promise and its fulfilment. Ah! what a gulf lies betwixt the two. Reality never conforms—not even approximately—to the dreams which ambition weaves in the silent chambers of the heart. We see that our resolutions—good and pious resolutions, seriously made, deliberately willed—have been broken, strangled, killed under the stress of circumstances—adverse or uncontrollable. We find that the task—set in all solemnity and undertaken with all fervour—is far, far from completion. We perceive ruins, wreckage, a wild, weary, barren scene, where we had hoped to behold bud, blossom and bloom. We sorrowfully realize that one more mile-stone of life has been passed, and the day of reckoning is drawing closer and closer to hand. The thought presses upon us, what account are we to render of our stewardship to the Author of the universe? Such is the strain which serious thought takes on that most solemn of days. Dissatisfaction sets in. Dissatisfaction with our achievements. Dissatisfaction with ourselves. Who, then, could really be in light-hearted mood on a day such as the last day of the old year or the beginning of the new? The two attitudes are perfectly understandable—the thinking and the unthinking attitude. We do not want pleasure banished, joy banned; but we do wish to see the reign of serious thought and serious living proclaimed, established, in all its solemn splendour and undying force.

We would not have a race of mere philosophers, but to reasonably thinking men we say—

Do what thy manhood bids thee do; from
none but self expect applause;
He noblest lives and noblest dies who makes
and keeps his self-made laws.

All other life is living death, a world where
none but phantoms dwell—
A breath, a wind, a sound, a voice, a tinkling
of the camel-bell.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—III

(4)

DR. BERNARD BOSANQUET

Dr. Bernard Bosanquet is one of the most eminent philosophers of modern times. As a logician, he has few equals. Although not a very lucid writer, he is deep and penetrating and never fails to be suggestive. His contribution to political philosophy is as notable as his contributions to logic, metaphysics and æsthetics. There are not many treatises on politics in the English language which equal his *Philosophical Theory of the State* in the insight with which the fundamental problems of social philosophy are handled. The theory presented in this book is, as he himself puts it, "to be found not merely in Plato and in Aristotle but in very many modern writers, more especially in Hegel, T. H. Green, Bradley and Wallace." The standpoint is much the same as that of Green in his *Principles of Political Obligation*, but he is more unhesitating than Green in insisting upon the value of the state to the ethical life of its citizens. The state, he teaches, is a much more real object than a plant or an animal and the study of it as it is and not the construction of an ideal society is the aim of social philosophy. "To depict what most people call "an ideal state" is no more the object of political philosophy than it is the object say of Carpenter's *Human Physiology* to depict an "ideal" man or an angel." Dr. Bosanquet makes the central idea of Greek political philosophy his own, the idea, namely, that "the human mind can only attain its full and proper life in a community of minds, or more strictly in a community pervaded by a single mind, uttering itself consistently though differently in the life and action of every member of the community." Such a conception was developed in ancient times in connection with life in the Greek city states. It lost its supremacy with the increasing prevalence of an individualistic theory of life and has been revived again in modern times with the formation of nation states. The modern theory, however, differs from the ancient in this that it accords full recognition to the freedom of the individual and maintains that it is not by suppressing but by giving legitimate scope to it that the common social life can be realised.

Dr. Bosanquet begins by pointing out the contradiction involved in the conception of self-government and shows that on the basis of the ordinary dualism of self and others, the contradiction cannot be solved. The ground and justification of political obligation is self-government, but the question is, how the idea of self is to be reconciled with that of government. How can the authority which others must exercise over me, if there is to be government at all, be for me self-government? Law and government seem *primâ facie* to be opposed to the individuality of man, and yet without them the free play of personality would not be possible. Bentham thinks that in order to acquire rights, man must sacrifice part of his liberty, by which he understands the power to do what one pleases. Antecedently to law and government, rights do not exist. They, therefore, are necessary evils to which we have got to submit. But it is impossible to think of law and government as antagonistic to the self, if they are the necessary conditions of the unfolding of its capacities. That by means of which liberty is actualised cannot be destructive to it. The root of the difficulty lies in supposing that between self and others there is a fundamental opposition, and in the consequent failure to perceive that "the one, so far from surrendering some of his capacity for life through his fellowship with others, acquires and extends that capacity wholly in and through such fellowship." Mill's theory that an individual is free in everything that concerns himself alone and is subject to government in so far as his action affects others is open to the objection that it is impossible to draw a line of demarcation between self-regarding and other-regarding action. Every action done by me affects both myself and others. No fence can be put up round an individual so as to make him impervious to social forces, and no mistake is greater than to suppose that the more wayward and eccentric a man is the more he is free. We can get beyond law only by fulfilling it. It is a mistake to think that the difficulty inherent in the conception of self-government is removed if the government is democratic or, as the phrase is, government of the people for the people by the people. It is, on the contrary, increased. The people who rule are not the people who are ruled. The will of the majority is not the same thing as the will of the people, and the self-government of which one hears so much is not the government of each by himself but of each by others.

"On the basis of everyday reflection then," says Dr. Bosanquet, "we are brought to an absolute deadlock in the theory of political obligation." If this deadlock is to be removed, "we must take the two factors of the working idea of self-government in their full antagonism, and exhibit, through and because of this, the fundamental unity at their root, and the necessity and conditions of their coherence. We must show, in short, how man, the actual man of flesh and blood, demands to be governed, and how a government which puts real force upon him, is essential, as he is aware, to his becoming what he has it in him to be" (*Philosophical Theory of the State, 3rd ed., p. 73*).

The theories of writers like Bentham, Mill and Spencer, Dr. Bosanquet aptly calls "theories of the first look." They all assume that society and the individual really are as they immediately appear to be. No satisfactory explanation of self-government is possible on the assumption that human beings are naturally isolated from one another and are only artificially brought together in the state. All right is in the state, says Bentham. All right is in the individual, says Spencer for whom "the state has become little more than a record office of his contracts and consents." Both fail to perceive that "if a right can only be recognised by a society, it can only be real in an individual. * * As long as the self and law are alien and hostile, it is hopeless to do more than choose at random in which of the two we are to locate the essence of right" (*ibid, pp. 66-67*).

The problem of self-government is more satisfactorily handled by Rousseau, because, on the whole, he manages to get beyond the individualistic standpoint. Dr. Bosanquet shows that the popular idea of Rousseau, based upon sentences like "man is born free and everywhere is in chains," is entirely mistaken. In spite of his continual relapse into individualistic ways of thinking and modes of expression, the essence of his message is that in the state the minds and wills of its members are fused into a single indivisible whole. "Each of us puts into the common stock his person and his entire powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and we further receive each individual as an indivisible member of the whole." The state is, therefore, a moral person through participation in whose life alone man ceases to be a stupid and narrow animal and becomes an intelligent being. We attain freedom not by setting ourselves in opposition to the state but by obedience to its laws in which the general will is embodied. With law one's everyday rebellious self may be at variance, but it is nevertheless the expression of one's deeper and more complete self. Conformity to it is, for this reason, the essential thing in self-government.

Rousseau is careful to distinguish the general will from the will of all. The object towards which the former is directed is the common good, whereas the latter is only a sum of particular wills. The will of all may be unanimous, because individuals, desiring not something general in its nature but what is calculated to promote their various private interests, may nevertheless happen to agree in some particular point. The general will, on the other hand, aims at matters of common concern which may not be obvious to all. It is "that identity between my particular will and the wills of all my associates in the body politic which makes it possible to say that in all social co-operation, and in submitting even to forcible constraint, when imposed by society in the true common interest, I am obeying only myself and am actually attaining my freedom" (*ibid, p. 100*). What generalises the will is a common interest and not the number of votes recorded. The will of all is a mere aggregate but the general will is an organic unity. It is the universal principle that connects an individual with others and unites their particular wills into a coherent whole. "The unity of myself with others in a common good is the same in principle as the unity of myself with myself which I aim at in aiming at my own good." If the will of all were directed to the common good it would be transformed into the general will. The natural tendency of the great majority of men is to be guided by purely private interests but it requires some amount of effort to discern the common good and to make it the determining principle of conduct.

From the standpoint of the general will, the problem of self-government undergoes a transformation. The opposition between self and others and between self and government vanishes and sovereignty is seen to be the exercise of the general will, justifying the use of force to compel a recalcitrant individual to be truly free by being in harmony with the general will. In so far as laws and institutions are what they ought to be, they embody the general will.

Rousseau imagines that if free play is given to the particular wills, the general will is likely to emerge out of them through their conflict and the consequent cancellation of their differences. For this reason, he condemns representative government and favours small republics in which the citizens can meet and discuss public questions. But this, Dr. Bosanquet thinks, is to appeal "from the organised life, institutions and selected capacity of a nation to that nation regarded as an aggregate of individuals," to enthrone, in short, the very will of all which he disparages. But in what Rousseau says about the function of the legislator, his judgment is sound. What people really want, they do not always know. If they got exactly what they clamour for, they would seldom be satisfied. "In order to obtain a full statement of what we will, what we want at any moment must at least be corrected and amended by what we want at all other moments; and this cannot be done without also correcting and amending it so as to harmonise it with what others want, which involves an application of the same process to them" *(ibid, pp. 110-11)*. To do this work of criticism, to elicit the general will from the vague opinions and impulses of "a blind multitude, which often does not know what it wills, because it rarely knows what is good for it" is, in Rousseau's view, the task of the legislator.

The contradiction in self-government is due to the antithesis of self and others. It disappears as soon as we perceive that the average individual, absorbed in his private interests and pleasures, is not the real self. The social self extends beyond our private life, and we are genuine individuals only in so far as we identify ourselves with it. We become free not by dissociating ourselves from our fellow beings and doing what we like, but by acquiescing in a law and order in which our universal self is realised. If, in one sense, this law and order restrains our private wills, in another sense, it is the necessary means of our higher self-affirmation. The objective system of rights is the surest guarantee of our being able to become what it is possible for us to be. Self-government, rightly understood, means the subjection of our particular selves to an order which, to a large extent, expresses the general will, and liberty is not mere absence of restraint but "being ourselves most completely." The man whose desires are not narrow and casual, so that in the satisfaction of them he "feels choked and oppressed like one lost in a blind alley which grows narrower and narrower," but whose volitions are connected elements of a total system of life is truly free. And institutions, without which the affirmation of such a will is not possible, are the embodiment of our liberty and, as such, have a claim on our allegiance.

The state is the incarnation, the concrete form of the general will. It is not the political organisation merely, but "includes the entire hierarchy of institutions by which life is determined, from the family to the trade, and from the trade to the Church and the University. It includes all of them, not as the mere collection of the growths of the country, but as the structure which gives life and meaning to the political whole, while receiving from it mutual adjustment, and therefore expansion and a more liberal air" (*ibid, p. 139*). The state nourishes and sustains the individual. It disciplines him, expands his ideas and "furnishes him with an outlet and a stable purpose capable of doing justice to his capacities—a satisfying object of life."

"Force," says Dr. Bosanquet, "is inherent in the state and no true ideal points in the direction of destroying it." It is not the basis of the state, but is implied in it as the whole that makes the mutual adjustment of laws and institutions possible. "We make a great mistake in thinking of the force exercised by the state as limited to the restraint of disorderly persons by the police and the punishment of intentional law-breakers. The state is the flywheel of our life. Its system is constantly reminding us of our duties, from sanitation to the incidents of trusteeship, which we have not the least desire to neglect, but which we are either too ignorant or too indolent to carry out apart from instruction and authoritative suggestion" (*ibid*, p. 141). The stimulating effect of the social order on the minds of its members, in so far as these minds are inert, takes the form of force.

"Self-government," argues Dr. Bosanquet, "can only be explained if the centre of gravity of the self is thrown outside what we are continually tempted to reckon as our individuality, and, if we recognise as our real being, and therefore as imperative upon us, a self and a good which are but slightly represented in our explicit consciousness at its ordinary level." The error of thinkers like Herbert Spencer is to conceive of the state as a mere association of independent units whose nature is not affected by their membership of it. They do not see that it is an organisation in which the life of every member is determined not by his immediate and more or less accidental contact with others but by the plan and purpose of the whole. Their error is analogous to that of the associationist psychologists who regard the unity of mind as arising out of the arbitrary association of separate elements. But modern psychology tells us that the mind is a unified system of "appercipient masses" in each of which a number of ideas are held together and organised under the control of a general scheme. It is not a single system but "rather a construction of such systems, which may be in all degrees of alliance, indifference and opposition to one another." But however great may be the opposition of these subordinate mental systems to one another, they must all be under the more or less explicit control of the whole, if the unity of mind is to be preserved. Now society also "is a vast tissue of systems of this type, each of them a relatively though not absolutely closed and self-complete organisation." Within each group, the plan and function of every member is determined by the nature of the group. And the same individual may belong to several such groups. Social life could not go on, if between these various groups a working harmony were not maintained. It is the function of the state, as the most comprehensive organisation, to secure this harmony "by force if need be." The units of the state are not individuals but organised bodies of men.

Mind and the state are alike in "being organisations, each composed of a system of organisations." Further, "Minds and society are really the same fabric regarded from different points of view." What, outwardly, are social groups are, inwardly, mental systems. "Every individual mind is a system of such systems corresponding to the totality of social groups as seen from a particular position. The social whole is reflected in the mind of every member of it from his characteristic and unique point of view. It is a self-identical organisation aware of itself in a plurality of centres.

"The conception of society and the individual [being] correlative conceptions through and through," the question whether society is the means to the end of the individual or the individual the means to the end of society is entirely meaningless. There is no antagonism between the two. The universal and its differences are two aspects of one and the same thing. The end of the individual, therefore, is the same as that of society and the state, and this end is the realisation of the best life. It is not necessary for us to know in advance what in detail the best life is. Its nature is disclosed to us more and more as we make progress, because of our intolerance of contradictions, towards the attainment of a harmonious life of fully-developed capacities. The function of the state is to remove hindrances to and create conditions favourable for the realisation of the end. It is not in its power to promote the end directly. For this purpose, the spontaneous and intelligent action of self-conscious beings is necessary. It is such action alone that makes "the maximisation of our being," the widening of our self through its identification with the social whole, possible. Established and unchanging customs, authoritative traditions, mere routine, unless these are helpful to self-conscious development by liberating energies available for the purpose, are obstacles to moral progress. It is their influence on life and not the encroachment of others on what I vainly try to make my exclusive sphere of action that destroys liberty. The menace to liberty comes from automatism and not from others. "As in the private so in the general life, every encroachment of automatism must be justified by opening new possibilities to self-conscious development, if it is not to mean degeneration and senility." In so far as automatism checks moral growth, the end of state action must be to remove it.

As the state is not alien to the life of the individual, the minimising of its power cannot be the true ideal. There is no limit to the authority of the state except that which arises from the nature of its own end. Without absolute power the state cannot effect a proper adjustment of the often conflicting claims of individuals and social groups.

In common with Green, Wallace and Ritchie, Dr. Bosanquet holds that the rights of an individual arise out of his position in the state. They are "claims recognised by the state, *i.e.*, by society acting as ultimate authority, to the maintenance of conditions favourable to the best life." They may be regarded from the point of view of the whole community and of the individuals who compose the community. From the standpoint of the community they are "the organic whole of the outward conditions necessary to the rational life." Rights do not belong to individuals in their isolation but depend upon the "state-maintained order in its connectedness as a single expression of a common good or will." Their end is the maintenance of external conditions essential to the full development of human personality. From the point of view of the individual, rights are powers secured to him by the state, in order that by the exercise of them he may make his unique contribution to the common good. Apart from the position of the individual recognised by the state they have no existence. No position no rights. As rights are connected with social positions or vocations which "have their being in the medium of recognition," unrecognised rights do not exist. They cannot be based on my mere desire to do what it pleases me to do.

In the network of social relations, the rights which are claimed by one man are duties owed to him by others. My right to walk along the public road implies an obligation on the part of others not to obstruct me. Rights and duties are thus the correlatives of each other. But, in a higher sense, all rights are duties. They are powers belonging to me in virtue of my social position which I am bound to exercise in order to realise the moral end.

One of the distinctive features of Dr. Bosanquet's theory is that he conceives of the state as consisting of "facts as well as ideas and purposes as well as facts." The institutions of which the state is the organised unity are, of course, external facts in the natural world but they are also embodiments of ethical ideas. "An institution implies a purpose or sentiment of more minds than one, and a more or less permanent embodiment of it. 'Of more minds than one' because it is to fix the meeting points of minds that the external embodiment is necessary." Apart from the social mind, institutions are no more real than is the universe apart from the Absolute mind.

"The nation state is the widest organisation which has the common experience necessary to found a common life!' For this reason, "it is recognised as absolute in power over the individual and as his representative and champion in the affairs of the world outside." The state exists in order to maintain the outward conditions of a desirable life. But it is impossible to determine these conditions without reference to the kind of life that is to be realised, and it is only within the limits of a nation state that there can be a distinctive type of life.

In answer to the question whether state action can be judged by the same standard as private action, the essence of what Dr. Bosanquet has to say is that a state can be judged only in respect of its act of will as a state and not by what its agents may do on their own account in the name of the state. If they commit any breach of morality, they are certainly censurable, but their acts are not imputable to the state unless they are done with the active support of public opinion, in which case "the guilty state is judged before the tribunal of humanity and history." The important thing to remember is that state actions "cannot be identified with the deeds of its agents, or morally judged as private volitions are judged. Its acts proper are always public acts, and it cannot, as a state, act within the relations of private life in which organised morality exists. It has no determinate function in a larger community, but is itself the supreme community; the guardian of a whole moral world, but not a factor within an organised moral world. Moral relations presuppose an organised life; but such a life is only within the state, not in relations between the state and other communities" *(ibid, p. 302)* What the state does in order to fulfil its mission is, of course, subject to criticism and cannot be morally indifferent, but it is mere confusion to pass moral judgments on its acts in the same sense as on the acts of private individuals. A public act "is the act of a supreme power which has ultimate responsibility for protecting the form of life of which it is the guardian, and which is not itself protected by any scheme of function or relations, such as prescribes a course for the reconciliation of rights and secures its effectiveness" *(ibid, p. 304).*

There is no such thing as Humanity as a single organised community. The great majority of men are living lives scarcely worth living. It is true that in virtue of their intelligence they have capacities which can be realised, but as yet they remain unrealised. That being so, all men cannot be effective members of a common society. "It does not follow from this that there can be no general recognition of the rights arising from the capacities for good life which belong to man as man. Though insufficient, as variously and imperfectly realised, to be the basis of an effective community, they may, so far as realised, be a common element or tissue of connection running through the more concrete experience on which effective communities rest" (*ibid, p. 307*).

Beyond the multitude of states and the idea of Humanity there are "fuller utterances of the same universal self which the 'general will' reveals in more precarious forms." In passing into the spheres of art, religion and philosophy, "the human mind, consolidated and sustained by society, goes further on its path in removing contradictions and shaping its world and itself into unity."

HIRALAL HALDAR

NOTE ON THE STATE OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN AND GERMANY

Provision for technical education is made—in Great Britain—in four classes of institutions—the Universities, Technical Institutes, Technical Schools and Polytechnics. In most of the older Universities, for a long time, the only technical subjects included in their curriculum were Electrical and Mechanical Engineering. Thus at Cambridge, the institution of a mechanical science tripos and establishment of the Chair of Electrical Engineering marked almost an epoch in the history of the university, about thirty years ago. An agricultural tripos and a diploma of forestry have since been added but no further advance has, as yet, been made. But in all the newer Universities, technical subjects find a prominent place. Thus, the University of Birmingham,[1] which probably includes the

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[1] The following brief history of the University of Birmingham mostly taken from an excellent article which appeared in the "Engineering," some years ago, will be found to be of interest still.

The beginning of the higher technical education in the Midlands was marked by the opening of the Mason College at Birmingham by Huxley in 1880. This building is situated in the centre of the city and forms part of the Chamberlain Square, which contains the Town Hall, Free Library, Art Galleries, and Municipal Council House. It is evident that what Mason desired was that some practical method of education in Science should be provided for those in the Midlands.

In 1892 the Birmingham Medical School was absorbed by the Mason College, and thus the first step towards real University work was taken. The College was then called Mason University College and many of the students were prepared for the London University Examinations. This Science College did good work in its time, and the Chair of Engineering was founded in 1881, and was endowed by Sir James Chance in 1900, and a Mining Professor was appointed in 1883, so that it will be seen that *applied science was taught from the outset.* In 1907, there were five applied science professors, in Mechanical, Electrical and Civil Engineering, Mining and Metallurgy as well as lecturers on the same subjects, making altogether five professors, five lecturers, and three assistant lecturers in applied science.

It was in 1898 that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain publicly announced the idea of a Birmingham, or, as it might perhaps with advantage be called, a Midland University. The necessary largest number of technical subjects, provides instruction in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining, Chemistry of Fermentation, as well as in Commerce and Journalism. In fact, the ideal sought to be realised at Birmingham is a school of general culture which would practically assist

money having been subscribed, and the requisite formalities gone through, the Charter was granted in 1900. The study of humanities is included as at other Universities, but while at Birmingham, a broad catholic education—in fact a real university education—in any subject is obtainable, yet it will certainly specialise in applied science and commerce. At this time, Mr. Andrew Carnegie forwarded a munificent donation of £50,000, with the admirable advice, that before anything was done in Birmingham, the council should be well informed of what was taking place in America.

The deputation to America: Accordingly, a special deputation (consisting of Mr. George H. Kenrick, Professor Poynting and Professor Burstall) was sent to the United States, some four years before the Moseley Educational Commission was despatched on its famous tour of inspection over the same ground. The report dealt with and recommended the American system of engineering education, and that report was adopted by the Council of the University. While this committee were busy with the preparation of their great scheme, other faculties and departments of the University were developing rapidly. Accordingly, the next step was taken to erect new buildings on a site of 25 acres generously presented to the University by Lord Calthrope at *Bourne Brook* about three miles from its old site. In June 1900, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, as Chancellor of the new University, addressed the first meeting of the Court of Governors. In that speech, he emphasised the importance of research. "They believed that those were the best teachers who were themselves constantly learning, and that, without adding continuously to the common stock of knowledge, they would not be fulfilling their duties." He went on to ask for further endowment of a quarter of a million sterling. (They had received already promises of £330,000.) Mr. Chamberlain emphasised the fact that it must "not only be school of general culture" but it would also "practically assist the prosperity and welfare of the district in which it was situated by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures." He then went on to speak of the great Applied Science Universities in America which they hoped to imitate. "All that is wanted is money," he said, in 1900. In less than four years there was sanctioned a building contract for over a quarter of a million pounds for the huge laboratories for teaching applied science in a practical manner. It is clear that the Chamberlain ideal for the Midland University has always been a school of general culture, specialising in the facilities for training applied sciences. It is not a technical school; there was already a most excellent one in Birmingham before the University was erected. It is for training "Captains of Industry," not the rank-and-file or even the non-commissioned officers.

In the report of the Deputation to America, the authors state "that their object has been the establishment of a college, teaching science in its application to industry, and in the first place to the industries of the district, coupled with such technical instruction in handicrafts as will enable the students to complete their course in the University itself." They classify the industries of the district as follows: Mining, Metallurgy, Engineering and Chemical trades. They emphasised the need of creating Chairs in Applied Science which the University have since obtained; and one which will surely soon follow—a Chair the prosperity and welfare of the district (the Midlands) by the exceptional attention which it would give to the teaching of science in connection with its application to local industries and manufactures. Similarly, the University of Leeds includes courses in Mechanical, Civil, Electrical, Mining and Gas Engineering, besides Fuel and Metallurgy, Agriculture, Dyeing and Applied Chemistry, including Dyeing and Chemistry of Leather.

The largest technical institution in Great Britain is, however, the Institute of Technology in Manchester which includes a very extensive range of technical subjects. Indeed, the school is a very big place, six stories high, in which the Technological Faculty of the University of Manchester prepares students for the Degree of Bachelor of Technology.

It is to be hoped that, in due course, we shall have in Calcutta a technical college of the type of Manchester School of Technology. The line of progress should be to add different departments to the existing college at Shibpur, rather than to establish isolated institutions dealing with different technical subjects. For, instruction in any technical subject involves instruction in subsidiary subjects and, therefore, the establishment of isolated institutions involves undue multiplication of courses of the same kind which, with limited resources, it would be best to avoid. Thus, at Charlottenberg (the Berlin

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of Applied Chemistry. They estimated that the total cost of land, buildings, machinery, and fittings would be £155,000. When it is mentioned that the buildings alone have cost over £250,000, it will be seen that the most hopeful expectations of this Committee concerning funds, has been exceeded. This Committee estimated that the annual cost of maintenance (including staff) would be £10,450 per annum. Already the Applied Science Staff alone receive something like £5,000 a year. There is a paragraph in the report of this Committee which our own rich men might lay to heart. : "Everywhere we found that the wealthier citizens realise the importance of university education and encourage the Universities by generous gifts."

Thus, the University has grown out of small beginnings by the incorporation of allied institutions and the addition of new faculties and it has been bodily removed to a locality where it could have sufficient room for needful expansion.

Technical High School), in the Department of Architecture, the following courses of lectures are recommended :—

First Year—Practical Geometry, Experimental Physics, Experimental Chemistry, Surveying, Building Construction, Drawing, including Figure and Landscape Drawing, History of Architecture, the Antique, Modelling figure and ornament.

Second Year— Mineralogy, Geology, Building Construction (Higher Course), Principles of Design, Railways, Roads, Waterworks, Strength of Materials, History of Greek and Roman Architecture, Furniture, Antique, Renaissance, 18th Century Drawing, Plane Figures, etc.; Estimates and Specifications.

Third Year—Sanitary Engineering, Iron Buildings, Design of Buildings in stone, brick and wood. Design of Public Buildings, Gothic Buildings, Architectural Perspective, Heating and Ventilation ; Figure Design from Living Models, Modelling.

Fourth Year—Machine Construction, Colour Decoration, Lectures on the History of Greek, Roman, Renaissance, and Gothic Architecture, the Design of Buildings in various styles and in various materials.

Such a scheme cannot obviously be attempted in an isolated institution dealing with special subjects.

Besides the Universities and larger technical institutions, there are technical schools, which are to be found in almost every municipality, often in connection with secondary schools or Schools of Art. As an example, the Brighton Technical School (which is located in a gorgeous building), provides instruction in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Natural Science, Engineering (Mechanical and Electrical) including Tool-making and Wiremen's work, Building Trades, Languages, Commercial Subjects, Photography, Typography, Manual Training and Domestic Economy (for girls). The Building Trades include Building Construction and Drawing, Architectural Design, Hand Railing, Carpentry, Cabinet-making, Pattern-making, Moulding, Turning, Plumbing, Sanitary Science and Quantity Surveying. The school prepares students for the London Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, City and Guilds Examinations, as well as examinations held by the Institute of Civil Engineers, Pharmaceutical Society, etc. One cannot help being impressed with the elaborate fittings of its workshops. The school seems in its technical branches to furnish an ideal to which the schools of the type of the Bihar School of Engineering should work up, in time.

Polytechnics are more advanced institutions than the Technical Schools. They prepare for London B. Sc. and similar examinations but the subjects taken up are similar to those in the Technical Schools. In all these Institutes (except in some of the Universities and the University Colleges) there are evening classes for those engaged in work during the day, in almost all the subjects. The fees charged in the evening classes are much less than in the day classes, a further reduction being allowed in the case of those actually engaged in the trades for which a particular course is specially designed.

But no scheme of technical education will be completed which does not make suitable provision for a course of training in the actual works. All authorities are agreed on this point. As has been well remarked by a former professor of the University of Leeds, "The college laboratory can do what cannot be done in the works and the works can do what cannot be done in a laboratory; both are indispensable, but each should do that which it is able to do thoroughly and not spoil both by attempting to combine them in one and the same place."

Taking the case of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering the following is often regarded as a suitable, though a somewhat elaborate, course of training. After receiving a good education, a youth should be sent to some small general engineering works, where he is more likely to gain useful experience than in a larger establishment, for about twelve or eighteen months;

he should, then, take either a two or a three years' course of instruction in a college; he should, next, go into some larger engineering works, where he can specialise in some particular branch for a period of not less than two years: finally, he should go into the drawing office for at least one year. Such a course of training will thus take from six to seven years, which in some instances may be more time than many parents can afford to give their sons. In such cases, the expense of the college course may be materially reduced by scholarships; but this, of course, entirely depends upon the ability and diligence of the student. Then, again, if youths do well, they will nearly always receive some remuneration during the third and fourth stages mentioned above.

Generally speaking, the importance of practical training after a college course, in all technical subjects, cannot be overestimated. In dealing with these, therefore, we are confronted with special difficulties. I have in a recent article[1] adverted to the difficulty in securing admission into works in England and elsewhere in the case of Indian students. It will be obvious, therefore, that in India, the difficulty of providing practical training in technical subjects will be very great,—in new subjects, almost insurmountable. In subjects, like Mining, Mechanical Engineering and Weaving, suitable provision can be made with greater ease in India than in England for practical training of students in actual works. There are others (Electrical Engineering and Metallurgy) for which and also, while some provision can be made in this respect (in certain departments), in respect of industries which have either not made a beginning or are in an embryonic stage, the plan to be followed is the one to which I referred in a recent article. In all cases, it is necessary to bear in mind the absolute necessity of providing for practical training, in every scheme of technical education that is at all worthy of consideration.

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[1] *Vide,* Calcutta Review, July 1922, *Technological Studies.*

Finally, a reference should be made to a special type of schools, maintained by the London County Council, namely the Schools of Arts and Crafts. The Central School of Arts and Crafts was established (to quote from the prospectus) to provide instruction in those branches of design and manipulation which directly bear on the more artistic trades. The special object is to encourage the industrial application of decorative design and it is intended that every opportunity should be given to students to study this in relation to their own particular craft. It is the intention that the school should supplement and not supersede apprenticeship by affording to trade students opportunities for studying design and for practice in those branches of their craft, which owing to subdivisions of processes of production, they are unable to obtain in the workshop.

The instruction is adapted to the needs of those engaged in the different departments of building work (architects, builders, modellers, wood, stone and marble carvers, gilders, painters, decorators, cabinet-makers, metal-workers, etc., designers of wall papers, textiles and furniture and workers in stained glass, tapestry, embroidery, bronze, lead, etc.); also in work in the precious metals (enamellers, jewellers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, chasers, engravers, and die-sinkers); and in general book-production (book binders, compositors, black and white designers, book illustrators, illuminators and lithographers). New classes have been arranged in Typography, Building Construction, Dress-making, Lace-making, Tempera Painting, China-painting, Technical Carpet-designing, and Designing for Monumental Masonry. Other departments are being opened in response to reasonable demands.

According to the Principal of the Central School of Arts and Crafts; one of the objects of the school is to keep up and develop the artistic talent connected with handicrafts

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[3] My inquiry had led me to the conclusion that the difficulties are nearly as great i Germany and the United States.

against the inroads of the modern machine. In view of the decaying arts in this country, as in silver, gold, muslin, etc., a school of this kind—say, in connection with the School of Art, should prove a highly useful institution.

I must defer a detailed account of the German Technical Institutions to a future occasion. At present, I shall confine myself to a brief description of Hoch Schule (the High School) at Charlottenburg, perhaps the greatest Technical School in the world, which I have lately had the pleasure of visiting. I have already incidentally referred to the comprehensive nature of the courses of studies provided there. As a further illustration, we may take the course of studies recommended for Engineering.

First Year—Experimental Physics, Higher Mathematics, Mechanical and Descriptive Geometry, Mechanical Technology I, Introduction to Machine Construction, Experimental Chemistry.

Second Year—Mechanics and Mechanism, Thermodynamics, Strength of Materials, Graphic Statics, Cranes and Lifting Machinery, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Mechanical Technology II, Commercial Subjects.

Third Year—Electricity, Crane Design, Steam Engine Construction, Hydraulic Machine, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Machinery Construction, Pumping, Compressing and Blowing Machinery, Steam Boilers, Statics of Bridge Construction, Finance and Banking.

Fourth Year—Students at this stage specialise in either (*a*) (*b*) or (*c*).

(*a*) General Mechanical Engineering, Design of Hydraulic Machines, Setting out Factories for various purposes, Machine Construction, Hydraulics, Design of Boilers, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory, Ice-making and Refrigerating Machines, Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers.

(*b*) Railway Engineering, Locomotive, Carriage and Waggon Construction, Permanent Way, Railway Working, Setting out Factories, etc., Iron Construction, Electric Telegraph, Practical Work in the Engine Laboratory.

(*c*) Practical Work in the Electrical Engineering Laboratory, Transport of Goods, Construction of Dynamos and Transformers, Electrotechnics in relation to the Electric Telegraph, Electric Measurements, Electric Lighting, Alternating Currents, Electric Transmission, Electric Railways, the Physical Basis of Electrotechnics, Electro-chemistry, Introduction to the Potential Theory, Potential Theory and its employment in the study of Electricity, Electric Waves.

A student is not, however, compelled to take the whole of the course laid down. He has perfect freedom to select any course of study he thinks fit, made up of lectures from any of the (six) departments of the School.

A feature in the organisation of the teaching staff is worthy of note: Each professor is expert in his particular branch (who is associated with the Rector[1] on a footing of perfect equality and, in general, *engaged in the full practice of his profession.* In this way, theory and practice are brought into close union.

The cost of maintaining the Berlin Technical High School is considerable. In 1899 the income of the school was nearly £70,000, of which nearly 50% was provided by the state. And it is not without interest to note that the cost of a complete course in the High School was then only from £10 to £17 per annum.

The following quotation from the Consular Report issued by the Foreign Office on German Technical Education, which closes an article which appeared some years ago in a paper, called the *Technic* is of special interest even now.

" His Majesty the Emperor William has always manifested a deep appreciation of the vital importance of technical education, and of the progress of science and chemical and technical industries. He has displayed this in many ways, by participation in scholastic conferences, the admission of the Directors of Prussian Technical High Schools to the Prussian upper house and latterly, by honouring the Prussian Technical High Schools with the right to confer the new degree of *Doctor of Engineering* on the occasion of the centenary of the Berlin Technical High School. This is a most important historical event in the annals of the development of scientific education in Prussia, as it indicates that the technical high schools have been raised to the academic level of the older Universities. This honour, great in itself, was further enhanced through the Emperor by the bestowal of the title of " His Magnificency " upon the Professor elected each year to the office of Director of the Berlin Technical High School, and by the additional right of conferring the degree of Doctor, *Honoris Causa,* upon distinguished scientists, scholars and public men."

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[1] Each Professor becomes Rector, by rotation.

"The importance of the step that was taken by the German Emperor cannot be too highly estimated. It practically meant a recognition and acknowledgment of equality given by the old universities with their honourable historical records of many centuries, to their younger colleagues, the technical high schools of the nineteenth century."

"Since the elevation of the technical high schools to the same rank as the four faculties of the old universities, German educationalism has attained a certain measure of perfection in the last of the three great historical periods—the appearance of the universities as a living protest against the dreary and fruitless scholasticism of the middle ages: the foundation of academics with the principle of experimental research as the basis of natural sciences; and, finally, the creation of technical high schools with the principle of the systematic application of scientific methods to the service of mankind."

D. N. MALLIK

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC CRITICISM

Newspapers first came into existence to record events as they happened from day to day. They supplied a want which was widely felt, and they were appreciated by a daily widening circle of readers. They have now become indispensable at the early morning breakfast table, in moments of leisure and during travel. The telegraph has helped to make the newspaper a source of daily communion throughout the world. The rustle of its myriad leaves is heard in every household in every part of the civilised world, and the morning does not properly begin unless we have a glance at the daily morning newspaper. News travels with the speed of lightning, distance and time have alike been annihilated, and events happening thousands of miles away are known the next morning in every part of the world through the medium of the ubiquitous newspaper. One wonders how the world got on in former times without newspapers. The story is told of our Yankee friends of how a preacher failed to excite interest by depicting the horrors of hell. After denouncing sin and sinners he waxed eloquent over the awful punishment of sinners in hell. With all the eloquence and earnestness he could command he spoke of the tortures of hell and the fearful lot of sinners; in vivid language he described the burning sulphur and brimstone of hell and of the fire that is not quenched. But all his efforts to inspire terror remained ineffective, and his glowing periods passed over his hearers as harmlessly as water glides off the back of a duck. Feeling baffled and desperate the preacher tried another octave of solemn exhortation. "My brothers," cried he in his deepest and most sepulchral tones, "there are no newspapers in hell!" Then the congregation was suddenly aroused out of its apathy and listlessness, and there was manifest consternation in the faces of the listeners. They were all deeply stirred. If hell without a newspaper is inconceivable and the notion is repugnant even to people without any imagination how can the world do even for a day without its multiplicity of newspapers?

The daily criticism of public affairs, of public men and public measures is of later growth. The day's news were presented as a bunch of twinkling glowworms; followed the powerful searchlight of criticism turning every way, shooting shafts of light in every direction, exposing the dark and tortuous ways of intrigue and piercing the heart of the most intricate problems in public affairs. The fierce light no longer beats upon the throne alone, but upon everything that pertains to the affairs of the country and the nation. The humble chronicler of news evolved into the publicist and took a definite part in shaping public opinion which has ruled the world from the ancient days when Rama ruled the kingdom of Ayodhyā. The power of public criticism like all other powers has been abused at times, since men are not always fit to wield the power they possess. Moreover, the State and the Press have come into frequent conflict. Men connected with newspapers are usually ill paid, despised and very often oppressed. Many of them have found life bitter and its environments depressing. Several of them have mistaken their calling, others are ill equipped for the vocation they have chosen. In spite of all this, however, newspapers are now a recognised factor in affairs, and the very fact that they are sometimes ill-treated proves that their power is felt.

Between the newspaper and the periodical, the monthly magazine and the review there is a clear line of demarcation. Their different functions are clearly, if tacitly, defined, and there should be no overlapping between them. The *Edinburgh Review* in the days of Macaulay and the *Bangadarsana* guided by the genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterji represent the high water-mark of periodical literature, while the London *Times*, apart from its views on political subjects and the struggles of nations to win liberty, has maintained the highest traditions of journalism. The monthly periodical should have some literary value, and some of the finest modern literature has appeared in magazines in monthly instalments. It is more abstract and less concrete. From the nature of its publication, seeing that a month intervenes between two numbers, the monthly magazine should not and cannot encroach upon the province of the daily newspaper. The monthly magazine is more or less an individual publication. Each article is signed and bears the authority of the writer. There is an atmosphere of detachment, an evidence of leisurely thought. The mysterious plurality of the editorial 'we,' the driving force and the hustling energy of the daily newspaper are absent. It is within the province of the writer of a signed article in a monthly magazine to consider and criticise any particular measure of the Government, or any public body or corporation. It is *not* within his province, specially if he is an anonymous writer, to make running or ill-natured commentaries month after month on any particular institution or to criticise any particular individual. That is the function of the daily newspaper and the monthly periodical ought not to encroach upon it.

Literary controversy such as illumined the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* in the time of such giants as William Ewart Gladstone and Thomas Huxley, or the keen rapier play and the delicate banter of Matthew Arnold is an intellectual treat and an abiding pleasure. Writers and critics of their calibre are not to be found every day anywhere, but every high class periodical with any claim to dignity can follow the lead of these great men so far as the choice of subjects fit for controversy is concerned. Putting the matter broadly and roughly it is competent to a monthly magazine to permit a number of known writers, whose motives are unassailable, to consider the Irish question from various points of view. An article in a monthly periodical may well deal with any particular measure introduced in the Indian

Legislature. A writer in such a periodical may closely examine the administration of a Viceroy or a provincial ruler. He can pass under review the affairs of a Municipal Corporation or a University, or lay down his reasons for or against a particular civic or educational policy. But if month after month he criticises or reviles a particular institution or a particular individual associated with that institution he usurps the function of the daily newspaper, and also raises doubts as to the purity of his motive.

On this particular question of motive there can be no distinction between writers in the public Press, daily or monthly, because it is a question of public morality and admits of no deviation of standard. Several years ago, an Indian commercial magnate interested himself, on public grounds, in the establishment of a railway in a certain remote part of India. He happened to be in England on his own business and was asked to approach the Editor of the London *Times* to enlist the sympathy and support of the great London paper. At that time it was owned by the Walters. The Editor, after hearing his visitor, asked him if he had any personal or financial interest in the project. On receiving a reply in the negative he asked the Indian gentleman to give him such an assurance in writing, and it was only then that he agreed to make independent inquiries and to support the scheme if so advised. That was the tradition of the *Times*. The reader may remember how the same paper rebuked Sir Michael O'Dwyer some time ago and said it suffered no dictation from any one. All newspapers and periodicals, great and small, must be above the ascription of any motive in the discussion of any individual or institution.

The line of conduct is very simple and there should be no difficulty in following it so long as one is guided by rectitude of motive. If in criticising a public institution or a public individual there is the faintest suspicion of a presonal grievance the hand of the critic should be automatically stayed. If public criticism is in any way inspired or influenced by private prejudice or a sense of personal wrong it is a clear debasement and prostitution of a valued right. The more real the grievance the greater the measure of offending. If any monthly periodical oversteps the limits of its legitimate functions, and month after month assails any individual or institution with undisguised virulence and hostility, and if there is the remotest justification for the suggestion that at the back of such hostility there is a feeling of a personal injury or a personal disappointment then the critic stands self-condemned as unworthy and unfit to perform the part of a dignified and impartial critic. Each one of us, however humble our calling and sphere of influence, is ever in the great Taskmaster's eye, and for every one of us are intended the weighty words of warning, Judge not, that ye be not judged.

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT IV; SCENE III)

[*Scene.* A street in Mailepur. Several passing along in one direction.]

An old woman—

Is this the way to Sitaraman's house
Where the great Sadhu dwells ?

A girl—

Ay, little mother,
Straight on, and then the turning to the right.

Old woman—

Vishnu be praised! My journey's end is near.
I'm nigh worn out with walking.

Palanquin-bearers—

Way—make way!
Way for the princess! Backward there! Give room.

(*The people fall back. Enter, borne on palanquin, Magudani and Sinthice.*)

Sinthice—

How the folk press around us! are they all
Bound for this Sadhu's lodging ?

Magudani—

One and all
They tend in one direction. Many are sick,
Others would hear his message. All have need.

A bearer—

Your presence, the crowd thickens. It were well
Here a brief while to rest the palanquin.

Magudani—

Well, rest a little. Do I see aright,
Or is that boy Vizayan? It is he.

Prince Vizayan—

'Tis Magudani! What a game is this!

Magudani—

What dost thou here, Vizayan, unattended?
Where are thy tutors?

Vizayan—

They are round the corner,
At their wits end, what hath become of me!
I dodged them finely.

Sinthice—

O thou wicked boy!
If thou wert kidnapped, 'twere thy just desert.

Vizayan—

Desert? I wish the day no better end!
So while the sun shines, I will pluck the fruit.

Magudani—

But now, Vizayan, whither goest thou?

Vizayan—

Whither thou goest, Rose of India!
To see this wondrous Sadhu. I have heard
How a great block of timber that withstood
An elephant with coolies half a score
He drew up from the river easily;
How water drops he threw into the air
Remained suspended, till they turned to flowers
That fell in showering fragrance at his feet.

Magudani—

These are but tales, Vizayan; thou shalt see
No conjuror, but a healer of the sick,
And hear a great Apostle of the World.

Vizayan—

That will content me, if I go with thee,
O heartless breaker of a thousand hearts!
But yesternight, my sister Draupadi
Her hair for envy of thy beauty tore.

Magudani—

Thy tongue, Vizayan, runs away with thee,
And where it goes thou know'st not. Hold thy peace.

Sinthice—

How long are we to linger? Girl, these fellows
Will rest till night, unless thou hurry them.

Magudani—

Ah, the press slackens. Bearers, up and on! [*Exeunt.*]

(*Enter Ram Chandra, covered with ashes and with beads about his neck.*)

Ram Chandra—

How soon the people follow him! Already
The leaven in the meal begins to spread.
Not unobserved hath Magudani gone
Yonder with Krishna's sister and the prince.
I'll sit me here upon the roadside—so
And wrapt in holy contemplation, watch
The passers-by, if haply there should flit
Some fly as greenly coloured to the web.

(Various people pass by Ram Chandra who seems absolutely absorbed and indifferent. Some throw coins to which he pays no regard.)
(Enter Draupadi, heavily veiled with a female attendant.)

Draupadi—

It cannot, Lachmi, be much further now.

Ram Chandra (aside)—

Now where have I those silvery accents heard,
That haughty carriage seen, that stately tread ?
Ah, now I have it !

Draupadi—

See that poor Fakir !
Give him a piece of silver. Ah, his soul
Is raised to heights above such worthless pelf.

Ram Chandra—

Yet on the greatest lady in the land
Saving the Maharani, I might deign
Thence to bestow a glance compassionate.

Draupadi (starting)—

Thou knowest me ?

Ram Chandra—

Ay, Princess Draupadi,
I know thee and the tempest in thy soul,
Whither thou speedest thy misguided steps,
And what the future has in store for thee.

Draupadi—

I go but whither all are wending now,
To hear the new Mahatma, and to see
His mighty wonders.

Ram Chandra—

Not for him thou goest,
Nor yet his wonders, but to gaze upon
The face of one who hath despisèd thee,
Thee, a king's daughter, for some lowlier choice.

Draupadi—

Swami, thou read'st the secret of my soul !
He passed me over for another's sake.
Chit ! I could slay her for his sake and mine.

Ram Chandra—

By simpler means thou mayst secure his love.

Draupadi—

How meanest thou ? I gain him ? In what way ?

Ram Chandra—

See here a cruse of crystal ! When thou payest
On thy fair cousin a call of courtesy,
Watch an occasion when she's unaware,
And her cosmetics with its content mix.

Draupadi—

Is it some spell upon her, holy seer ?

Ram Chandra—

'Twill mar her beauty in her lover's eyes
Till by her side a Rakshasi were fair.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay, that were a sin, an evil thing !

Ram Chandra—

Evil is oft the pathway to a throne.

Draupadi—

Nay, nay I dare not—yet thou temptest me !
I will not use it, but will purchase it,
And have it by me. What a power it gives !
The way to what a crown of happiness !

Ram Chandra (*giving her the cruse*)—

Take it, and have it by thee ! 'Tis the same.
(*aside*) Who plays with evil soon is Evil's sport.

(*Draupadi takes the cruse, and throws Ram Chandra a gold coin. Exeunt Draupadi and her attendant.*)

Ram Chandra resumes his attitude of deep contemplation. Beggar children passing snatch at the coins lying round about him on the ground. He takes no notice. A low rumble of thunder is heard.

Curtain.

(SCENE IV)

[*Scene.* A room in Sitaraman's house. Present Sitaraman, his wife, daughter, Magudani. Sinthice, Vizayan and Tulsi. In the back-ground a balcony on which is seen through open doors St. Thomas addressing a crowd that murmurs and exclaims as if deeply stirred.]

Sitaraman—

Ah, how he sways the people ! Now he brings,
Like some great vessel slowing into port,
His grand oration to its close.

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[1] Female demon.

St. Thomas—

And now,
Now He hath called you, what is your reply?
Will ye return to the old sin-hardened ways
And grope in darkness, when He lights the world?
And though He rose, be still content to lie
In tombs and sepulchres as men long dead,
When ye may rise by virtue of His life,
And walk with Him in newness, clad in white,
That in white garments cleansed of every stain
Ye may be raised to meet Him in that Day?
O risen Lord, who in Thy sepulchre
Didst place an angel where thy body had lain
Making henceforth each grave a resting-place
Fragrant with promise of more glorious life,
Do thou thy angel sent to every grave
Where lies a soul imprisoned, dead in sin,
To touch it with the touch that sets it free,
That as an angel in Thy grave was found
So those in graves may stand where angels are!

(*St. Thomas ceases—a silence, then cries of " Jesu Masih " " Thoma Rasul " "Save us and heal us!" "Alleluia," etc. The saint comes into the room from the balcony; Sitaraman falls at his feet and embraces them.*)

Sitaraman—

Great Swami, sainted messenger of Christ,
Whose advent here was like a rose of dawn
On dark and troubled waters, and a calm
Setling immediate on a Restless sea!
What blessing thou hast shed on me and mine,
My wife, my daughter, both of late possest
Of evil spirits, but by thy healing hands
Delivered and restored, are witnesses.
Wherefore I come, who can no more contain
The fount of gratitude that in me springs,

With my poor thanks in homage to thy feet,
Humbly imploring yet a higher boon,
E'en grace of Baptism, that we may become
Servants of Christ and members of His flock.

St. Thomas—

Give Him the glory, not His messenger.
He who dispenses blessing, by the act
Becomes of it partaker, and for this
To render God the thanks, befits him too.
'Tis mine own longing to supply your need.

(*Beholding Sinthice*)—

Who is this lady?

Magudani—

She of whom I spake.
My poor blind aunt, Sinthice, Holiness.

St. Thomas (*to Sinthice*)—

Lady who hast been kept so long a while
Held in a state of darkness, that on thee
The works of God may now be manifest—
What is the foremost longing of thy heart?

Sinthice—

Light! once again to look upon the light.

St. Thomas—

Light of the world! send from the realms of light
Thy ray upon the darkness of these eyes,
Upon this soul the radiance of the morn,
And bid from both the shadows flee away!

All—

Amen. Amen.

St. Thomas—

Who is the boy?

Magudani—

He is the Prince, Swami,
Vizayan, son of great Mahadevan,
And heir to all his Kingdom.

St. Thomas—

Gentle Prince,
God gives to thee a great inheritance,
'Tis a great trust. Discharge thy duty well
And to His honour dedicate thy gift,
That of a still sublimer heritage
Thou fail not when the earthly crown shall fade.

Vizayan—

I shall remember this, Apostle blest;
(It hath more sense than what our Sadhus teach)
And when I sit upon my father's throne
Not Gurprashad shall be High Priest—but thou!

Attendant—

His Highness the Prince Gad presents salaam.

Sitaraman—

Bid him be welcome.

Sinthice—

Ah, the light, the light
It dawneth on my darkness. I can see
Dim shapes about me.

St. Thomas—

Soon it shall be day.

(*Enter Gad—Magudani veils herself.*)

Sitaraman (salaaming low)—

Thy graciousness o'erpowers me, noble Prince.

Gad—

I crave thy pardon, worthy Sitaraman,
For breaking in upon this gathering
But I have need in mine imergency,
And pray thy leave to supplicate thy guest
For counsel in my straitness.

Sinthice (to Sitaraman)—

Now, Bahadur,
High time 'tis on thy hospitality
We ceased to trespass. Much I own to thee
That underneath thy roof hath fallen on me
So rich a blessing. Magudani, come.

Gad—

'Tis Magudani!

Magudani—

Yes, belovèd, I.

Gad—

Life of my life—alas, it goes amiss.
Mahadevan, save under one condition,
Will not approve our marriage.

Magudani—

Yea, I know it.

Gad—

And our reply to this?

Magudani—

We have no choice.
We must refuse it.

Gad—

Then we cannot wed.
Think, Magudani; shall our lives be wrecked
For a few grains of incense?

Magudani—

Ask the saint,
He can and will return but one reply,
Else should be to our very souls be false.

Gad—

Shall we be true, then, by surrend' ring all
To man's cold sentence that divides our souls?
Queen of my heart, wilt thou thy heart deny?

Magudani—

E'en that were better than deny our Lord.

Gad—

Sweet maiden, thou art my remembrancer.

Sinthice (interrupting)—

Child, tarry not, the hour is growing late,
And Krishna will be angered.

Magudani—

Love, farewell.

Sinthice—

Besides, we have Vizayan.

Gad—

Ah, thy rose
Was not without its thorn, and I am pierced

Magudani—

God can do all, we little; O be strong!

(Disengages herself gently. Exeunt all save St Thomas and Gad, who gazes after Magudani.)

St. Thomas (to Gad)—

My son, I know thy anguish; yet awhile
Be patient! God will help thee to thine own.

Gad—

Who gave me Magudani's love but He?
'Twere but to mock me, if He dash away
His nectar ere I drink it. Now I am
As is a chariot of its wheels bereft,
Or like a silent lute without its string,
Whose use and sweetness are of yesterday.

St. Thomas—

Not thus were loves regained nor battles won;
Not thus did Rama in your legend win
Back to his arms his Sita. Though the gate
Be made of iron 'twixt thyself and her,
Yet thou, breast-forward marching on to it,
Mayst find it open of his own accord,
As half those hindrances men fear to face,
When boldly fronted, for their feet make way.

Gad—

Not all the walls and portals in the world
Shall keep me from her, nor Mahadevan
Himself have power to part us! Doubt me not.
If I go single back to Narankot,
'Tis to return in vengeance mightily
To thunder at the gates of Mailepur,
And level her proud turrets with the dust.

St. Thomas—

And thinkest thou to gain thy happiness
By plunging half the homes of Hindustan

In mourning for the nation's flower cut down,
And on their ruins build thyself a house?
There wouldst thou hear, I tell thee, all thy days
The voice of Rachael weeping for her sons,
The widow's lamentation for her lord,
The crying of the fatherless for bread—
All blent in curses on thy selfishness.

Gad—

Then what is left but life-long loneliness?

St. Thomas—

Patience and constancy, and selfless love,
What if the tender fires of Love divine
Should melt the iron in Mahadevan
As erst they softened Gondophares' heart?
Then as a mist thy sorrows were dispersed
For sunshine of a bliss without alloy.

Gad—

Hard, O my father, though thy counsel be,
It is my star of guidance. Yet I fear
The current sweep me on in spite of it.

St. Thomas—

Thy safety lies in clinging to the Cross
As to a rock in eddies firmly set.

Gad—

Once in sore danger have I heard the same.
Ah, now I mind me—thus the angel spake
Ere back to earth thy summons wafted me.

St. Thomas—

Then peril not thy soul's security,
By rash, ungoverned action. God preserve
And keep thee stedfast till we meet again.

Gad—

I feel thy prayers around me like a fence
To ward off evil. Holy saint, farewell!

(Kisses St Thomas' hand. Exit. Enter Tulsi with a lamp. St. Thomas sinks on to a couch.)

Tulsi—

Master is pale. All day he hath not eaten.

St. Thomas—

By prayer and fasting! 'twas my Master's way.

Tulsi (after a pause)—

The rice is ready. May I bring it thee?

St. Thomas—

Nay, little brother, leave me for a while;
I am a trifle weary. Thou shalt bring
The rice on my awaking. Quench the light.

(Tulsi extinguishes the lamp.)

Into Thy hands—till I awake, O Lord!

(He falls asleep, a soft moonlight pervades the room. Enter after a pause, Ram Chandra stealthily.)

Ram Chandra (soliloquising)—

It almost were a shame to interrupt
So calm a slumber. How at peace he looks!
And now his smile is like a little child's
That in his dreamland sees some vision sweet.
A little child! I must have been that once—
With all my life before me. Could I choose
My path again, it might be different—
Though it might be the same, for aught I know.
Yet I could envy him his holiness,
That seems so high above this warring world,

As to have overcome it and to reign
Beyond its power to harass or disturb.
Ah, yes, I envy and I hate him too.
Ram, how I hate him! Till his pale face shone
With light unearthly in our throngèd streets,
At the right hand of Kings I held my place
And turned the rod of Empire where I would;
Now I am outcast and a beggarman.
Forget it not, Ram Chandra, in this hour,
Nor suffer any freak of sentiment
To turn thee from thy purpose! He must die.

(*A figure in shining raiment appears standing at the head of St. Thomas. Ram Chandra shrinks back.*)

Who standeth there, with stern and awful eyes?

(*The apparition vanishes*)

Ye gods, I must be dreaming. Nerve thyself
Unto the sacrifice in Kali's name.
And wax not faint, Ram Chandra! It should be
An easy thing to smite a sleeping foe.

(*Draws a dagger. Tulsi creeps nearer him from behind.*)

Yet my arm fails me. Then the other way!

(*Caste aside dagger, and draws from his leathern wallet a cobra. Tulsi unseen secures the dagger.*)

Here Kali hath a servant that is sure
And will not falter in her deadly-stroke.
She and not I shall smite him. (*To the snake*) Little sister,
I'll place thee on the pillow of the Saint,
Thou know'st thy duty! When I set thee free
Of my enchantment, up, and deal him death!

(*Draws nearer couch.*)

O Thomas, e'er so ready to forgive,
Pardon this brief disturbance of thy dreams.
But a few moments shalt thou toss awake,
While I shall watch and chant thy lullaby
Into that sleep that knows no wakening.

(*He lifts the cobra to place it on the Saint's pillow, Tulsi springs on him and stabs him in the back. He falls to the ground with the cobra, which turns on him and strikes him three times on the forehead.*)

Ram Chandra—

O powers of evil—ye have led me on,
And at the last betrayed me! Woe is me!

Tulsi—

Look on my face, Ram Chandra, ere thou die,
I am that mute thou spurnèdst with thy foot,
And mad'st accomplice to thy villainy.

Ram Chandra—

Ye gods! I scarce can breathe, my limbs grow numb.
'Tis a dark valley, and 'tis icy cold.
I feel me sinking downward, ever down.
Ah no! not that! From that low reptile state,
If Thou hast died for Man, O save me, Christ! (*dies*)

Tulsi (*bending over St. Thomas*)—

My master still is sleeping. Therefore I
Will slay my *second* cobra noiselessly,
And watch for his awaking. Then, may be,
I shall have leave to go and fetch his rice.

Curtain; end of Act IV.

To be continued.

FRANCIS A. JUDD

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II; CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL.

Let us leave Tanman unconscious in front of the wedding altar and go back to Raghubhai. Six or seven years had passed since we last met him. In a quite unobtrusive manner he had won over the clerks, the servants and the British Residency at the Prince's court. Often he felt tempted to play his trumps but he lacked courage. Suppose his card were beaten! And Anantanand was often in his way.

That wonderful man went about all over the state and through the power of his gigantic intellect and his arresting personality he had captured many a heart. He never came again to ask for the restoration of the annual grant to Varat which had been reduced. Three years later Revashankar stopped completely the grant to the monastery. Raghubhai had hoped at that time at least to see the Swami again. But he was then busy with something else. It was also reported that after the death of his *guru* Karunanand, this Anantanand had become the head of that order. Raghubhai, who could understand everything else, found the Swami's game incomprehensible. His ignorance of this particular matter led him to fear the man and hence he hesitated to take any step.

Revashankar was not satisfied with stopping the grant. He had heard it mentioned that the Varat estates, unproductive so long, had begun to yield a good income. So his avaricious heart was longing to levy the land-tax on them. A couple of years later an order was sent demanding the tax. A long controversy arose out of this. Some parts of the estate were shown to have been directly under the

Revenue Department and a feeling began to grow that gradually the Varat lands would be confiscated. Revashankar was a tenacious person and he had got Varat now in his bull-dog grip.

Jasubha had remained just what he had always been. Champa was still living with Ranubha and entertained the prince. But imperceptibly a change had come over her. She had grown more serious and more sedated in her beauty. Even the Queen Devalba felt no longer jealous of her.

Suddenly Jasubha had a fit of activity, he wanted to make a grand tour of his domains. Revashankar dropped his spectacles out of sheer amazement. He understood that the strings were being pulled from elsewhere. But this Divan of more than twenty years of experience cared little for such negligible influences. He arranged for the tour and Jasubha started.

CHAPTER XIV

TWO DIPLOMATS.

Raghubhai was at that moment sitting in the rest-house at Kevalpur. Six years had wrought but slight change in Raghubhai. There was just a little more of the seriousness of old age observable in his face. The rest-house had been converted into a temporary office, because Jasubha had started out on tour and the Naib Divan had the management of it. A little distance from the rest-house was the camp of Jasubha.

"Raghubhai! Times are indeed getting critical," said a gentleman sitting opposite.

He was an elderly, old-fashioned Parsi, whose eyes sparkling behind a pair of spectacles spoke of half-a-century's experience in the world's ways. He was the Head Assistant in the Residency at Ratnagadh. The Resident being a freshly arrived military swell, all the affairs were managed by Pestonji. He spoke the full, racy Parsi dialect.

"Critical is scarcely the word. We have to play our last card now. The game of the last ten years is drawing to a close and everything is now, my dear sir, in your hands."

"Never say die, my boy," cried Pestonji, "I will do my best. But why the devil are you in such a terror from this Bawa?"

Pestonji and Raghubhai were as father and son. If one wanted something done by Raghubhai or by Pestonji, one had merely to send a present to the other;—such at least was the popular belief.

"Sir, the Bawa is indeed a terror. I have to obey his merest wish. Do you think the Maharaj Saheb would otherwise have come out on this tour? It was done at the instance of Ranubha and Champa, and I am sure the Bawa is at the bottom of it all."

"Don't you think Champa and the Prince are on the same friendly terms as before?"

"Not at all. This woman is deep. She is a friend of the Prince and of Anantanand and the wife of Ranubha! And such a past! She was an abandoned dancing girl when she first came and now she has the airs of a saintly matron. She wishes to control entirely the state policy."

"Oh, don't you fear. She scarce seems that sort."

"Please do not make a mistake. Slowly but surely she is interfering in all His Highness' doings. Only Revashankar is too clever for her."

"But why did the Bawa bring His Highness out on tour. I do not understand what he has up his sleeve."

"You see, it is like this," explained Raghubhai, rubbing his hands, "the Bawa wishes to take His Highness to Varat. He is reported to be all powerful there, so none can foresee what might happen there. Five years have passed and yet the

Bawa has done nothing, nor has he made a sign. We cannot quite see his game."

"But what can be done as long as Revashankar sticks on?"

"Yes, but we can arrange this matter. It rests with the Bawa and with another—"

"Who is he?" exclaimed Mr. Pestonji, his neck outstretched eagerly.

"Your humble servant. But I cannot just yet play my trump card. My dear sir, through your kindness the Residency is on my side. But I am only waiting till the fruit is quite ripe."

"Then why the deuce did you call me now?"

"To be at hand in case the moment arrived. Jasubha might have need of your protection, I might need—"

"But when is this moment arriving?"

"Patience, dear sir. I am resolved not to allow the Prince to get to Varat. Once there I become a mere child before this Bawa. Once out of his influence I can show my full power."

"But what does all that mean? Do speak in plainer words."

"My dear sir, pardon me. You shall see for yourself the full blaze of my power only when it comes. At present I must not whisper it even to my shadow. I have already dropped a hint or two at the Residency and at Bombay. But till my game is finished everything is a profound secret.

"Very well, I have—"

Just then there was a knock at the door. Raghubhai got up and half opened it.

"Who is that?—Well, did I not tell you not to disturb us?"

"Yes, your honour, but here is the Swamiji himself."

"Who? Anantanand?" asked Raghubhai in a frightened voice.

"Yes, sir."

He held the door with his left hand and with his right signed to Pestonji to go inside an inner closet. Pestonji went in and bolted the inner door and then only Raghubhai opened the outer door fully.

"Ranchhod, ask him to step in."

"Yes, sir."

A few moments later Anantanand came in. The intervening six years had made no change in him. He cast his sharp glance all round the room. Raghubhai looked with some alarm at the inner door.

"Well, your holiness, and what are your commands?"

"My one desire; when is Jasubha coming to Varat?"

"His Highness seems disinclined to go there."

"Then you try and bring him round."

"How can I do so?"

"What will you do when you become Divan? What did I tell you! You *must* bring him to Varat; there is no help. Then alone will he understand the untold harm done to his domain by the oppressive and miserly rule of Revashankar. At first he only wanted money; but now he is bent upon ruining our Varat institution. So one of us must go."

Revashankar had also experienced the ever increasing influence of Anantanand; so he was trying to get rid of the monastery of Varat by any means. And as a last resort the Swami had arranged for this royal tour. There was room for only one of them in the state—either Anantanand or Revashankar. Such was the present position. The Swami, however, had not yet succeeded in ridding the state of his rival, because the man was high in favour with all the three superior powers—the Resident, the Bombay Government and Jasubha.

"Your holiness, your merest wish is a command to me, but—

"Raghubhai, I do not care for your 'buts,' so you had better keep them for yourself. To-morrow morning

Jasubha *must* come to Varat. Everything only has been arranged to make him welcome, now we are waiting for you to bring him along."

"But if he does not listen to me? He is exceedingly obstinate in such matters."

"Raghubhai, I do not want your excusing. Jasubha shall come to Varat and you shall agree to it." The words from the Swami and his tones seemed to cut away the very ground from under Raghubhai's feet. His voice sounded like the decree of Fate.

"Well, I will do what I can."

"Very well, do this much. I know that you have been called to-day at half-past five to arrange the programme. You fix it up there and as you come out tell Chhotu Jemadar and I shall get the information. I will then do what is needful;" saying this Anantanandji cast another glance at the door of the inner room and walked away.

Raghubhai fell back on the cushions and Pestonji after first peeping out carefully came out.

"Is this your Bawa? I could not yet observe him properly."

Raghubhai wiped his forehead and regained some of his usual composure. "We must *act* now. We have been quiet too long. Well now, Mr. Pestonji, you kindly stay at Talod with your man. Varat is near from there. I will send a man when I need you, otherwise I will drop in myself."

Pestonji got up and put on his overcoat. Raghubhai also got up and slipped a bundle of notes into his hand. It went unobserved into Pestonji's pocket. Muffling up his face he slipped out quietly by the back door.

Raghubhai leaned back on the cushions. His state was unenviable at this moment. Revashankar regarded him as an enemy and accepted him as a nuisance to be endured. The wondrous powers of Anantanand had spread a magic net far and wide in which he himsef had been caught in spite of all his care. He had not yet been able to make out the real motives of Anantanand. He had, however, to dance to the Bawa's tune. And the Bawa too had to be kept well in hand, because Ranubha (and Champa too) were his creatures. So Raghubhai had, after deep consideration, thought out a way of freeing himself from these toils and of re-asserting his own greatness. The most profitable use of the secret he had discovered could only be made if the state policy remained unchanged and if the Divan was—himself. To hold a constant menace over the prince and thus to keep him always submissive and meek was indeed a less dazzling position than that of a king-maker, but it brought more wealth and greater peace of mind and security. Raghubhai's cogitation had at last led him to this conclusion that if Jasubha could be subdued by the strength of the secret he possessed, then Revashankar would have to retire and Anantanand would have to leave the country or else be powerless—and himself would be the master of the Residency as well as of the state.

He was looking out for a chance to subdue Jasubha, but owing to the incomprehensibility of Anantanand's plans he was never able to tell which chance would turn out to be the best for him. He was awaiting the right moment and the very atmosphere around him seemed to proclaim that it was not far off.

(*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

MITES FROM MANY

V

I.—On the Ganges.

The moon aspires to be at full,
The lapping waters sing
A song, unheard of outer ear,
To heart the joy of spring.
The stars in music bloom round moon,
They dance on Ganges' breast;
The world betwixt the brown and blue,
See, smiles refulgent rest.
The stillness of the land is clothed
In bright forgetfulness;
The air pulsates a sacred tune
Day's labours to redress.
The mind at work finds endless rest,
Though wake, the senses sleep,
The world around is world no more;
Beyond, a strange Love's peep.
Now do I think and do I live,
Have I a form and name?
Or, is not this confusion sweet
For love of God to claim?—*Modern.*

II.—Supplication.

(1)

Let me confess my sins, O God,
Let all men me a sinner brand,
The greatest of my sins the thought,
The greatest sin can Thee withstand.—*Modern.*

(2)

O God, Thy might's beyond my hurt,
As mountain is to breeze of spring.
To hurt the least Thy love gives life,
Is hurt to Thee—thus love to wring.—*Modern.*

(3)

Were I not the worst of sinners,
Assailing fears not mine,
Of senses not the slave, then why
In supplication Thine ?—*Bhatta Sunandana.*[1]

(4)

O close not mercy's gate on me
For my malicious sin.
Whose heart is clean, who knows no fear
Perchance may n't enter in.

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[1] Ballavadeva's Subhāsitāvali (Ed. by W. Peterson), No. 3505.

But I the meanest of the mean,
To righteousness unknown,
Have I not the greater right
To loving compassion ?—*Pandita Jagaddhara.*[1]

(5)

I have but asked as nature bid,
Save me from my prayer,
From Thee what comes is ever best,
May all my joy be there!
My prayer's but the child's love-call,
'Tis folly that has asked.
May Thy trying gifts to me
Be loving mercy-masked!—*Modern.*

(6)

As we look on life fades away;
Youth decays as day follows day;
The days that go ne'er come again,
And time devours the universe.
Fortune flies as ripples break upon the sea.
We flash through life as lightning on the sky.
Now, save, O save, this seeker for refuge
In Thee, O Sanctuary for us all!—*Sankarāchārya.*

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[1] *Op. cit.*, No. 3524.

(7)

Hail World-formed, hail Unspeakable One,
Hail All-peace, Being, Sentience, Joy!
Hail Divine Physician, cure thy slave
Of cruel fever, called world-life!
Hail Mother mine, of all my sins
The patient, silent bearer Thou!
Hail Father mine, 'gainst dangers all
My virgin fortress-refuge, Thou!
Hail Master mine of saving truth!
Salute I humbly the holy feet
Of Him who guides my feeble steps,
Upon the path that Peace-ward leads.
Salute I humbly all true men,
Or now or in the days of eld
Or in the days that e'er will dawn,
God-gifted with true loving faith
In Him who rules the hearts of all
And zealous in His creatures' good.
Goes forth my supplication true:—
Dispel the darkness of my heart,
O make me clean, within and out,
No evil can Thy presence bear.—*From Sanskrit.*

III.—Meditation.

(1)

Wise in words, unwise in truth,
All such as are there,
Out they stay, O friends of heart,
Words are not my care.
Outer door is closed, unclosed
Inner, heart-gate mine,
Enter soundless, friends, and pass
Gloom to pure sunshine.—*Chandidās.*

(2)

Childhood's days are lost in play,
Youthful strength, devoured by love,
Age is sunk in vainest thoughts,
Yet his heart none lifts above.—*Sankarāchārya.*

(3)

To fear Him makes all terrors fall,
To love Him makes belov'd of all,
A life-less speck before wert thou,
He has given thee sentience now,
Has called the senses to thy aid.
Now, think thy choice, if wisely made,
To Him unmind, when truth is said.

—*Ram Mohun Roy.*

(4)

Be I in my native land,
Be I on the strangest strand,
Where'er I be,
I see but Thee
Amid Thy wondrous world!
In various times,
In various climes,
Thy varied works, uncurl'd.
Moments all Thy glory show,
I call on Thee,
Lone ne'er can be,
Present Thou where'er I go.—*Ram Mohun Roy.*

(*Composed on a voyage to*
England in 1830-31.)

(5)

Sin, shame and sorrow, unlov'd brood,
Were priceless friends on road I trod,
Who else my heart had God-ward turned
And drown'd me in this joy of God?—*Modern.*

(6)

I and Thou are one—'tis true,
And yet am I Thy slave,
The wave and Ocean are but one
And Ocean's yet the wave.—*Sankarāchārya.*[1]

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

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[1] *Op. cit.*, No. 3520.

FIFTY EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

V

Besides those mentioned in my last article, the only other important anti-malaria measures which have been adopted by Government in Bengal are spasmodic jungle-cutting and the sale or free distribution of quinine (including cinchona). There is no doubt, that thick jungle, especially of undergrowth, is insanitary. Captains Proctor and Stewart found, that villages surrounded by such jungle which is favoured by a high level of subsoil water, had a spleen rate of 71·7, but the rate in villages with little or no jungle was as low as 44·5.[1] It has unquestionably aggravated the effects of malignant malaria after it had been started. But, if it could have originated it, it would have done so long before 1860. The futility of jungle-cutting as an effective anti-malaria measure was early perceived even by high European officers of Government. Mr. Dampier, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, wrote in a letter in 1864 :

> "It has been said that as their own neglect of sanitary precautions is the cause of the sickness under which they suffer, the villagers have no claim to assistance from without; but I do not believe that the inhabitants of the tracts which have suffered have been greater delinquents in this respect than those of other parts of Bengal, or of this division (the Presidency Division) who have hitherto escaped. I have seen jungle as thick, and habitations as unclean, in the suburbs behind Alipore as I have met with in the worst of the fever-stricken villages which I have visited; and it is by no means clearly established, that the neglect of precautions which were within the means of the villagers is the primary cause of the epidemic, although doubtless that neglect has intensified the visitation."

The Government of Bengal wrote in a letter to the Government of India (January, 1868) :

> "It must be borne in mind that under the conditions of Lower Bengal any clearance of spontaneous vegetation, however thorough, is of the most

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[1] Report of the Drainage-committee (1907).

transient effect only. To cut down the jungle and underwood is worse than useless; to root it up is extremely laborious and costly; and even when uprooted it is replaced by a no less luxuriant vegetation, in the course of one or two rainy seasons, so that the question is not one of thoroughly clearing the villages once for all. To be effectual, active and organised measures must be continuous."

Such measures, however, are beyond the financial capacity of Government and most Municipalities, and besides, might lead to unnecessary hardships without removing the primary cause of fulminant malaria. As was observed by Raja Digambar Mitra in a speech in the Bengal Council in 1870, despite the sensible protests just referred to, the crusade against the vegetable kingdom " was vigorously continued in obedience, as he supposed, to professional opinion, and thousands of bamboo and mango topes were ruthlessly destroyed, and many a fever-stricken sufferer, whilst yet prostrated by sickness, was dragged from his sick-bed to assist in this work of demolition of perhaps his only means of support. Such was the kind of measures which in the name of humanity had hitherto been tried for the removal of the epidemic—with what success the experience of a decade has amply testified."

The number of state agencies (post offices, primary schools, dispensaries, police stations, etc.) for the sale or free distribution of quinine has enormously increased since 1860, as also that of physicians for administering it. In 1885, there were three medical colleges in the whole of India with 553 pupils and 17 vernacular medical schools attended by 1403 scholars. In 1910, there were four medical colleges with 1569 students and 27 medical schools attended by 3,624 pupils. These are the latest figures I have got with me, and they relate only to Government institutions. Since 1910, the number of medical students must have increased enormously, especially as there have sprung up lately a number of private medical schools and colleges. The enhancement in the consumption of quinine has been quite as conspicuous. It was some 186,000 lbs. in 1911-12, as compared with 65,000 lbs. in 1901-02.[1] Assuming a similar rate of increase during the last decade (not an unreasonable assumption), the present consumption would probably not fall very far short of 500,000 lbs.[2]

But malaria is as bad as, if not worse than ever. The ratio of deaths due to fevers in each thousand of population in British India during the decade 1910—1919 was :—

1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
19·17	17·63	16·50	16·71	17·16	16·73	17·13	19·10	46·69	22·93.[3]

The following table shows the increase of malaria in Bengal during the last fifty years :—

	Fever Indices		
	1868	1912	1920
Western Bengal	21·9	40·9	51·7
Central Bengal	17·3	32·3	44·9
Northern Bengal	22·3	23·7	33·5
Eastern Bengal	9·3	7·5	14·9[4]

There are two factors concerned in the propagation of malaria—the Anopheline mosquito, and the malarial parasite (Plasmodium malaria). Quinine has, of course, no action upon the former, and it does not appear to have perceptibly reduced the activities of the latter. The reasons are not far to seek. The parasite which causes malarial fever belongs to the lowest order of the Animal Kingdom, the Protozoa. It has the rather unusual capacity of existing in asexual as well as sexual forms. Quinine kills the former, but has hardly any action upon the latter. These, called gametes (or from their shape, crescents) forcibly sheltering themselves within the protecting envelopes of our red blood corpuscles (and for that reason called endoglobular) are practically invulnerable to quinine. With the bite of the Anopheline they are transferred to its stomach, and ultimately fixing themselves to its outer surface give birth, under favourable circumstances, to a large number of Plasmodium spores which find their way into its salivary glands. When the insect bites next these malarial germs are injected into human blood, and fever ensues when a sufficiently large number of them are formed by fission (asexually). Then, again, there are some authorities who hold that the female crescents can develop parthenogenetically (that is independently of the male element) in the human blood without being transferred to the stomach of the Anopheline and thus cause relapses though there may not be fresh infection by mosquito bite. It will thus be seen how very dangerous the endoglobular gametids are, and how very important is the part played by them in the life history of plasmodium and the propagation of malaria. It is true, that Quinine by killing the myriads of asexual extragobular parasites (sporids) cures malarial fever. But it does so only temporarily, as being inoperative against the sexual, endoglobular forms,[1] it leaves the primary cause of infection and of relapses practically untouched. Not only so. Major S. P. James, M.D., I.M.S., stated at the Malaria

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[1] "Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India," 1911-12, p. 129.

[2] In four decades between 1881 and 1911, the population of India increased about 24 per cent., but the value of the imports of drugs increased from about twenty lakhs to about a crore of rupees, that is about five hundred per cent. Quinine must have had a good share of the increase.

[3] Statistics of British India, Vol. III. Public Health (1921), p. 27.

[4] "Some Economic Aspects of Bengal Malaria" by C. A. Bentley, Indian Medical Gazette, September, 1922, p. 323.

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[1] "According to Golgi, Ziemaunse, the young extraglobular parasites are most susceptible to the action of quinine. On the other hand, the crescents are quite uninfluenced by the drug." ("The Diseases of warm countries" by Dr. B. Scheube, p. 162).

"Nearly all observers have agreed that quinine exerts much less influence on the gametids especially the crescents, than upon the sporids [asexual parasites] though Ziemaun thinks the male gametids are more easily affected. Many of the younger writers ascribe relapses to parthenogenesis in gametids which survive all quinine treatment in this manner." (Ross, "Prevention of Malaria," p. 137).

The temporary character of the cure effected by quinine was noticed by the Malaria Commission of 1864. They observe that "notwithstanding the steady use of it for days fresh attacks of fever occur at intervals of ten to fifteen days attended with further congestion, and enlargement of the liver or spleen, or both, till at last the system is worn out and dropsy, diarrhæa, dysentry, or some of the other sequelæ terminate an existence of protracted misery."

Conference of 1909, that "it is the experience of nearly all observers that quinine given when the blood contains only endoglobular parasites, often prolongs the paroxysms of fever, and may convert a simple definitely intermittent fever into one that is almost continuous. Also it is now nearly twenty years since Marchiafava and Bignami pointed out that if large doses are given when the blood contains only pigmented parasites in process of development, the result may be the appearance of numerous sexual forms of the parasite instead of the usual asexual forms. This phenomenon of the abundant formation of gametes after large doses of quinine has been again observed and written about in Italy, and I think it quite possible that in this country the common observation of numerous crescents in the blood of European soldiers who are being treated with large doses of quinine is also an example of it. In Mian Mir last year crescents were exceedingly numerous in the blood of European soldiers who were receiving considerable amounts of quinine once or twice a week, and in this respect the examination of their blood yielded results which were very different from those obtained in the examination of the blood of untreated natives. In the blood of the latter it was rare to find crescents. Relapses of fever which almost certainly were brought about by the development of the female crescents parthenogenetically were also exceedingly frequent among the European troops, and it appeared doubtful whether the large doses of quinine at intervals of a week had any effect in preventing these relapses. It is possible, therefore, that by administering large doses of quinine more or less in a haphazard manner we may not only be placing the patient in such a condition that he is very liable to relapses, but may be increasing enormously the sources from which anopheles mosquitoes become infected."[1]

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[1] "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference", 1909, pp. 69-70. Col. Lukis observed at the same Conference "that there were many cases of malarial origin in which quinine did more harm than good, and the stoppage of the quinine led to a disappearance of the fever." (p. 75).

The dangers of quinine do not end here. Fever, called quinine fever, may be caused and maintained by the continuous use of quinine under certain circumstances. "This is probably the case with many patients in whom fever persists, notwithstanding the administration of large doses of quinine. ...... F. Plehn is of opinion that quinine sets up a disintegration of the blood corpuscles, especially in persons whose blood cells are abnormal, more especially from malaria; in the mildest cases this is hardly perceptible, but in serious cases it may cause hæmoglobinuria (Blackwater fever). In quinine fevers no parasites are found in the blood, and signs of quinine intoxication are present." The outbreak of blackwater fever has been observed by various investigators "to immediately follow the use of quinine, even in quite small doses. Of 43 cases of blackwater fever which came under F. Plehn's observation in Cameroon, 24 positively broke out a few hours after the administration of quinine; and of 55 cases treated by A. Plehn in the same place 48 of the attacks were directly caused by quinine. Most of the attacks set in two to four hours after the administration of quinine; in rarer cases, probably in consequence of retarded absorption, the attack commences later, even as much as ten hours after. For this reason Koch has made the assertion that blackwater fever, as a *rule*, is solely *quinine poisoning* without malaria taking any part in the condition. Baccelli made the same assertion in regard to malaria—hæmoglobinuria in Italy."[1]

Then, again, quinine in large doses—and small doses are now considered by many authorities to be useless—often, produces ringing in the ears, dyspepsia, deafness, headache, giddiness, convulsions, &c.[2] These symptoms show how very adversely the constitution is affected by quinine, and from what has been said above, it will be apparent, that in many cases, the benefit it confers is problematical, but the injury is sure, and that the constitution is damaged, and its capacity for resisting and overcoming disease diminished.

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[1] Scheube, op. cit., pp. 163, 137.

[2] Sir Ronald Ross cites a case in the tropical clinic of the Royal Southern Hospital at Liverpool who could not endure even 0·03 grams." (less than ½ grain). "Prevention of Malaria," p. 136.

Further, the conclusions in regard to the efficacy of quinine have been arrived at chiefly by experiments upon Europeans. Now, the Indian constitution is markedly different from the European, and what suits the one may not suit the other. From a number of experiments carried on by Dr. McCay upon Europeans and Bengalis, he found that the former have in their blood twenty per cent. more of hæmoglobin than the latter.[1] This deficiency of hæmoglobin in the red blood corpuscles of the Bengalis, "renders their oxygen carrying power less than that of the red blood corpuscles of Europeans and that large doses of quinine may be deleterious, as Binz has shown, by binding the oxygen more firmly to the hæmoglobin, and thus inhibiting the oxygenating power of the blood."[2] This is a serious handicap to health in general, and to recovery from malaria in particular in the case of the Bengalis, and most probably of other Indians, as their constitution would not be markedly different, their staple diet and climatic conditions being very much alike.

The only scientific experiments on a fairly large scale the writer is aware of in regard to the effect of quinine upon Indians have been carried on in the Federated Malay States (the climate of which is hot and moist like that of Bengal and Madras) by Malcolm Watson, M.D., D.P.H. As results of his experiments which were conducted upon Tamil coolies in plantations he found that "quinine has little effect on the gametids [the sexual forms of the Malarial parasite]; that patients die even after 40 grains of quinine daily;" and that

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[1] Dr. Indumadhab Mallik, "Food and Cooking", p. 14.

[2] "Proceedings of the Imperial Malaria Conference," (1909), p. 69. "It has been also said, that the administration of certain salts of quinine tends to lessen the power which the red blood corpuscle have of resisting hæmolsis [breaking up of the red blood corpuscles]."

"if, as has been shown, the immunity from Malaria produced by quinine leaves the patient infective while he is acquiring the immunity, then it will be impossible, in the presence of many Anophelines, and in the presence of many new arrivals (such as newly born children) ever to eradicate Malaria by quinine." Dr. Watson states that his Malayan experiences should also be applicable to India and observers : "The logical conclusion therefore seems to me that quinine can never do more than give temporary relief to India, and that the factor to be dealt with is the Anopheles, and that measures must be aimed at it—not only in towns, but also in rural districts."[1]

Malaria was endemic in India, especially Bengal, for good many centuries before 1860, but was kept down very low in areas, such as the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly, Nadiya and Twenty-Four Parganas, where the endemicity has been very high since that date. Quinine, however, was unknown before the forties, and but little known before the sixties of the last century. The indigenous febrifuges then used were :[2] Nata *Guillandina* (*Cæsalpinia*) *Bonduc*, Nim *Melia azadirachta* (*Azadirachta Indica*), Shefalika *Nyctanthes Arbortristis*, Chirata *Agathotes Chirata*, Nishinda *Vitex Negundo*, Charaigorwa *Vitew Peduncularis*, Gulancha *Tinospora Cordifolia*. Paltá (Leaves of *Trichosanthes dioica*), &c. In regard to Nata, Watt in his "Economic Products of India" (1883) says, 'The seeds are said to possess well-marked anti-periodic properties and are largely used by the natives instead of quinine. For this purpose they are pounded with black pepper, from 5 to 30 grains being regarded as the proper dose. Ainslie seems first to have drawn the attention of Europeans to this powder, but even up to the present date it has not apparently taken the position which it deserves as a tonic and febrifuge.'

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[1] Ross, "Prevention of Malaria", pp. 561-562.

[2] The following verses are quoted from an old number of the *Sambád Pravakar* (a Bengali newspaper) in *Ayurveda* (Ashár, 1325):

"चिराता, नाटार डगा, पल्ता,, धनिया ।
चेत्याँपड़ा, निमछाल, गुलञ्च आनिया ॥
प्रत्येक जिनिस लवे भरि परिमाणे ।
तिनसेर जले सिद्ध-विहित विधाने ॥
छटाकाईमात्रा-दिने दुइवार खावे ।
येरूप हउक ज्वर अवश्यइ यावे ॥"

Voigt in his "Hortus Subarbanus Calcuttensis," 1845, observes: 'One of the seeds of this plant [Nata] pounded into paste with three or four peppercorns, and taken from three to four times a day in a decoction of Chirata is an excellent febrifuge. The seeds are intensely bitter and powerfully tonic, and should not be neglected, at least, as an adjuvant, where *bark* and *quinine* disagree with the constitution.'

Writing about *Nim* in 1858, Drury in his "Useful Plants of India" observes: 'The bark which has a remarkably bitter taste, has been much employed of late years as a fair substitute for cinchona. The natives consider it a most useful tonic in intermittent fever and chronic rheumatism, administering it either in decoction or powder.' Voigt speaks of the bark of this tree as a 'good substitute for the Peruvian bark.' Drury speaks of Chirata as 'one of the most esteemed of Indian medicinal plants, being especially valuable as a tonic and febrifuge......Its febrifugal properties are in high estimation with European practitioners in India who use it instead of Cinchona when the latter is not to be procured."

An experienced allopathic physician, L.M.S. of the Calcutta University, wrote in the monthly journal *Ayurveda* (Asbar, 1325), that he had found the powder of Nata seed to be much more efficacious than quinine, and that it does not produce any deleterious after effects like quinine. Watt, as we have seen above, complained in 1883, that it had not taken the position which it deserved as a tonic and febrifuge. It has not only not taken the position which it deserves, but has lost the position which it occupied even at the time of Watt. The other indigenous febrifuges have shared the same fate; to such an extent, indeed, that they are almost unknown in New India. But for the despised "quacks" and the illiterate elderly people of old India all knowledge about them, the result of thousands of years of experiments, would, for all practical purposes, have been lost altogether. Even Kabirajas, I am informed in cities like Calcutta, smuggle in quinine among their febrifuges.

This undoubtedly shows that quinine is much more powerful than the indigenous simples, and usually stops acute fever much more quickly. But it does so only temporarily, and as we have seen above, by impairing the constitution, especially the Indian constitution, permanently. The remedy, we are afraid, is worse than the poison. Of all its evil sequelæ, dyspepsia is probably the worst. For it reduces vitality and disease-resisting capacity, and even if repeated doses of quinine should ultimately make one immune to malaria, he often becomes a physical wreck and survives as a miserable hypochondriac or valetudinarian only to succumb to the attacks of some other disease.

The facts, that for good many centuries when quinine was unknown, malaria endemicity was kept down, and that the endemicity has of late been increasing with the enhanced consumption of quinine raise strong suspicions about its efficacy as an anti-malaria measure. We are strongly inclined to think, that so long as the primary cause of the fulminant type of malaria which began to rage about 1860 is not removed, so long medicines would be of little avail, except as mere temporary palliatives. But even as such, the indigenous febrifuges have enormous advantages over quinine which out-weigh their inferiority in respect of potency. Some one or other of them is available everywhere in practicaly inexhaustible quantity. They cost little or nothing, and age-long experience has fixed their doses and mode of administration, and they are of such a nature and so well known to the mass of the people that no trained physician is needed to determine them. They are not followed by deleterious sequelæ and do not prejudice the constitution. In fact, several of them, like Nim and Palta, form agreeable ingredents of Indian dietetics. On the other hand, quinine is very expensive, and its price has trebled during the last two decades. Besides, the quantity available for such a large population as that of India is extremely limited.[1] Then again, there is considerable conflict of opinion among medical authorities about the dosage, and the time and mode of administration of the drug. A perusal of the medical literature on these subjects leads a layman into a bewildering maze of perplexities and uncertainties. There are some who favour daily small doses; others recommend larger, but less frequent doses. Some would withhold the drug until there is intermission, or at least until the fever has fallen, which course is held to be an error by others. Further, there is dispute about the most effective mode of administration—whether it should be taken by the mouth or injected, and in the latter case, whether the injection should be intravenous, intramuscular or rectal. Thus, the administration of quinine cannot be efficacious, or even safe except under the advice of a well qualified medical man. This, in a penurious community like ours, would mean in many, if not most cases, that money which should go towards wholesome nourishing food that would be sure to promote health and the disease-resisting capacity of the constitution would have to be spent upon physicians and physic, the effect of which is at least highly problematical.

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[1] It came out during the discussion at the Malaria Conference held at Simla in 1909, that if given proper facilities, the Government factories in Bengal and Madras could manufacture 100,000 lbs of quinine. I do not know if that limit has been reached as yet. The world's entire output had been stationary at a million pounds for some years previous to 1909. Taking 250 grains as the amount required for each person during a malarial season of 3 months, 100,000 lbs. all that the Indian factories are capable of turning out, would be consumed by about three million people. Captain Gage pointed out at the Conference, that "if quinine was required for thirty million people, there would be difficulties, and it would be necessary to go into the open market; that would send up the price considerably."

Nature has provided excellent means for the defence of the fortress of life. But for such provision, man would have fallen an easy prey to the myriads of disease-germs to whose attacks he is exposed. Numbers of white blood corpuscles (leucocytes) act as sentinels. They resist the attacks of enemy germs killing and devouring them and are hence called phagocytes. Then, again, in the case of bacterial microbes, there is another method of defence consisting in the formation of antitoxins by the blood and tissue cells which neutralise toxins (poisons). In regard to malarial parasites, there are some authorities who doubt that they are killed solely by the phagocytes, and who hold that they are also "destroyed by their own toxins or by some germicidal substance produced by the host."[1] However that may be, the fact is indubitable, that large numbers of people recover from malaria and other infectious diseases without any medical aid whatever, or with the aid only of indigenous simples. As was observed by Charaka good many centuries ago, many are "restored to health though unfurnished with drugs, unattended by nurses, unendued with intelligence, and untreated by skilful physicians." It is impossible to determine the ratio of the percentage of recoveries in the world, or even in a single district of a single country like India, without medical aid, to that of recoveries with such aid.

Prof. Francois Magendie, M.D., a distinguished French physician, is reported to have said addressing his class :

> " Gentlemen, you have done me the honour to come here to attend my lectures, and I must tell you frankly now in the beginning that I know nothing in the world about medicine, and I don't know anybody who does know anything about it.......Oh you tell me, doctors cure people. I grant you people are cured. But how are they cured? Gentlemen, Nature does a great deal; imagination a great deal; doctors devilish little when they don't do any harm. Let me tell you, gentlemen, what I did when I was physician at the Hotel Dieu. Some three or four thousand patients passed

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[1] Ross, "Malaria Prevention," p. 101.

through my hands every year. I divided the patients into three classes; with one I followed the dispensary, and gave the usual medicines, without having the least idea why or wherefore; to the others I gave bread pills and coloured water, without, of course, letting them know anything about it; and, occasionally, gentlemen, I would create a third division to whom I would give nothing whatever. These last would feel that they were neglected, but nature invariably came to the rescue, and all the third class got well. There was but little mortality among those who received the bread pills and coloured water, but the mortality was greatest among those who were carefully drugged according to the dispensary."[1]

Nearly four decades of my life were spent in jungles in India and Burma which are notoriously malarious. In the earlier years of my jungle life I used to keep with me a stock of allopathic medicines, including of course, quinine. I found that, in cases of fever, there were some in my camp who, as I then thought, had inveterate "prejudice" against that drug and would not take it. I do not remember whether they fared better than those who took it, but I do remember that they did not fare any worse. I gradually became so sceptical about the utility of quinine, in fact of manufactured medicines generally, that during the last fourteen years I have not taken any[2] whether allopathic, homœopathic or Kabiraji, and I have kept better health than during any previous period of the same duration though my periodic visits to dense malarious jungles continued until 1920.

No doubt, one sometimes hears of wonderful cures effected by allopathy. But no less wonderful are some cures which are effected by Homœopathy, Kabiraji or the Unani system of medicine. The publications of the Christian Scientists contain well authenticated records of various diseases including tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, rheumatism, paralysis, appendicitis, kidney disease, some of them diagnosed as incurable by competent allopaths, healed completely without the help of any drugs whatever. In my younger days I used to hear of sick people in the villages healed simply by drinking water sanctified by *mantras*. Charms of various kinds enjoy a reputation for healing in all parts of the world and I have known even some educated persons using them. Pilgrims to Tárakeshwar, Lourdes, etc., testify to cures of a marvellous character without any medical help whatever. Cures by hypnotic or mesmeric suggestion are well attested facts of history. In Europe, Greatrakes, Gasner and Prince Hohenlohe did wonders in this way. An American practitioner is reported to have successfully treated his patients by silent suggestion which resembles Christian Science treatment at a distance. A Frenchman, M. Coue, has quite recently been setting Britain afire with his healing formula of Auto-suggestion—" Every day, and in every way, I get better and better."

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[1] The opinions of some other eminent physicians and of distinguished laymen like Herbert Spencer, Napoleon, etc., about the inefficacy of medicines are quoted in the writer's work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization," part II, pp. 41-45, 79-85, 173-176.

[2] Except three or four aspirin tabloids experimentally.

These healing methods without drugs carry us to forces and agencies within and around us which are taken but little notice of by medical science and suggest the reflection that " there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy." It is possible that they in some way not understood now, help the phagocytes to kill microbes (phagocytosis). The same remark would probably apply to the comparatively mild indigenous febrifuges mentioned above. Quinine, on the other hand, apparently usurps the function of the phagocytes. Nature, however, is a good ally, but a dangerous enemy, and cannot be defied or ignored long with impunity. We have already seen that dyspepsia is one of the diverse deleterious sequelæ of quinine treatment; and dyspepsia is the root cause of good many ailments which flesh is heir to, not only directly, but also indirectly as it is apt to make one pessimistic, morose or hypochondriac. But a cheerful optimistic, fearless state of mind is as essential for vitality and disease-resisting capacity as wholesome food in sufficient quantity, fresh air, good drinking water and free drainage.

From what we have said above, the futility, if not the fatuity of quinine as a measure of malaria prevention for the immense population of India would, we trust, be apparent to the reader.[1] That a Western Government, dominated by the most influential section of Western physicians, should adopt quinine as an anti-malaria measure in India is not surprising. But that many of my intelligent and well-intentioned countrymen should advocate it is incomprehensible to me except on the supposition of a strong pro-Western bias which, as I have shown elsewhere,[2] now prevails in New India, and which, I am firmly persuaded, is the root cause of many, if not most of our present-day troubles and tribulations.

(*To be continued*)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

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[1] We have already quoted the opinion of Dr. M. Watson to the same effect. There are also European physicians of Indian experience who though they believe in quinine are of the same opinion. For instance, Lieut. Col. W. C. Ross says in the last Annual Public Health Report (1921) for Bihar and Orissa, that in his opinion, "it is not practicable to prevent malaria, or to reduce it permanently, or on any large scale by the use of quinine. The quantity of quinine required does not exist, and even if it did, the people would not swallow it." "Complete reduction of malaria by treatment," observes Sir Ronald Ross, "must always be difficult unless the authorities have such power that they can actually force the drug (quinine) down the throats of people." ("Malaria Prevention," p. 304.) Major Wilkinson stated at the Malaria Conference of 1909, that even in Italy, "the prophylactic operations conducted by the Italian Government had been exceedingly disappointing. They could not get people to take quinine in the belief that they would thereby protect themselves."

[2] "The illusions of New India," "Survival of Hindu Civilization", Parts 1 & 11, etc.

MEASUREMENT OF CHANGES IN THE COST OF LIVING IN BENGAL

The question of the cost of living is one of considerable practical importance.

But the term 'cost of living' is a vague one. More indifinite is the phrase 'the changes in the cost of living.' Their meanings become clear only when they refer to the variations in the budget and expenditue and in the cost of maintaining a 'defined family of a defined standard,' at different times or at different places. Thus in order to arrive at any proper conclusion regarding the changes in the cost of living in a country, we have got to consider, carefully, four things, *viz.*, (1) change in the constitution of the family, (2) change in the standard of living, (3) changes in wholesale and retail prices, and (4) changes in money-wages, for different periods of time or at different places as the case may require.

When we want to measure the changes in the cost of living in Bengal, we will have, in the very first place, to classify the people into several well-defined groups, namely,

- I. Urban, or mainly non-agricultural.
  - (*a*) The rich or those above comfort.
  - (*b*) The middle class or those below comfort.
  - (*c*) The poor or those above indigence, and
  - (*d*) The indigent, or those who must look to charity or outside help even for the bare necessaries of life.
- II. Rural or mainly agricultural.
  - (*a*) The rich. (*b*) The middle-class, (*c*) The poor, and (*d*) The indigent, as above.

Next we will have to determine certain standard *families* of standard constitution belonging to each of these groups. This may be done, either by fixing, on experience, a standard size with average number of males, females, children and servants, after a careful examination of representative number of instances in each group, or by reducing to calories the consuming, capacities of average families based on 'equivalent men' in each group, measured with the help of physiological studies into the calorie values of articles of consumption and dietary in our country. The first method is of course much easier to follow, although it is more subject to defective estimates, while the second method, apart from the adequacy of scientific basis, affords a means of adding and comparing dissimilar foods without reference to their prices.

The second step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living is to ascertain the changes in the standards of living of each group during the period of enquiry. The easiest way to do this is to determine standard family budgets of each group—Hindu as well as Mahomedan—during different periods of time, and to ascertain from them certain weights which should be computed with ordinary prices and wages index-numbers in order to obtain the corrected measurement.

Suppose for example in 1914 and 1921, a standard family of a standard class with a determinate income consumed articles which bore the following ratios to the total consumption which is here indicated by 100:

Commodities	1914	1921
Rice ...	20	22
Pulses ...	10	7
Fish and meat ...	8	9
Ghee and oil ...	7	5
Vegetables ...	5	3
Sugar and sweets ...	5	5
Milk and its products ...	5	3
Clothing ...	20	25
House rent and repairs ...	10	8
Medicines ...	3	5
Education ...	2	3
Taxes and subscriptions ...	2	4
Festivals, etc. ...	3	1
	100	100

Now, in order to eliminate the effects of changes in the standard of living of this family on its cost of living, we must multiply and then divide each item of expenditure with and by the figures for the two periods as shown forth against each item; or in other words, we shall have to take recourse to the system of weighted index-numbers with the weights different for different periods.

Other methods have also been suggested for the same purpose, for example, the one based on "standard deviation"; but they being rather too complicated for employment in practice in this country I leave them unmentioned.

The third and the most important step in the measurement of changes in the cost of living consists in obtaining the index-numbers of prices and wages, in absolute and percentage figures. First of all we shall have to compile records of the quantities of various commodities bought and the prices paid for them at two different dates or places, by representatives of different social groups. The record will show something like the following:—

Commodity.	Place or time x.			Place or time y.		
	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.	Quantity.	Price.	Expenditure.
No. 1	Q_1	P_1	E_1	q_1	p_1	e_1
„ 2	Q_2	P_2	E_2	q_2	p_2	e_2
„ 3	Q_3	P_3	E_3	q_3	p_3	e_3
...	...	...	...	...	...	..
No. ^{n}	Q_n	P_n	E_n	q_n	p_n	o_n

Average change in E = x, percentage change in E = y, etc.

Great care should be taken in the selection of the commodities. Each social class will have a different set of articles corresponding to it, according to its respective family budget. This shows that, in comparing dissimilar classes or people with widely different habits of life, we can at best give merely accurate descriptions and no numerical measure of the changes.

Coming to Bengal, we shall have to inquire into the index-numbers of commodities, more or less according to the following table :—

For group A, the Rural or Agricultural people, Hindu and Mahomedan:

Class I, the rich :—(1) Rice and wheat, (2) Pulses, (3) Ghee and oil, (4) Potato and vegetables, (5) milk, etc., (6) Salt and spices, (7) Sugar and molasses, (8) Other articles of food and drink, (9) Clothing, furniture and servants, (10) House rent and repairs, etc., (11) Medicines, (12) Education, (13) taxes and rents, (14) Cattle and live-stock, (15) Domestic festivals, marriages, sradhs, etc.

Class II, the rural middle class :—Same as above less medicines and education expenses.

Class III, the poor :—(1) Rice, (2) Pulses, (3) Oil, (4) Salt, (5) Vegetables, (6) Molasses, (7) Tobacco, (8) Clothing, (9) Housing, (10) Social expenses, etc., (11) taxes and rents, (12) Interest on loans.

Class IV, the indigent :—Same as class III, less items No. (11) and (12).

For group B : the urban or non-agricultural people :

Class I, the rich :—(1) rice and wheat, (2) pulses, (3) ghee and oil, (4) potato and vegetables, (5) milk and its product, (6) salt and spices, (7) sugar and sweets, (8) tea and such beverages, (9) other articles of food and drink, (10) clothing, (11) furniture and servants, (12) House rent and repairs, etc., (13) medicines, (14) educational expenses, (15) luxurious enjoyments, (16) taxes and rents, etc., (17) festivals—religious and social, etc.

Class II, the urban middle-class :—Same as above less luxurious enjoyments, and plus interest on loans, etc.

Class III, the urban poor:—(1) rice, (2) pulses, (3) oil, (4) vegetables, (5) salt, (6) molasses, (7) clothing, (8) housing, (9) medicines, (10) education, (11) taxes, (12) social expenses.

Class IV, the urban indigent:—Same as above less items Nos. (9), (10), (11) and (12).

The importance of each commodity will evidently vary from class to class and group to group.

At the next stage in our inquiry we will require two more tables or records, namely, that which traces the changes in the price-level of commodities or in the general purchasing power of money, and that which shows changes in the money-wages of different classes of the population.

In obtaining the former, we shall have again to select certain standard commodities, different from those chosen for household budgets, as well as a basic year or period, with respect to which changes can conveniently be traced.

In obtaining the latter we shall have simply to record the money-wages for different kinds of labour, for different periods of time, or for different places as the case may require.

Lastly, we should represent in suitable graphs the result obtained by the above investigations, after making certain corrections in our estimates, with due regard to the 'probable errors' in the statistics.

In Bengal, we mainly depend upon government for the supply of many of the statistics. These, however, as we all know, are far from absolutely trustworthy. The methods of compilation through ignorant village chowkidars and dafadars, under instructions from an equally ignorant and more irresponsible set of sub-inspectors of police and such other petty officers, leave the facts compiled much open to objections. Personal experience, therefore, should, as far as practicable, always be employed as a careful check to all such statistics. We must as well guard ourselves against possible mis-calculations in our own estimates and conclusions. Statistics are very treacherous at times, and they easily lead people to pitfalls and dangers.

It is only when we are thus equipped in every respect, and when we have gone through all the investigations as mentioned above, that we can hazard any opinion as to the nature and incidence of changes in the cost of living in our country. The Government of Bombay has in this respect made a clear advance on Bengal. The Bombay Labour Gazette, published monthly by the Labour department there, throws a very instructive light and gives us important ideas as to the procedure and the conclusions regarding the changes in the cost of living etc., of Bombay Labour. From the haphazard opinions and estimates of our councillors and newspaper-correspondents, we beg to draw the attention of our readers to scientific investigations and estimates as mentioned above.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

CARPET WEAVING IN THE JHĀLĀWĀN COUNTRY, BALUCHISTAN

Foreword

[While travelling on duty on the Ethnographic Survey, I collected in 1902 these notes on the spot and showed them to Mr. Hughes Buller, C.I.E., I.C.S., the Provincial Superintendent of Ethnography. This note shows the movement of population from Persia to India through Baluchistan and the introduction of Persian carpet-weaving in this country.]

Weaving in the dari-stitch at Khuzdār.

In a small hamlet Nāmjo near Khuzdār there lives an old woman who has been brought from Wād and employed by a shepherd who from his appearance looks like a descendant of an African Sidhi mixed with local blood. She is a Brāhui and says that she learnt the art from her mother. Beyond this, she cannot trace the history of the introduction of the industry into the country, but the very style and process betrays Persian origin. The wool is supplied by her employer. It is spun by a Brāhui family in another village. The spinners are women, and the only implement they use is *Jhallak*. It is a spindle of the most primitive type (*vide* illustration No. 1) made of a pair of pieces of wood crossing each other at

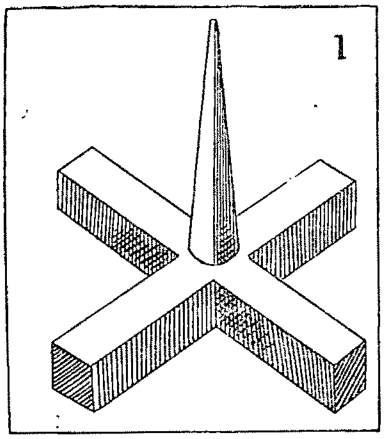

Fig. 1.

right angles with an upright handle fixed at the joint. This has a notch in it. Thread is called *Dask.* A bundle of thread is called *Girik.* The loom is equally primitive although the work she turns out is very clever. It consists of four pegs fixed in the form of an oblong, the breadth is about 3 feet and the length 9 feet (See illustration No. 2). Between the first two pegs called *Mekh* is tied the beam named *pukhtu.* Another beam is similarly tied to the pegs at the other end. About three feet from the first beam stands a tripod of sticks arranged in a triangle. She calls it *trikal* (No. 3). Two of the sticks of this *trikal* are fixed on either side of the oblong, and with them is tied a cross beam called *drang-dār* D—D. (No. 4). Between the *drang-dār* and the third leg of the tripod which is at the back, lies the toothed cross-beam which resembles a saw

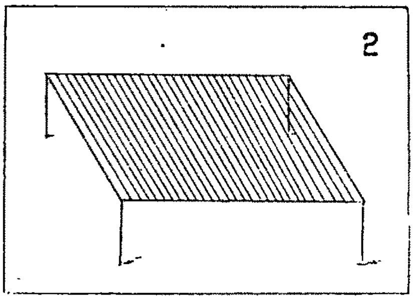

Fig. 2.

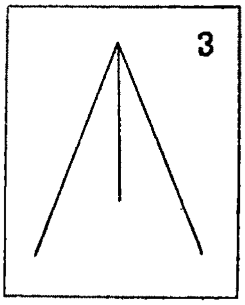

Fig. 3.

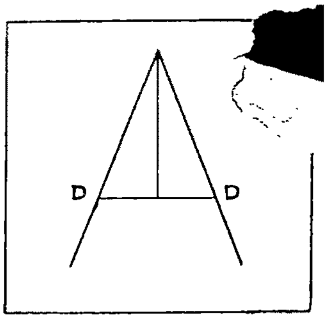

Fig. 4.

but is much thicker, called *Makri* (No. 5). This "*makri*" regulates the action of the heddles. To this *Makri* are tied four heddles through which the warp passes. The strings connecting the heddles (*Gul*) to the across beam, (*makri*) are called *makri-band.* As she goes on weaving the carpet, she has to tie the outer ends for borders to another stick, known technically as the *stretcher*, she calls it *pannat-kash.* She has to use a large needle for stretching the completed portion of the carpet. It is known as *Sila.* The stretcher is moved forward as necessity requires. The comb with which she drives the weft "home" is called *dukh.* Thus armed, the weaver proceeds by passing each thread of the warp through the heddles in the way she has been carefully trained to do in order to regulate the designs. She has no plan before her, she cannot recount or "sing" the numbers as pile-carpet weavers do. Hers, is not a pile-carpet. She can produce but a few geometrical designs and knows her business well enough. The warp is called *goftah,* when arranged. The weft when laid is called *khol,* and each of the warp-threads is called *rothk.* It will thus be seen that she has a distinct name for each of the materials she uses. Even the weft *thread* before it is passed through the warp or "laid", is distinguished by a separate name *pot.* The fabric is called *taki.* These fabrics are made into bags for good dresses, etc. and hung in front of the bedding. One end of each of the threads of the warp is tied to the first beam and the other to that at the farthest end. The needles are next tied with the *makri-bands,* to the toothed cross beam. No size is used. In cotton weaving, and even in woollen blanket weaving all over India, sizing is the first

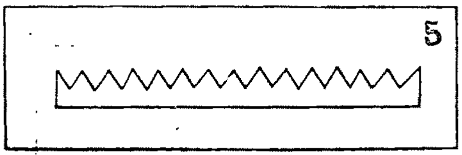

Fig. 5.

process, but in carpet weaving it is not necessary, as the outer ends of the "hair" or wool have to be left loose to cover the interstices. The weft-thread is carried through the warp thread by the weaver with her fingers without the use of a shuttle and passed in and out in accordance with the design she carries in her head. It is then pushed home or 'laid' with the comb. So tedious is the process that she takes 4 to 5 months to complete one piece 3′ × 9′ or so. The saw-toothed design is called *lashia*, a saw. A triangle is named *harir*. A row of diamonds interlaced is called *Ajab* (No. 6). Hooked triangles are called *jeliks* (No 7). The *Khan* (No 8) is represented

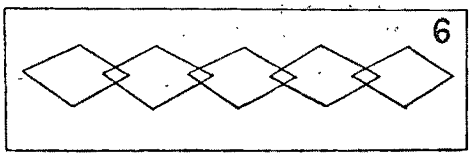

Fig. 6.

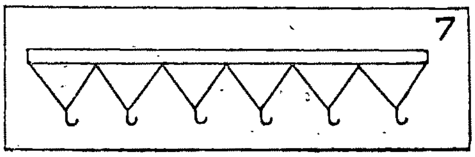

Fig 7.

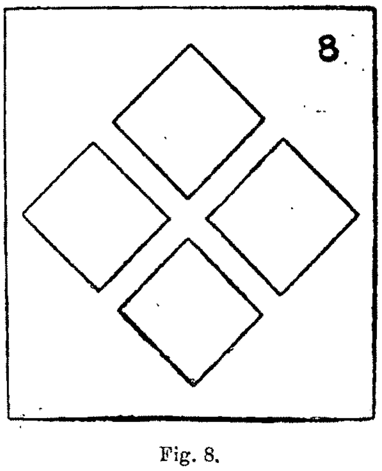

Fig. 8.

by four triangles meeting in one point, leaving intervening bands of separate coloured squares, or diamonds joined by a set of straight lines called *raband* (No. 9). And a group of squares or diamonds arranged round a central one is known as *panjali* (No. 10). As the work proceeds the stretcher is moved forward and the weaver has to sit on the fabric. When ready, she cuts the ends of the warp with a knife—*Kattār*. The cut-ends have each to be secured with a knot cleverly tied. The side, or border threads are first secured. They are called *rahi*.

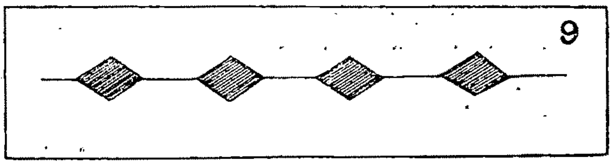

Fig. 9.

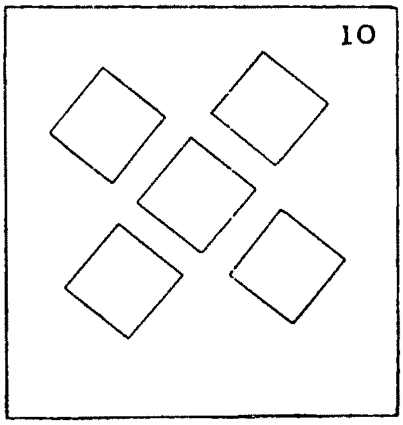

Fig. 10.

The dyeing process is performed by the wife of the shepherd under the supervision of this old woman. The thread is never bleached. It is called *punjun* as it comes from the spinner. The leaves of a plant called *guanik* is boiled into a strong decoction and the thread steeped into it while yet hot. It is then dried without being rinsed out. The next step consists of steeping it in a decoction of the pomegranate rind and dried. *Phitki* or alum is the mordant used at this stage ; the colour of the thread is yellow. Red colour is produced by steeping the yellow thread in a decoction of the *rodang* root, *Rubia mangista*, and finally in that of the twigs of *gait* or willow. Maroon is similarly produced by the substitution of lac dye for the *rubia mangista* ; and the addition of another bath in a solution of *khār* (crude carbonate of soda). Blue is of course the indigo dye *bod*, in which alum and *gwānik* decoction act as mordants. Green results from steeping the yellow thread into a solution of "*zagh*" (sulphate of iron) the first bath of *gwānik* supplying the tannic acid required.

B. A. GUPTE

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN DRAVIDIAN CIVILIZATION.

From prehistoric ages South India has been inhabited by a race of people who (it is now difficult to determine), may have been the aborgines of the land or on the other hand they may have been a band of immigrants who supplanted the natives of the soil and made a home for themselves. Modern researches have conclusively established the fact that the Tamilian race is the oldest of the Dravidian races that settled in South India and the modern Telugus are themselves an offshoot of this race who, at one time, were inferior to no other nation in the world in point of civilization or martial glory. India, South of the Krishna, seems to have been an isolated country cut off from the northern regions by the dense forest of Dandaka and the very use of the word Janasthana in the great epic implies the existence of a large tract of uninhabited land further north. The whole of this part of the peninsula was occupied by a people now known as the Tamilians, who developed a civilization of their own, which materially differed from that of their Aryan neighbours to whose superior intellectual force they eventually succumbed. Unfortunately even the oldest Tamil literature extant does not point to a time earlier than the migration of Aryan thoughts into the South and so it is difficult to conceive of the Tamilians as a non-Aryan race, who had a local habitation and a name of their own. But at the same time the fact that they were in enjoyment of a civilization which materially differed from that of their Aryan conquerors in several respects points to the conclusion that, if they were not the aborigines themselves, they were at least an older stock of people who had settled in South India long before the Aryans found a home on the plains of Hindustan. Ethnological observations too justify the theory that the Tamilians are not of Aryan descent, however much they might have been influenced by the Aryan intruders later on. It is an inevitable law of human nature that when two nations of different civilizations come into contact with one another each learns something from the other and both learn to adapt themselves to their altered environments. Yet the genius of each race continues to assert its individuality for ages to come, even though by the influence of the universal law of accommodation both the races have been fused together as one nation for all practical purposes. These facts of historical ganeralisation have been well illustrated in the case of the Tamilians of South India and it is the purpose of the present writer to place before the reader certain aspects of their civilization, which are essentially peculiar to themselves and cannot be traced to a foreign origin with any degree of certainty. Unfortunately the only material available regarding the civilization of the ancient Tamilians lies mostly in their literature. In spite of the scantiness of the information found therein, we are yet able to cull some facts which will be of great interest to an antiquarian.

The first thing that appeals to our imagination is the high order of development, especially in metre and versification, which the Tamil language had attained even in ancient days. Tamil had its three-fold classification of prose, poetry and drama even in those days and dramatic literature seems to have been so old as to have died out of existence, since not even a single specimen is now available. The development of the quatrain, feet and measure seems to have been of later origin, but the running verse seems to have been composed in great abundance and to have been an essential characteristic of Tamil prosody in ancient times. To a highly developed imaginative race romanticism must have made a greater appeal than classicism and so it is no wonder that Tamil poetry was worked by the principles of a free lance rather than slavishly following a set of rules hampering the flow of the melody of a genius. Tamil prosody has developed certain kinds of metrification, which are peculiary its own and not found in any other language, old or modern. That the tastes of the ancient Tamils were refined and their imagination powerful is fully borne out by the existence of an unusual number of figures of speech enough to stagger the understanding of any rhetorician. Besides the ordinary figures of metaphor, simile and hyperbole, found everywhere, Tamil prosody has a number of figures of speech, grand, simple, and natural, which must command the admiration of all learned men, though some of them appeal too much to the sensual instincts in man. Little of Tamil poetry can be appreciated by one who has not waded through the intricacies of Tamil prosody and yet the general tenor is so simple and natural as to please every body. All kinds of highly developed poetry —such as, the epic, the pastoral, the ballad, the lyric and the martial—are all found in the Tamil language, and Sanskrit perhaps is the only other language which can boast of such varied poetic literature. The pious lyrics of the Tamilian saints, Vaishnava and Saivite, the pastoral songs of a few Sangam poets of old and the martial song of the Chola conquest of Kalinga are so sweet, sensuous and sublime that they cannot fail to enrapture the soul and please the understanding of a cultured intellect. The great poet Kamban is said to have been unable to complete the couplet begun by a peasant engaged in baling out water. As in the case of other nations of ancient times, prose played a less conspicuous part in literature and the introduction of the Aryan faiths from the north must have created a large quantity of dialectics which, the eventual domination of the Brahmanic faith drove out of existence. The whole race seems to have been imbued with the poetic sense as specimens of songs of great poetic merit sung by dancers, artisans, labourers, peasants and acrobats are found in old Tamil literature. Even girls sang extempore verse when they were engaged in playing with their dolls, toys and balls. The habit of bewailing the loss of the husband or a child in extempore poetry is found among women in rural parts even in these days. No country, old or modern, can boast of so many women poets as the Tamil country of the Madura Sangam days. The immortal verse of that grand old lady—Avaiyar enraptures the soul of even a modern reader. There are a few relics of the Jain and Budhhist controversy still extant but even they are found mostly in the form of poetry. The dramatic literature has completely died out of existence and what might have been a beautiful source of elucidating the customs and manners of the ancient Tamilian race has become a sealed book which the gaze of a modern critic will never be able to pry into. We learn a great deal about the greatness of a nation from its literature and even the scanty material of old Tamil literature available is enough to enable us to assert that the Tamilians of old had developod a civilization of their own, second to none in those days, when the other nations of the world were groping in darkness and living the lives of savages.

In the field of politics, though we do not hear of as high a system of administration as there was among the Aryans of Northern India, yet we have enough material to gather that the Tamilian race was essentially a martial race having a trained army compossed of archers, horse-men, charioteers and warriors who fought on the backs of elephants trained in war. There was the King at the head of the government who, for all practical purposes, was a benevolent despot within his own kingdom and a scourge to neighbours and aliens. He was above all law, and moreover it was thought right that his individual liberty should not be fettered even in matters of religion, and so it was no wonder, that we sometimes find the son of a Buddhist King being an ardent advocate of Jainism or a devout worshipper of Siva or Vishnu. This accounts for the spirit of perfect toleration which prevailed among the ancient Tamilians till it received a rude shock at the hands of a few Saivite zealots later on. The broad minded sympathy which these ancient kings showed to the various faiths that sought a home in their dominions, accounts for the contemporaneous prevalence of the three faiths—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, each of which seems to have made only a peaceful penetration into this land of milk and honey.

The entire absence of all reliable information about the religion of the early Tamilian race before the advent of the Aryan faiths precludes all possibility of making even guesses approaching truth. Attempts are made in various quarters to rank these early peoples with savages in matters of religion and assume that they were demon worshippers. It is not probable that a nation so highly civilized in every other respect should have been backward in religious matters alone. On the other hand, recent researches made in the Tinnevelly district and the fact that the Tamilians of ancient times were in commercial contact with the Egyptians on the west and the Chinese on the east make it possible to surmise that they may have been a race of hero or ancestor worshippers. The literature of those times reveals the fact that the Tamilians worshipped the Sun, the Moon and the elements. They classified the soil as of five kinds each of which had its titular deity. Vishnu, familiarly known as Mal, Muruga the Tamil name for Skanda, the Commander-in-Chief of the Deva hosts, Varuna the sea-god, Durga the goddess of the desert and Indra, the lord of all arable land, have all been worshipped by the Tamilians, though all these deities are of Aryan origin. The worship of Muruga was so popular that one is tempted to put him down as a god of Dravidian origin. Women attached great importance to the worship of Kumari at Cape Comorin and Tamil literature makes much of the worship of the sea-god which was made by the Pandya King at Comorin. An annual Mela is said to have been held by the old Pandya Kings, to which people from all parts of his kingdom flocked together. The bone of a shark was planted on the beach, the sea-god was invoked into it and worship was offered him with great fervour. Like all nations of old the Tamilians had faith in omens and auguries. In an old pastoral song mention is made of the curious ceremony with which women consulted an augury placing a measure full of paddy or flowers in front of the deity in a Vishnu shrine. Monotheism seems to have been of much later origin—perhaps after the advent of the philosophies of the north, and care was taken to avoid all elaborate description of the supreme God and His attributes.

But we are on firmer ground when we think of their political or social institutions. It has now been definitely ascertained that the Tamils were a brave war-like nation who had at one time extended their sway even beyond the Vindhyas. The history of Ceylon is full of accounts of Tamilian enterprise, conquest and domination. The Cholas seem to have extended their power over Burma, Siam, Malaya and Java. They had at their command a large navy consisting of Marava seamen, who are even now found divided into three classes: the sea-rovers, the sea-faring and the river navigators. In times of peace the navy was utilised for commercial purposes. The importance which South Indian kings attached to the sea is evidenced by the fact that each king had a naval headquarter in addition to his well fortified metropolis. The Cholas had Woraiyur for their interior capital and Kaviripurapatnam as their sea capital at the mouth of the Kaveri. The Pandyas had Madura and Korkai as their two capitals and the Cheras, Karur, the ancient Vanchi, and Caranganore on the West coast. It may also be noted that they had a fair knowledge of strategic warfare in as much as the main capital of each king was situated on the frontiers of his kingdom. Hence Conjeevaram became a later capital of the Cholas. Though these three kings were constantly at war with one another, yet there are also instances recorded of their combining against a common enemy. The metallic armour in which the Tamilian warriors were clad when they marched to battle, the weapons of war they used, the use of horses, chariots and elephants in their warfare and a host of other details found scattered throughout their literature, show the greatness of their military strength, not necessarily based on their skill in imitating or borrowing from the Aryans. On the other hand, the arrangement of their military camps on the field of battle, the arrow house built for the use of the king in the centre and the host of women attendants that served the king in his camp, the victors' garlands made of particular kinds of flowers (all these minutely described in their pastoral songs) speak of a kind of civilization essentially their own.

The punishments meted out to traitors and criminals were of a horrible nature. In this respect the Tamilians behaved like the other nations of the ancient world. Punishment was based solely on the principle of revenge or retribution. Prisoners of war were made captives and sent home to work as slaves. Defeated kings, captured on the field of battle, had their heads cut off or were crushed under the feet of elephants. Punishment by mutilation was not uncommon and sometimes the victims were tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the road. The most horrible kinds of punishment were reserved for traitors. A more cruel form of torturing a victim to death than what was known as "Indras status" cannot be conceived. The victim was stripped of his clothes and a thousand lighted torches were thrust into his body from all sides. Another barbarous method of killing a traitor was what was known as "giving the breast to mother earth" by which the victim was made to lie on his breast on the ground, a heavy stone was placed on his back and he was dragged by his legs along the streets till he died. Another ingenious method of torturing a victim was to thrust him into a spiked cask and roll the cask along the streets till his body becomes a mass of mangled flesh.

It was the immense dread which kings of those days had of losing their throne and their lives at the hands of rebels that made them have recourse to such barbarous methods of punishing traitors.

The social condition of the early Tamils seems to have been of an enviable type. They had no caste distinction among themselves. Wealth and learning were their chief distinguishing marks and the virile races commanded great respect. They were a brave enterprising people having commercial relations with the remotest countries of the then known world. Egypt, Rome and Carthage were not unknown to them and the rich produce of the spice islands found a ready market on Tamilian soil. A Chera king is said to have first introduced the cultivation of the sugarcane from the island of Java. They worked in metals and a few books written in colloquial Tamil show that the Tamils knew more of the secrets of metallurgy than their neighbours elsewhere. A nation that had raised fighting to the dignity of an art could be easily believed to have also developed the art of healing wounds and curing diseases. In the field of the 'fine arts' they were second to none in those days. South Indian sculpture enjoys a worldwide reputation and the artistic sculptural beauties of many South Indian temples bear witness to the high order of civilization they had developed in those times. In Music they had such keen appreciation that even the illiterate could sing well and compose extempore songs. The greatness of their literature has been already dwelt upon. The art of painting was not unknown to them though we have no means of determining the exact degree of excellence which that art attained in ancient days. Mention has been made of domes, halls, yards, seven storied edifices, towers and turrets and so in the field of architecture the early Tamils seem to have occupied a high place.

A few customs peculiar to the Tamilian race will be of great interest: They seem to have specially encouraged the

Gandharva form of marriage, whereby the pair enter into the ties of wedlock by mutual consent alone. A maid of marriageable age was generally sent to keep guard over a millet garden and her very food was carried thither. She remained there till she had the fortune of being loved and solicited by a youth who was even sometimes allowed the privilege of having his wish consummated on the spot—a procedure not looked upon as illicit or illegal, as this form of marriage was recognised as not improper. The writer has the authority of a great Tamil scholar in making the statement that this was the chief form of matrimony among the Tamilians in olden times and so the race, as a whole, might be said to be the progeny of the Gandharvas, whoever these might have been. At any rate this custom gives us an idea of the freedom enjoyed by the women of those days and the absence of all modern conceptions of social disparity.

In the republic of letters merit was the only distinguishing factor and every king was bound to keep open his court at all times for all religious or literary controversies and to give impartial judgment in favour of the successful disputant. Wagers were often laid and both parties had to respect the sanctity of the contract made. There was a funny way in which a newcomer used to court a literary or religious challenge. The stranger would take a branch of the Jambu (நாவல்) tree and plant it at the entrance into the city. Thereupon all egress or ingress into the city even of cattle was forbidden. The King hears of this, sends for the literary knight errant and arranges to hold a Durbar where the guest challenges every learned man to a wordy combat. If the challenge is accepted by anybody present, the terms of the wager are settled, arbitrators are appointed and the controversy begins. If no body feels competent to take up the gauntlet thrown, all including the king are bound in honour to accept the creed of the victor.

Thus it will be seen that even in those days of absolute autocracy priests, philosophers and poets enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom and kings were bound to patronise them as a point of honour. There are instances on record where kings parted with large slices of their kingdom in favour of poets and scholars who had distinguished themselves in such controversies at their courts.

Kings were looked upon as fountains not only of law and authority but also of mercy and grace. Even the lowest of their subjects had a right to approach them directly with complaints of wrongs inflicted or with other grievances to be redressed by ringing a bell hanging in front of the palace. In a standard work of Tamil literature a curious story is narrated which gives an idea of the high sense of duty which the kings of old had in the matter of administering justice. A Chola king, finding to his great dis-satisfaction that there was often miscarriage of justice in his kingdom, made penance to the God Indra and secured a divine Bhutam (spirit) who took his stand in the market place of the city. This Bhutam had the divine gift of detecting all crimes committed in the city and himself meted out punishment to the criminals according to the gravity of the crimes committed. The grateful Chola is said to have, therefore, held a festival in honour of the God Indra for 28 days continuously every year at the commencement of spring.

The loyalty of the people to their kings is best illustrated by the fact that it was customary for a man to abstain from all work or enjoyment if anybody drags him to the presence of the king or a court of justice by simply crying out, "I charge thee in the name of the king." He felt it his duty to have his character first cleared before he thought of anything else. It was a common virtue of all Indian kings to attach the greatest importance to the administration of justice and whatever might be their drawbacks in other respects they certainly deserved all praise in the discharge of their kingly duties in this respect. In the pathetic story of Kovalan and Kannaki the tragic end of the Pandya king who fell down dead from his throne, the moment he came to understand that there was a miscarriage of justice at his hands—speaks of his glory as a conscientious judge. No student of Tamil literature can ever forget the last words that came out of his mouth :

"It is I the thief, it is I the thief, that listened to the goldsmith's words. Even now let my dear life depart (in expiation of this heinous crime)." The neighouring Chera king who heard of the tragic end of the Pandya King is said to have exclaimed with approbation that the Pandya's sceptre which had bent down by an act of injustice had been set right again by the atonement of his death.

Here is a story which will speak for itself :

Once a husband happened to go on a pilgrimage, leaving his young wife behind him. When she complained to her departing lord of her lonely life and unprotected condition he told her that she was perfectly safe under the just rule of the Pandya king and that she need not be afraid of any mishap. Just then the Pandya king in disguise happened to pass by the house in the course of his nightly perambulations. He heard the man's words and felt the aweful responsibility of guarding a young wife in a crowded city in the absence of her husband. So every night he stole out of his palace and mounted guard with a drawn sword in front of this house. One night he heard the sound of somebody whispering within and thought that some paramour might have got in. He hastily knocked at the door and from the response found out that the absent husband had returned. Now the king grew alarmed that the husband might mistake him for his wife's paramour and accuse her of infidelity. So he ran out and repeated the knock at the doors of several houses, so that people might take him for a thief. Even at the risk of being branded as a thief, he wished to save the honour of the young wife. Next morning several people came to him and complained that some thief had attempted to break into their houses. The king calmly listened to them and asked what was the punishment for a would-be thief. They said that his right hand should be cut off. The king then drew his sword, cut off his right hand and owned that he himself was the suspected individual. He then disclosed his secret and spent the remaining part of his life with the substitute of a gold hand. But the story says that his mutilated hand was miraculously restored. He is known in history as the 'Pandya of the golden hand.'

Sometimes the sense of justice was carried even to an extravagant extent. A man in love, if repulsed by the damsel loved, had the right of making known the fervour of his love by self immolation. He would make an artificial horse with the prickly stems of the palmyra leaves, mount upon it and cause it to be dragged along the streets. While his body is bleeding profusely he goes on singing the praise of his love and bewailing the calamity of his repulse. Then the king of the place makes it his duty to satisfy the disappointed lover by enabling him to secure the hand of his love at any cost. This custom has been named Madaluruthal and it is highly doubtful if anybody had the impudence to practise it actually. But literature contains numerous songs to have been sung by such romantic lovers.

Women seem to have taken an active part in all public amusements, as mention has been constantly made of women dancers and acrobats. On one occasion a woman acrobat is said to have committed suicide, because the Pandya king before whom she played, had his attention otherwise directed. Unlike the kings of a later degenerate age the ancient kings were strictly forbidden from taking their ladies along with them when they went to war and the anxieties of a queen fearing for her lord's return has been the favourite topic of many a lyrical poet. Some poems of that sort indeed, are so full of pathos as to move the feelings of even a casual reader.

At the time of the harvest the Marava part of the Tamilian population used to hold a festival in honour of their popular deity Muruga, their war-god. A shed made of sugarcane sticks and paddy sheaves was put up on the village common and decorated with leaves and flowers. The oldest matron of the village was made to impersonate the god and she was decorated with jewellery and flowers and placed within the shed on a dais prepared for the purpose. Then the women began to dance and sing songs in praise of their deity in the midst of music and wild clamour. By and by the woman within grew excited and was filled with supernatural inspiration. Then with all the divinity of an oracle she would foretell the fortunes of her devotees and dole out her predictions with conspicuous perspicuity causing a thrill in the hearts of many a blushing maid. This festival was known as *Kuravaikkuthu* and this was probably the precursor of the modern *Pongal* festival.

RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR

PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D., D.Sc.

[Born Colchester, May 12, 1843; son of Rev. T. W. Davids; Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, late Vicar Wadhurst, Sussex; educated at Breslau University; entered Ceylon Civil Service, 1866; Bar-at-law, Middle Temple, 1877; married 1894; children—two daughters and one son; Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature, University College, London, 1882-1912; Professor of Comparative Religion, Manchester, 1904-15; President of the Pali Text Society; President, India Society and Manchester Oriental Society; President of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland; Fellow of the British Academy; Secretary and Librarian of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1885-1904; took part in founding the British Academy, 1902; founded the Pali Text Society, 1882; the Oriental Translations Fund, 1895; and the Indian Text Series, 1900; died January, 1923.]

By the death of Professor Rhys Davids the world is deprived of the service of the foremost and most distinguished Orientalist who had devoted his life solely to the advancement of Buddistic learning and researches, and it will take yet a long time to fill the gap that has been created. He has died full of glory, leaving behind him a brilliant record of work which posterity will ever look back upon for guidance and inspiration. The unique success that attended his labours was but a fitting recompense for the worries and troubles that followed upon the resignation of his appointment in the Ceylon Civil Service. He resigned from the service because of a disagreement with his official superiors over a question involving the rights of tenants as against the interest of Government. Single-handed did he uphold the cause of the tenants and he will be ever remembered by the people of Ceylon with gratitude and veneration for the honesty of purpose and courage of conviction he evinced in the circumstances so critical and trying, for he preferred resignation to defeat, though he had nothing to fall back upon. But what endeared him more to the people of Ceylon was his resolution to bring to the notice of the world the treasures of the Dhamma that lay in obscurity in the monasteries of Ceylon. He took up the study of Pali in Ceylon under the late Siri Sumangala at a time when a considerable interest in the subject had been aroused by the pioneer work of George Turnour and Childers, two other members of the Ceylon Civil Service, and that of Col. Olcott, the great Theosophist leader, to whom the new awakening was largely due.

The spirit displayed in resigning his appointment was, as one may say, quite in keeping with the trend of thought running through Buddha's utterances such as " Better far to die in battle than live vanquished through life," and his death in his 80th year is another point of coincidence that lends colour to our fancy that the tenor of his life was a true response to the spirit of Buddha. His writings are permeated with the same spirit: the same non-committal way of deciding questions and weighing arguments, of avoiding yet reconciling extremes, of carrying his own conviction, yet leaving the question open. In forming a correct estimate of things which apparently concerned others, individuals or peoples, he took a standpoint conformable to every way of thinking, individual or universal, European or non-European, commonplace or transcendental. On his return from Ceylon he began to study law and was called to the Bar. It must be admitted that he studied the law well, for he was an LL.D. He had to give up practice as there was none to back him. But the benefit of his law studies was not lost upon him. And his knowledge of the Law of Evidence in which he had specialized was conducive to that sound reasoning which he so admirably brought to bear upon his arguments in his literary work. One of the reasons why he got to love and make known to the world Pali and other allied texts is that he was charmed, as he had expressed to an Indian pupil of his, to find in them an ancient mode of thinking embodying such developed reasoning as was consonant with the one he could acquire with so much toil. His literary contributions[1] are too well known to need any comment. The Pali Text Society, the Oriental Translations Fund and the Indian Text Series, of which he was the founder, and the British Academy in the inauguration of which he took a part, will ever remain landmarks in the annals of oriental institutions in the West.

But all this was accomplished by a man whose annual income never rose above £500 a year, even in his best days, when he was fortunate to occupy the Chair of Comparative Religion at Manchester. To understand the man behind this stupendous fabric it is worth while to remember some of his sayings, fraught with significance, though delivered off-hand. Now and then he would say, "I am old, but never too old to learn." Again, "It was an advantage that I studied the Law of Evidence," and again, "We, the students of research, are called upon not so much to solve the problem as to deepen its significance."

These sayings of Prof. Rhys Davids display the eagerness to learn, the consciousness of insufficiency of the knowledge of facts, the bold recognition of the fallibility of man, the open-mindedness, the unerring power of detecting errors and courage of confessing when he was in the wrong, the habit of always checking his own views by testing them with reference to the evidence from the opposite side. These are some of the most prominent qualities of a true student, a true learner, a true teacher, a true seeker of truth, not satisfied with being a mere passive spectator of the order of things around him but fully conscious of the power of changing it and changing it for the better—of the power, more than that of the statesman, the mere lawyer or party politician and the demagogue, of doing good to mankind as a whole by holding before them a true picture of things, by creating a new atmosphere of thought, by enlarging their ideas and broadening their outlook.

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[1] Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, 1877; Buddhist Birth Stories, 1880; Buddhist Suttas (S.B.E.), 1881; Questions of King Milinda (S.B.E.), 1890-94; The Sects and Schools of Buddhism (J.R.A.S.), 1891-92; Hibbert and American Lectures on Buddhism, 1881, 1896; Vinaya Texts (S.B.E.), 1881-85; Edition of Dīgha Nikāya and Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī, 1886, 1890, 1902; Dialogues of the Buddha, 1899, 1910, 1922; Buddhist India, 1902; Early Buddhism, 1908; Buddhism (Non-Christian Religious System Series); Pali Dictionary (two fasc. only), 1922-23.

Now, if it be asked why it is that he was interested in Indian history and in a particular chapter of it; why he was anxious to carry on researches in Indian religions; why he edited the Pali and Prakrit texts in preference to the Sanskrit; and why he was not satisfied with merely writing dissertations but took an immense trouble to publish the texts and translations, the answer is not far to seek. He tried to bring home to the European, to whom Western civilisation was the only and best civilisation, the fact that there were other civilisations as good, as old and as effective; to the Christian theologian, to whom the Holy Bible was the only Book of God, that there were other Books embodying messages as noble, inspiring and original, if not more than his own; to the Indologist, to whom the Brahmanical was the only standpoint and Sanskrit was the only language and source of correct information about Indian peoples, that there were, beside the Brahmanical or priestly, other standpoints—the Buddhist and the Jaina, for instance—that beside Sanskrit there were other languages and literatures, Pali, Ardha-Māgadhi and the rest; to those who were in the habit of taking things on trust, that they should form their own opinion on the basis of texts and translations. Those who are accustomed to think that the European life is above all cares and anxieties will certainly fail to realize the immensity of the task that lay before him.

He once visited India and always held that it is for Indians to write upon their own history and culture which outsiders cannot, for obvious reasons, properly evaluate. He had always the impression that if modern India could boast of an Indian who understood aright the value of education and research, it was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who more than any one contributed towards the growth of indigenous research in that country.

Even this obituary notice will be glaringly incomplete without a mention of his wife, Mrs. Caroline Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., who stood by him as a partner and a helpmate, as a friend and a pupil. She by her loving devotion and literary contributions helped forward the cause he espoused and supplemented his work. It is through her translations of Abhidhamma books and researches in Abhidhamana that the Rhys Davids family has been intimately connected with Burma, the only Buddhist country where Abhidhamma literature is studied with interest by both the Bhikkhus and the laity. He happened to be acquainted with this gifted lady while he was a Professor of Pali and Buddhist literature at the University College, London. And this loving connection continued to the last. It is for the seer to say whether death is daring enough to sever this connection. But it is a pity that he could not see in print the whole of the Pali Dictionary, his last literary venture, which but for the great war would have been completed years ago.

Since the retirement from his appointment at Manchester, he had to depend on an old-scholar pension, scarcely sufficient to meet his expenses, and on the proceeds of his books. He leaves his wife to continue his work in England and his children to commemorate him. But the offspring of his mind, much more perhaps than those of his body, are likely to perpetuate his memory, for his writings, unlike those of many an author, are not closed but are full of potentiality and fruitful suggestions, even where they are not conclusive. His name has become almost a household word in Buddhist families of all countries. The hill in Surrey overlooking the railway station at Chipstead—his last retreat—will long bear the remains of the grand old scholar whose death is no less enviable than his life.

B. M. Barua
S. N. Mitra

THE RELATIONS OF EUROPEANS AND INDIANS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY[1]

There are few subjects of more fascinating human interest than a study of the innumerable groups of mankind massed together or scattered according to the varying nature of the earth's surface, each group having its own variety of physical type, language, manners and customs. According to some, the differences of physical type between, say, a native Australian and a Lapp are sufficiently pronounced for each group to form a species. According to most scientists however, the differences are only racial varieties and from the standpoint of social relations the difference is important. Apart altogether from the primitive story of the garden of Eden and of our first parents, Adam and Eve, with all the poetical colouring that such a story must involve, the general scientific assumption is that the various races of men have a common origin and a common cradle-land from which the peopling of the Earth was brought about by migration, and are the outcome of their several environments. Thus, whatever we are racially now, whether European or Indian, Japanese or Patagonian, Negro or Eskimo, we are descended from one human pair or group, and we are what climate, soil, diet, pursuits and inherited characters have made us. For the proud European and the equally proud high-caste Indian this may be a humbling thought, but it ought to be of some help to us in dealing with the problems of our relations to one another, and to other races frankly to recognise that the President of the United States and the freed negro slave, the Maharajah of Darbhanga and the outcaste pariah grovelling on the outskirts of his palace, the Viceroy of India and the sweeper who looks after his bathroom, have all a common human ancestry, and bear the impress of the same divine image. The extremely difficult problem of racial relationships may not appear so insoluble if we remember that throughout we are dealing with man made in the image of God.

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[1] This paper was read at the Calcutta Missionary Conference, February, 1922.

In this connection too it may be well if we remind ourselves of the fact that racially Europe and India are not so radically distant from one another as we are sometimes apt in a superficial way to suppose. "That East is East and West is West and ne'er the twain shall meet," is a sentiment with very little meaning to a student of ethnology and the history of civilisation. The higher races and castes of modern India trace their descent in greater or less degree from the early Aryan invaders of India, and these Aryans themselves were close kinsmen of the great European races—Greek, Latins, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs. These white invaders, when they came from their northern settlements into the valleys of the Panjab, and advanced into the rich plains of India, sharply distinguished themselves as of fair complexion from the primitive tribes, the aborigines of the land, whom they speak of as black monsters and demons. The hymns of the Rigveda have many references to fierce wars and conflicts with the aborigines, many of whom no doubt were men of such coarse habits and degrading superstitions, that social intercourse with them was impossible to the cultured Aryans, and intermarriage unthinkable. It is also manifest that the Aryans came into touch not only with degraded tribes of filthy habits, but also with the more cultured Dravidian peoples, and yet the fair-skinned Aryans, ancestors of the higher-caste Indians of to-day, in their superior way, were apt to make no distinctions, but regarded all the dark-skinned natives of the land without discrimination as so many cursed niggers, black monsters and demons. Indeed the colour line became the basis of all social intercourse and class distinctions. The characteristic physical difference between Aryan and aboriginal was undoubtedly that of colour (the Sanskrit word for which is *varna*) and that this physical difference formed an important though by no means the only basis of caste, is suggested by the fact that one of the modern names for caste is *varna.* Intermarriage on the part of the Aryan rank and file with the aborigines there undoubtedly was, but it was clearly discouraged by the Aryan and Brahman leaders and treated as irregular. Of course in every community, apart from racial distinctions, skilled occupations have a tendency to become hereditary in family groups, and it would appear that the Aryan conquerors utilised this tendency when they proceeded, inspired by an instinctive sense of self-preservation, in the direction of the formation of a rigid social system and caste organisation with divine sanctions. In their pride of race and colour as complete a social separation of black and white or dark and fair as was humanly possible, became the dominant policy of the Aryan conquerors, and high-caste Brahmans. In its essential elements this may be said to be the attitude to-day of most high-caste Indians to their low-caste brethren, the attitude of most Europeans to Indians and above all in a very thorough degree the attitude of whites to Negroes in the Southern half of the United States, and of white settlers to Natives and Indians alike in certain parts of Africa. It is an attitude that allows of the freest intercourse in all the ordinary affairs of industrial or professional life, but it is openly or silently opposed to all such social relations as may suggest the possibility of intermarriage. This is surely a noteworthy point of contact between the ancient Aryans, and their modern representatives, between high-caste Indians, in their own country and exclusive Europeans whether they live in India, Africa or the Southern States of America.

I have attempted to state impartially some of the basic facts of the situation from the standpoint of a student of ethnology and civilisation. I have now to attempt to define my attitude to the problem from the standpoint of a Christian Missionary. From this standpoint we cannot forget that this question of the relations of Europeans and Indians is but a phase of a much wider and deeper problem affecting not merely India but the world, and not merely the twentieth century but all the ages, *viz.*, the union of man with God, and of men with one another in God. No one who knows anything of the spiritual struggles and aspirations of the race will deny that what men have been groping after through the ages is to become one with God. This is the essence of all religious yearning. We are often appalled by the difficulty of the problem of the relations of high caste and low caste, and Europeans and Indians, and we are sometimes apt to despair of a solution establishing a bond of living union and lasting understanding. Yet believing as we do in the human relationship of God and the divine nature of man, as Christian people we live in the faith that God actually entered humanity through Jesus Christ, and that we in Christ become one with God, whatever be our colour or culture. We look forward in due time to entering the hallowed presence of our Father God in Heaven, and I have yet to meet the man who will dare maintain that on the great judgment day the Divine Judge will pay any regard to colour, or base decisions on racial distinctions. Yet some of us appear sceptical of the possibility of a true brotherhood of European and Indian, of East and West, of high caste and low caste, of dark and white. Is not this something like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? The solution of our social and racial problems will be found in a deeper realisation of the significance of the foundation truths of our faith such as the Fatherhood of God, and the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ. The man to whom the one fundamental fact in his life is his living union with God in Christ and the spiritual privileges he enjoys as a son of God through participation in the perfect sonship of Christ, cannot, in so far as he recognises the world in which we live as God's world, and thinks of God as the Father of all men, have any real share in the narrow social and racial prejudices of the common herd of men with their so slender grip of God, and their consequent magnification of race, caste and colour.

We are still far from appreciating the significance of our belief that Jesus stands forth as the one great world prophet and teacher, who speaks to the heart of man without any foreign accent, and I am doubtful if we yet recognise fully the greatness of St. Paul as an interpreter of Jesus Christ and the significance of His Incarnation for all the problems of human life, great and small, bearing on the relation of men with one another. Take for instance the following great passages: Philippians II. 3-11 (I quote from Weymouth's version): " Do nothing in a spirit of factiousness or of vain glory, but with true humility let everyone regard the rest as being of more account than himself; each fixing his attention not only on his own interests but on those of others also. Let the same disposition be in you which was in Christ Jesus; although from the beginning He had the nature of God, He did not reckon His equality with God a treasure to be tightly grasped. Nay, he stripped Himself of His glory, and took on Him the nature of a bond servant by becoming a man like other men. And being recognised as truly human, He humbled Himself, and even stooped to die, yes, to die on a Cross. It is in consequence of this that God has also so highly exalted Him and has conferred on Him the name which is supreme above every other, in order that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of beings in heaven, of those on the earth, and of those in the underworld, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father." Or again from Galatians III. 25-28: "We are no longer under a tutor slave. You are all sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all of you who have been baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ; In Him the distinctions between Jew and Gentile, a slave and freeman, male and female disappear; you are all one in Christ.

Jesus." Ephesians II. 14-22: "For He is our peace—He who has made Jews and Gentiles one, and in His own human nature has broken down the hostile dividing wall, by setting aside the Law with its Commandments, expressed, as they were, in definite decrees. His design was to unite the two sections of humanity in Himself so as to form one new man, thus effecting peace, and to reconcile Jews and Gentiles in one body to God by means of His cross,—slaying by it their mutual enmity. So He came and proclaimed good news of peace to you who were so far away, and peace to those who were near; because it is through Him that Jews and Gentiles alike have access through one Spirit to the Father......You are therefore no longer mere foreigners or persons excluded from civil rights: on the contrary you share citizenship with God's people and are members of His family. You are a building which has been reared on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, the cornerstone being Christ Jesus Himself, in union with whom the whole fabric, fitted and closely joined together is growing so as to form a holy sanctuary in the Lord; in whom you also are being built up together to become a fixed abode for God through the Spirit." Great passages like these bring us very near to the heart of things. The race-proud European and the caste-proud Brahman, who retain their narrow pride after entering the common fellowship of the Christian Church, may be compared with those Jewish Christians who continued to be prisoners under the law with its restraints and limitations after being brought into the freedom of the spirit of Christ. So many of us, both Europeans and Indians, who profess to be members of the Christian Church, are still like the Jews of old in the grip of slavery to externals, regarding as all-important things that are only skin-deep. The Christian Church in such an atmosphere will never attain to the spiritual and moral authority that is its due, and we must escape from it, in loyalty to the Lord to whom we have dedicated our lives.

I shall now attempt to indicate briefly what I consider the main considerations to be borne in mind in seeking to apply Christian principles to the solution of the problem under discussion in matters social, ecclesiastical and political.

(1) *The Social Problem.*

All nations who have attained a certain degree of culture and civilisation have been obsessed with an idea of their own superiority, and of the essential inferiority of all others. Jews were apt to regard Gentiles as dogs, the Greeks looked upon others as barbarians, to Chinamen we are all foreign devils, Hindus spoke of foreigners as Mlechchhas or dirty savages while like the Pharisee of old, Americans and Englishmen are apt to thank God that they are not as other men, and when Germans, French and Japanese shew signs of infection with the same dangerous idea, there is naturally some trouble. So long as these ideas are merely a subject of academic opinion no particular harm is done. It is when they form the basis of social standing and opportunity that the mischief begins. The objection of the East India officials in early days to missionary and educational work was based on the fact that they regarded Indians as fit only for subjection, and nothing but harm would come by instilling into them ideas of Christian brotherhood and educating them out of their position. Only a few days ago an English gentleman visiting me at Serampore remarked, "We made a big mistake when we introduced higher education into India. The result is that our very existence here as a Government is imperilled." This is essentially the spirit that underlies the Indian and all other caste systems, for the essence of all caste, whether East or West, is a cold-blooded and deliberate effort on the part of the strong and privileged to hold in a position of permanent dependence and inferiority the weak and helpless elements of the social organism. In sober reality not a few people in England have felt that the prayer befitting ignorant English villagers is "God bless the Squire and his relations, And keep us in our proper stations." But perhaps the biggest system of social denomination the world has ever seen is the Indian caste system. Sir Rabindranath Tagore once described it as "a gigantic system of cold-blooded repression," because it has so completely entwined in its endless coils the Indian social body that the free expression of manhood even under the direst necessity has become almost an impossibility. Members of Indian Legislative Councils shew that they are able to smell from afar indications of a policy of political repression by an alien Government and I can sympathise with their sensitiveness on that score. One would like to see more marked signs of concern on the part of Indian political and religious leaders on account of the continuance of caste restrictions, this "gigantic system of cold-blooded repression" in their midst, a system that shackles the healthy social growth of so many millions of India's sons and daughters. Is it again a case of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? There can however be no doubt that the problem of social relations between Europeans and Indians has a highly important bearing on the present situation, whether from the standpoint of Government or Missions, and fundamentally the difficulty in each case is much the same, *viz.*, uneasiness on account of foreign control. Whether as Government administrators or as Missionaries, Englishmen have—I think it will be generally recognised—been highly successful in dealing with rude and primitive peoples. But the problem is an utterly different one when we are confronted with people working side by side with us who in culture and education are our equals or it may be our superiors. There are many Englishmen in India, and perhaps some missionaries among the number, who have not sufficient imagination to put themselves in the place of educated Indians, whether engaged in Government or in Christian work, who see foreigners in their country exercising the office of rulers and treating them and their people, the people of the land, as a subordinate race, needing to be kept under control with a firm hand. This much I say emphatically that there is no room in India to-day for Englishmen whether Goverment servants or missionaries who insist on being treated as an order of superior beings, and who look upon all Indians as children or inferiors. The Englishman's position in India to-day is not that of the heavy father or the stern master, but of the brother and comrade, elder brother in some cases if you like, but essentially a brother. In that capacity there is often still scope for highly helpful service. We have much to learn from India, but we have also much to give, though we shall never be able to give if we follow the way of contempt or good-natured superiority, rather than the way of love and respect. Perhaps one of the most important qualifications for service in the East to-day is colour-blindness. As a student of history, ancient and modern, I recognise the terrible strength of race and colour pride and prejudice, but I believe that God is present in all that is true and beautiful and good in our human life and that there is a veritable incarnation of God in the man of Nazareth, and I believe further that in the eyes of God it is character only that counts. A man with a white face but a black heart is of the devil, a man with a dark face but a white soul is of God. It is because I believe this with all my heart that I am no more interested in the colour of a man's face than I am in the colour of his hair, or of the garment he wears, and as a Christian missionary I can see no other foundation for the social relations of Europeans and Indians.

(2) *The Ecclesiastical problem.*

The relation of Mission and Church which is fundamentally a question of the relation of European missionaries and Indian Christians will inevitably remain a problem with its particular difficulties so long as there is a foreign missionary enterprise with missionaries coming in considerable numbers, and money in considerable quantity from abroad. It is the very success of the missionary enterprise—the building up of a growing Church increasingly conscious of its unity and power, that has made the problem acute. Speaking some time ago to a body of young Englishmen accepted for the Indian Civil Service, Lord Meston remarked that the British Administration of India had passed through three stages in its history. In the first stage the British ruled India in the way they consider best for India's good and England's advantage. The British themselves were the judges. They acted as masters in their own house, and each individual ruled as a patriarch or tyrant according to his own temperament. In the second stage, the stage of the Morley-Minto reforms, the British resolved to bring a number of Indians into consultation with them, so that they might have the benefit of their advice in all matters of difficulty. They still remained masters, but they made a certain number of assistants junior members of the firm. In the third stage, the stage of the Montague-Chelmsford reforms, the British have come to recognise that they have to administer India not merely for India's benefit but according to Indian ideas. Indians have entered the path of gaining full control in their own house. Now it must be frankly recognised that Missions are far behind Government in handing over control to Indians. We are at present only in the second stage referred to by Lord Meston, and some Missions have hardly advanced as far as that. Apart from the question as to whether this will be for India's good or not, I think there is a fairly general expectation among English officials in this country, that before very few years are over nine-tenths of the present British officials will have left India for good, and no new recruits from England will be appointed in their place. Can we expect a corresponding turn of events in matters ecclesiastical? I am aware that some are looking in that direction. An English Bishop at the recent Poona Conference remarked: "The object we have in view is the abolition of missions or their absorption in the Church." I have heard prominent Indian Christians compose beautiful epitaphs for the foreign missionary. In his day he did a very good work, but his day is over. Indeed not a few young Indian Christians are thinking and saying that missionaries should give place to qualified Indians, and gracefully retire, while one Indian Christian addressing a body of Christian students in the West, is reported to have advised them not to come out as missionaries to India until the Indian Church was placed in full control of the foreign missionary enterprise. It is no use minimising the gravity of this problem, but I think we must not remain blind to the fact that there is a fundamental difference between the problem of a foreign Government and foreign missions. The British Government in India is supported wholly by Indian funds, the proceeds of Indian taxation, and the British principle of no taxation without representation may reasonably be regarded as leading logically to Indian self-government. Indians politically are only claiming the right to control their own money, which is their own life-blood. Besides, British officials with rare exceptions are in India not primarily because they think it to be the call of duty, but because an Indian career provides them a good opportunity of combining personal advantage and Imperial service and they look forward to retirement with quite a comfortable pension and perhaps a title. Foreign Missions and missionaries on the other hand are supported by foreign funds, voluntary contributions which in most cases represent a very real sacrifice on the part of the donors, whether rich or poor, inspired by deep religious motives. Foreign missionaries in India get nothing more than a reasonably comfortable living wage and not always that, and if they sometimes get a little official recognition, it is nothing more than a harmless Kaiser-i-Hind medal, which in their becoming modesty they are sometimes ashamed to accept. Besides they always come to India at what they believe to be the ordering of their Lord and impelled by a deep sense of India's religious need, a need so overwhelmingly great as to be beyond the resources in the way of men and money of Indian Christians, without generous help from their brethren in the West. Here are fundamental differences between the British official and the foreign missionary that we cannot ignore. Personally I have to admit that I have never felt there was much force in the argument that foreign money, given for the Lord's work, must be under foreign control. To me the supreme question is how such gifts can be spent in the most fruitful way for the extension of the Kingdom of God among men. There are no two opinions in regard to the question of the desirability of seeking to develop independence on the part of the Indian Church especially as this applies to the support of an indigenous pastorate. But the burden of the great unevangelised areas in India at the doors of the Churches and in the regions beyond cannot for many a long year to come be borne unaided by the Indian Church. In view of these great unevangelised areas without the light of the great Gospel of human emancipation and redemption preached by Jesus I cannot view without misgiving the proposal to abolish organised missions or absorb them in the Church. I would say that in all cases Missions should work in living association with the Church, but is their complete absorption necessary or desirable? Does not the organised Mission help to keep the missionary spirit alive in the Church? In the history of Christianity there have been and still are Churches without Missions. Carey would never have come out to India if he waited for the Church as such to send him. It was the organised Mission that made his coming possible, and it is the organised Mission acting in close association with the Church that has often roused a careless Church membership and ministry to a sense of their responsibility and privilege. While I ask you to accept with caution the view that Missions must be abolished, it would be dangerous to assume that things can go on just as they are. Foreign Missions cannot continue, without bringing stigma on the great cause, to be large employers of Indian Christian labour for Church and Mission purposes. There is an increasing sensitiveness in this matter that must be taken into account. The Church of Christ in Japan goes so far as to refuse representation in presbytery to congregations that accept foreign support. The tendency in India and China is for the Churches to ask for independence in government while continuing to receive subsidies, large or small, as the case may be, for pastoral or evangelistic purposes or both. The utmost Christian consideration and tact on both sides is needed, otherwise we may witness a sharp cleavage between the foreign and indigenous elements in Indian Christianity. Unless we can work in a spirit of cordial trust and good-fellowship with our Indian Christian brethren, it is clear that we shall begin to feel, as many British officials already feel in regard to themselves, that there is no room for us in India. Such an attitude would be interpreted as a failure of our common Christianity. I see the danger of placing large funds at the disposal of the Indian Church, and the injury it may cause in retarding our efforts to develop a self-supporting and self-governing Church in the Mission field. But a greater injury may be done, if we uncompromisingly insist that in all cases foreign money means foreign control, for there are certain limitations in every community to the control that money can be allowed to exercise. On the other hand if Christians in the West are to continue in large measure their contributions to India in the way of money and men, they will only do so in so far as there is a living point of contact and sympathy between themselves and the Indian churches. If you abolish Missions and missionaries, there will certainly be a big drop in the contribution of the home Churches, through the lack of that living link of human interest and sympathetic contact now uniting Western and

Indian Christianity. Indian Christians in their own interests will not fail to note the importance of this and the equal importance of the wise use of funds entrusted to them. I am not blind to the difficulties, but on the whole I subscribe to what I wrote on this subject a few years ago. "There can be no solution of the missionary problem in a land like India until the foreign missionary societies in a spirit of true Christian humility and brotherhood recognise the privilege and duty of working through the Church in India for India's evangelisation and placing all their resources, in the way of men and money, at the disposal of a Church of Christ in India freed from all taint of colour and racial prejudice."

(3) In regard to the *political problem* I do not care to say more than a few words, as I am not a politician, except in so far as political issues may have a moral and religious bearing. One hears many voices these days uniting in their expression of indignation at what is known as the policy of repression adopted by the Government. As a Christian I subscribe to the words of the warning appeal made by the National Missionary Council in November 1920 "against the inclination to trust to force as the means of procuring obedience and maintaining authority. The truth is that society cannot be saved by force apart from that reasonableness and equity in government and administration which win the hearts of the people." In regard to the evil-doer, I believe the most effective resistance is in many cases not to resist but to fight hate with love. But there are times when resistance becomes a form of love and a duty for the sake of the wrongdoer, for whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth. "Resistance," to quote some words used by Dr. Maclaren, "may also become a duty for the sake of others, who are also objects of love, such as helpless persons who otherwise would be exposed to evil, or society as a whole." It must be remembered too that there are dangerous elements in every social organisation including India, elements, to quote in reference to others

the words of the great Puritan Poet and prophet John Milton—

> " That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
> And still revolt when truth would set them free.
> License they mean when they cry Liberty;
> For who loves that must first be wise and good;
> But from that mark how far they rove we see
> For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood."

It is a Christian principle that we are to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and certainly one of the demands of Cæsar is obedience to the law and the breaking of the law is followed by just penalties. I speak from considerable personal observation when I say that but a few weeks ago Calcutta had practically passed under the control of those who declared that their one object was to openly defy the Government and bring its authority to an end. On all sides there was a demand for strong measures by Government which was rapidly becoming an object of sheer pity and contempt. European and moderate Indian opinion seemed to me quite united as to the need of strong action. Some of my Indian friends were paticularly loud in their praise of the document issued on the subject by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. Now with one consent they are forward in strongly condemning Government for paying any attention to such appeals, and they are demanding through votes in Legislative Councils and other ways that Government forthwith abandon its new policy. The abandonment of a strong policy at the present time would mean in my deliberate judgment the abandonment of helpless minorities in a city like Calcutta and many other places to the tender mercies of men who mean license when they cry liberty and would pave the way for the perpetuation of the shameless outrages of Bombay and the nameless atrocities of Malabar. Many Indians are demanding Swaraj from to-morrow. Not as an Englishman but as a member of a conquered and subject people, the Welsh, I advise caution. The Englishman after all has his strong points from which all of us may learn. Dr. Temple, before he became Bishop and then Archbishop, was Headmaster of Rugby, and his administration of that famous school was noted for its stern justice. One of the boys in bitter complaint remarked of his headmaster as boys sometimes will "Temple is a beast," but then relenting a little he continued "But I admit he is a *just* beast." The English administrator has many faults, and sometimes he may quite deserve to be called a beast; but withal he is usually a beast with a strong sense of justice and great administrative ability. Some years ago I heard a prominent American express the view in a public lecture in America, that his country had suffered a permanent loss through the too sudden severance of England from the American Colonies at the great Revolution. The fact that the administrative ability of British officials had not been available after the Revolution, had proved in his judgment a real loss to American national life. I think Indians would do well to ponder over this aspect of the situation. The Englishman can yet render real service to India in helping her in a spirit of true brotherhood to take her place as an equal in the great commonwealth of nations now opening up before our vision, a commonwealth of nations loyally co-operating to the benefit of all, and for the progress of the race.

GEORGE HOWELLS

ACWORTH COMMITTEE'S REPORT

The motives, which usually lead Government to extend the sphere of their business activity, have been three :—

1. To increase their own political influence.
2. To make up for the lack of private enterprise.
3. To avoid the abuses incidental to private management.

The desire to extend political influence has usually been the chief motive. It is the desire for centralized power that underlay Bismarck's railroad schemes.

The wish to make up for the lack of private enterprise has often been a motive which induces a government to take up an industry in its *early stages*. It is, perhaps, still more noticeably the case with railroads which are felt to be necessary to national development.

What men feel at present is a set of abuses involved in the system of private management; and those who desire government management do so, in the hope that it will be a means to check those abuses.

Take for instance, the case of "railway rates." There is no inherent reason why the rates of government railways should be differently arranged from those of private railroads. It is rather the case that where a "mixed system" of competing State and Private lines, as in India really flourishes, the two rates are managed more or less upon the same principles. As far as their relations to the shippers are concerned, they are run to make money, not with a view to any general considerations of public policy. The tax-payers cannot allow a government to lose money or make small profits on its lines where a competing private road is making larger profits. If the latter is run to make as much money as possible, the former must also necessarily follow its example, and—perhaps in a somewhat disguised form—charges what the traffic will bear. This constitutes at once the advantage and the disadvantage of the mixed system. It ensures that the state roads will be managed on business principles. But it does not leave the government free to manage them with a view to broader principles of public policy, right or wrong. Again, if the government goes to manage on the broader principles of public policy and imposes its own rate on the company-managed ones, as is very often done here in view of the government interests in the company lines, the result is a loss to the company to be met by the government in the shape of guaranteed dividends. The loss occurs to the company because of the establishment the company maintains to keep its own position of interest intact. At any rate, the mixed system is probably the great reason why the government finds the competition of private roads intolerable. It does not interfere with their profits ; it interferes with the freedom of government action.

When the State has its hands free, it has choice of several aims, instead of being restricted to the mere attempt to make good business profits. A government enterprise may be managed on any one of four principles :— (1) for taxation ; (2) for business profits ; (3) to pay expenses ; (4) for public service without much regard to the question of expense.

Under the first principle, a government enterprise charges more than would be charged by private enterprise. We have examples quite numerous here, in the form of government monopolies of salt, liquor ? etc., taken up, not on account of any business needs, but as a convenient means of taxing the people freely.

Under the second principle, a government undertaking is managed on the same system as any private enterprise—to make all the money it can. This is regularly the case in those branches of industry where government comes into competition with private concerns. If there is no such competition, but a government monopoly, this second principle cannot, in the nature of things, be applied. When a government monopoly undertakes to make all the money it can, what it gets is not business profits but a tax.

The third principle is the system of fees, or rates based upon cost of service. On the whole, it is the general principle upon which the industrial enterprises of government are run. The aim may be to cover expenses either with or without counting interest. The interest is not usually included in considering the cost of Post Office; the item is so small that it is possible to neglect it, as postal services aim at doing something more than cover operating expenses. In enterprises involving a larger capital expenditure, they aim at covering interest also. This is the case in government Telegraph and Railway service, and in a variety of other cases.

The great mass of Government activity is not industrial and does not seek to pay expenses. It is organized for public service without regard to strictly business considerations. Under this head come the administration of Justice and Police service, with the activity of the government in matters of Education and Health. They cannot pay for themselves, and have to be paid for by taxation.

It is obvious that neither the first nor the last of these principles is a fit guide for state railway management. It is not possible to make it either a means of taxation nor a means of gratuitous service. The former would constitute a tax on commerce as such—a thing to be avoided; the latter would constitute a tax on the community for the sake of commerce—a thing also to be avoided, if possible.

The choice then lies between the second and third of these principles. It is a question of profits *vs.* fees. And the two different answers to this question mark two different phases of the state railway system. The first answer—management for profit—is given in general, whenever there is competition on tolerably equal terms between state and private railways. When roads are managed on this principle, we usually have the same system of rates which we find on private roads: a system of classification, differential rates and special contracts. In other words, there is no serious pretence of basing differences in charge upon differences in cost of service. Under the system of fees, on the other hand, this is made the fundamental principle. The very first schedules of rates are constructed with this idea in view. It is adopted on two quite distinct grounds, one theoretical, the other practical. As a matter of theory, it is thought that rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service, or rather to put it more correctly, that differences in rates ought to be based on differences in cost of service. As a matter of practice it is thought that it will result in benefit both to the railways and to the public. We thus have to consider two distinct questions at the same time:

(1) How far the theory is actually carried out; and,

(2) Whether the results are beneficial or otherwise.

First, then, are differences in rates actually based upon differences in cost of service?

As regards classification, differences in charge on different kinds of freight—the theory is never completely carried out. A system of rates by which each article pays its share of the fixed charges would virtually prohibit the movement of an article (say coal), for which an exception, by special provision, is sometimes extended to other cheap and necessary articles. Yet the moment you make an exception and abandon this principle, you abandon the system of basing rates upon cost of service.

As regards local discriminations, they carry out the principle systematically. Yet even here, where the results are attempted to be most complete, they overdo the matter in such a way as to prevent the theory from being strictly followed. The theory is this: Each consignment ought to pay a fixed charge, independent of distance, to cover terminal expenses, plus a rate per mile to pay for movement expenses.

But as this theory is carried out, it injures both the very short-distance traffic and the very long-distance traffic. For the long-distance traffic the mileage rate mounts up so high as to prevent the sale of goods in distant markets. For the short-distance traffic the terminal charge amounts to so much as to make men and goods either go by horse-power or not go at all. It prevents the development of a vast, and in some respects easily-handled, traffic.

The authorities are feeling the force of these last points, and in order not to check local business, they make their terminal charges very low—lower than the theory demands legitimately. But, according to the principle of tolls, if they make one element of the charge too low, they have to make up elsewhere. This constitutes a distinction between rates based upon cost of service and rates based upon what the traffic will bear. In the latter case, they cannot and do not try to make up for any such losses. So that this principle leads to a still further increase of the mileage rates and matters all the worse for the long-distance traffic.

Some railways have felt this difficulty and adopted the sliding scale of charges. This is probably good policy, but it is an abandonment of the principle on which they pretend to act. It makes the middle-distance traffic pay relatively more profit than the long or short distance traffic. In other words, they base rates on what the traffic will bear, and then adopt an elaborate system of pulling wool over their own railways, in order that the schedules may look as though they are based upon cost of service.

There is never a more mistaken idea than the idea that rates would be reduced if they were based upon cost of service. The principle keeps rates up. If it is strictly applied, it makes it necessary that each item of business should pay its share of the fixed charges. A great deal of business which would pay much less than its share of the fixed charges (though still giving a slight profit above train and station expenses) would thus be lost. This is bad for the railways, bad for the shippers, and bad for the prospect of low average rates. It makes the business of the roads so much smaller that the share of fixed charges which each piece of business has to pay (under this system) becomes higher, while the profit does not increase and the inducement to new construction is lessened. These things are not mere theory, but are matters of historical policy. And if a road with its hands free could just make a profit, a road forced to base rates upon cost of service, and thus could check the development of certain lines of trade, could not do so. It would thus have to go unbuilt, or else receive a subsidy—a dangerous policy. The attempt to base rates upon cost of service therefore goes hand in hand with the policy of subsidies. The money ultimately comes, or is supposed to come out of the pockets of local tax-payers. Nobody else is enough interested to have the railway built. If they are charged what the traffic will bear, they pay it to the railroad direct. If they furnish a subsidy, they pay it through the public treasury. Neither way is very satisfactory.

The state roads undoubtedly manage to use a large percentage of car space.. It is by no means clear that they secure the same economy in time. They load cars quite fully, but they seem to keep them idle a long time to do it. Regarding new construction of roads, it may be noted that the state is of necessity slow in appreciating the business importance (as distinct from the political importance) of new lines, and thus makes financial mistakes. It is further very rare that the state does not have to pay more for a given piece of work than would be paid by a well-managed private company.

This brings us to the political dangers of the state railroad system. The arguments advanced by the advocates of government management start from the idea that government means of transportation will be managed, not with a view to high profits, but for the good of the community. They will thus, it is said, offer low rates based upon cost of service, and equal facilities without discrimination. The evils of speculation will be avoided. There will be no waste of capital no construction of two lines where but one is needed. Capital will be put where it will go farther towards the development of the country. Finally, we shall no longer be at the mercy of capitalists who manipulate and tax us for their own interests. It is further urged that the Post Office shows how government secures to all men low rates, equal facilities and security against extortion, and it is claimed that the same result might be secured with a government railroad.

On the other hand, it may be safely noted that it is a mistake to expect lower rates or better facilities from government than from private companies. The actual results are just the reverse. The state is more apt to tax industry than to foster it, and when it attempts to tax industry, it is even less responsible than a private company. State management is further more costly than private management and a great deal of capital is thus wasted. Political considerations are lastly brought into a system of state management in a way which is disastrous to legitimate business and demoralizing to politics.

There exists, however, a strong popular feeling in favour of government management for mainly two reasons :—(1) Discontent arising from not giving suitable Indians chances of higher appointments in the company-managed rails. and (2) prevention from establishing industries in India to supply railway materials by the company-managed railways. While the first aims at the Indianisation of services, the second means commercialisation in favour of India. People think that through the newly-constituted Indian Parliament the members will be able to force the hands of the government in removing their grievances, should the company-managed railways be solely run by the government. The idea of Indianisation of the services and cheapening the cost of running the railway is healthy; but the idea of the people in matters of the Indianisation, is very vague. It may be summed up thus—"Indianise the services but don't cut down the remuneration." This is bad and cannot be tenable; as it would not help the government financially. Further, there might be a risk of vetoing a resolution tending to sacrifice the efficiency of administration for the sake of Indianisation and the result is "popular feeling" perhaps against the government, irrespective of the merits and demerits of the question. Would this be fair in a democracy?

Then, again, as to the establishment of industries in India for the supply of railway materials, it is very strange to conceive that the same would not be possible if the railways were managed by companies. The companies accept certain foreign tenders, because there is no suitable agency here. The company accepts locally manufactured edible oils. They would never refuse other necessaries if locally manufactured in a suitable manner. On the contrary it is generally observed that the state railways take a more prominent lead in the matter of accepting foreign tenders, not with a view to cheapness, but for certain political considerations generally unknown to the public. They know, however, how to give a bluff to public and to show that for cheapness they have accepted a certain foreign tender. Certain state railways conceived the idea of purchasing Welsh coal and did it on considerations not easily fathomable. The company-managed lines tried to maintain their independence in the matter though curbed by circulars of the government to remind one of the famous story in Æsop's Fables, *viz.*, that a tailless jackal (tailless,—because his tail was cut off by an individual householder whom it disturbed most) asking all his brother jackals to cut off their tails. The actions of the Government are sometimes political, but they are highly ludicrous.

I would now refer to the Acworth Committee—another ludicrous form of political manœvring. When the government wants to do a thing, it adopts policies very hard to reconcile with what follows as their outcome. Take for instance, the constitution of the Committee—(1) in strength of numbers, (2) in qualifications. So far as the strength of numbers is concerned, it follows the most quixotic principles—3 Indians against 7 Britishers. Of the 3 Indians, only one may be said to know railway business, and is competent to express some opinion about railway matters. Of the remaining 2, one is an out and out politician and the other is a commercial man with more tinge of politics in him than that of commerce. Consequently, the views of the latter two Indians are subject to colorations, having very little of individual opinions in railway matters. Of the seven Britishers, the selection of the Agent, Bengal Nagpur Railway Company, as a member is most unhappy, since one could easily foresee his leanings. Again it is more than one can understand the object of selecting a banker. Is it to determine the financial aspect of the question of railway management? I do not know whether Barclays Bank, Ltd., has got any business connection with the Secretary of State on railway account. If any such relation exists, no selection could be more ill-judged and ominous in determining railway issues of momentous importance. An interested person is hardly likely to give independent opinions and to go against the wishes of his master.

Then as to the terms of reference, the undercurrent has been to extend the sphere of the government control over railways and to create and make room for some unemployed gentlemen in the widened sphere of the Railway Board. The government feels that the constitution of the present Railway Board in insufficient to control railway administrations efficiently and wants that there should be a Railway Board, whether the railways are managed by the state or by the companies. If the government so earnestly wishes to maintain the Railway Board, the management should gradually devolve upon the companies, for with the attainment of financial autonomy, it will be costly to maintain and almost useless to watch over the proceedings of state railway management. The Railway Board consistently dissolves itself into provincial Boards; and for any special definite pursuit of a policy a suitable Central Advisory Board with less monthly,—almost negligible,—establishments may be created. The present Railway Board is heavy, the one suggested by the Acworth Committee is far more heavy. Under present conditions, and I should like to add in all conditions, it is not expedient to make a "watch and cure" staff so unnecessarily top-heavy.

It is much to be regretted that all the members have been unanimous in the modified constitution of the Railway Board, though some of them have agreed to differ on the question of management. The constitution of the proposed Railway Board is urged upon the principle of efficient control. But the members have lost sight of the important fact that in trying to control effectively the management may lose its innate virtue of earning for the Railways, and popularising the same to the Indian public.

It is proposed to appoint a Member for Communications who is to "allow himself sufficient freedom from the routine of his office." This means that his action will be more confined to hearing the local public than to check the indiscreet actions of his subordinates. He will be a mere puppet in the hands of his subordinates and be a great and good signing machine on papers only. He may have his individual opinions, but they will be subject to the capricious cliques of his subordinates, which are sure to develop most detrimentally to the interests of the public, as he is to be allowed "sufficient freedom from the routine of his office." This freedom is dangerous both to himself as an administrator and to the public interested in railway matters.

It is not further clear whether the proposed Railway Commission will have any legislative power; and it is hardly perceived that Indian Parliament will delegate such powers to it. If the traders want a decisive judgment they have to go to the Railway and Ports Commissioners and fight it out with a costly array of solicitors and counsel, as if it were a suit in the High Court. Anything more foreign to ordinary commercial ideas and practices can hardly be imagined. Such a court may be used by traders more as a bogey for the railway rate-makers than as a means of redress of bonafide grievances.

We find that there will be four Commissioners, of whom one is to be the Commissioner for finance, but there is to be no Commissioner for Northern Division. I do not know who will truly represent that Division. In the foot-note I find that the Commissioner, Western Division will represent Northern Division, but it is strange that with the development of Northern India, a Railway Division has not been found palatable by the Members of the Committee to specially represent Northern India. There are political divisions of the country, and the Railway division could have been more usefully done on that basis. That would have saved much time and useless discussion of *bona-fide* grievances from those divisions. People would have been able to meet the Commissioners personally or through their agents more cheaply and easily. Just as there is severe anomaly in the creation of the Western Division by including portions which are geographically and politically situated in the North, so also there is a gross injustice done to the other divisions of the proposed Commission. It is very hard to get at the principle of such division-markings; but what appears from the surface is that the divisions are thought out on the basis of the terminal stations of a Railway and the leanings thereto. But it would have been happier if the same were thought out on the basis of a railway starting from a place with its exact geographical situation. For instance, the North Western Railway starts from the northern portion of India and goes to the west.

The three Divisional Commissioners will have three policies for three divisions. Of these three policies, it is but natural to suppose that one might clash with the other, if the true interests of the division are looked after. It is not also desirable that such a clash should take place in the interests of trade in any particular division. The Chief Commissioner may dictate a general policy which might amount to suppressing the individual initiative of any Divisional Commissioner in the interests of his division. The dictation of a general policy in such matters has always the tendency to choke up the activities of a Divisional Commissioner. It may be desirable, but it may be dangerous. Besides, there is no road to fight against such a general policy. The policy once dictated will be strenuously and loyally followed by the Divisional Commissioners. Again, the Divisional Commissioners may turn despotic in the sense that their decisions will not be subject to the scrutiny of the Chief Commissioner. If any local trader has any specific grievance against the decision of a Divisional Commissioner and sends the same to the Chief Commissioner for action, the general procedure is that he will send to the Commissioner concerned the complaint in particular for necessary action. Whether any action is taken or not, the Chief may forget that the Divisional Commissioner is likely to hush up the matter anyhow. Even if he takes action, it cannot be favourable to the complainant as the latter would be most reluctant to acknowledge his mistakes. If, however, the party approaches the Chief with a host of solicitors and lawyers to have his grievance heard against any Divisional Commissioner, the former is more apt to support his subordinates than to hear the case impartially. At any rate, there would be time lost to have a decision of any matter. Thus, the public would be subject to endless cost and harassment.

There is the useless post of the Commissioner for Finance. The framing of the budget, the regulation of finance, the preparation of statistics can all be done by a subordinate clerk and passed by the Chief Commissioner. It is really preposterous to suppose that there should be a Commissioner of Finance having the same status with the Divisional Commissioners and having powers to control them in their ways and means. Besides, the Finance Commissioner will be in direct touch with the Finance Department, and therefore the genuine necessities of the Railway Department will suffer at the hands of the Commissioner. It is not desirable to have a Commissioner with no independent voice in Railway Finance. The Finance Commissioner will have no independent voice, because he is to be subordinate to the Finance Department, since he is to receive the sanction of that Department before he can spend a single pice. However technical the Finance Commissioner may be, the Finance Department will always try to guard its rights and responsibilities most zealously. Further, if the Finance Department shapes the Railway policy, there is no use of a Finance Commissioner.

It is not again clear whether the Commissioners of Divisions should be technical men. If they are not, they will be tools in the hands of the Directors. These Commissioners, therefore, will not be able to give independent decisions ; the result will be disastrous.

The Directors and all the men above shall be subject to the whims of the General Secretary. The general procedure in a government office is that all letters are opened first by the Registrar, who sends the same to the addressee, who thereupon sends the same to the Registrar for a note. This note is generally prepared by a subordinate assistant ; it then goes to the head assistant, who sends it to the registrar, who forwards it to the Under-Secretary with his opinion. It is then circulated amongst the under-secretaries of all departments. Afterwards it reaches the secretary, who circulates it amongst his brother secretary-colleagues, before the whole thing goes to the Hon'ble Member. This is the procedure with slight modifications in all offices of government. Under the proposed Railway Commission, a letter of the public would go through many persons and many channels to the Chief Commissioner, should the same appear "important" in the code of the proposed Board. It is very difficult to determine the importance of any letter, in the official procedure. At any rate, if the letter is subjected to so many currents and cross-currents, there will be a great chance either of the letter being left unanswered or its decision delayed indefinitely. So that in fact the grievances of the public will remain where they are now.

It is further generally found that technical men in government service are not the best men; but because they have the huge political support of the government, these men are considered as the best. What would happen exactly, when the different technical Directors were appointed, was that the standard of recruitments in the private management would be made low on political considerations. Appointments under government are generally made on political grounds, consequently the best men are not appointed. With the uncertain standard of government technical men for many politico-economic considerations, the condition of the people would be most unsatisfactory. There would be hardly any spirit for improvements. Further there would be too much play of conservatism and anything new in their eyes would be attempted to be thrown out. To take as an illustration from the action of the present Railway Board, I am reminded of the unfair rejection of the proposal for the construction of railway wagons by private companies. One can easily see therefore that conservatism and low standard of ability would alienate the minds of the true Indians from the government control over railway management.

It is again absurd that the Financial Commissioner should arrange the services of the Directors of various sections and the office staff to be available to the Commissioners. Thus the immediate superior of the Directors and the office staff becomes the Financial Commissioner. He would therefore have to look into a good deal of administration besides his financial responsibilities. So that there would be every likelihood of many undesirable things cropping up either in the shape of personal gains to the Financial Commissioner or in the shape of favouritism. It is much to be regretted that he should be made an executive authority over a large band of officers and clerks.

It has been very unfortunately argued by persons favouring state management that because the guaranteed companies do not possess the essential qualities of management, therefore they should be managed by the state, since in almost every affair the state controls and restrains. It is this feature of control which hampered the earnings of the guaranteed railway companies. Whenever, in the history of Railways, there has been a little freedom, the railways have earned a good dividend. The position of the guaranteed railway companies is made most ridiculous by the government in the eye of the public. The government would interfere with any action of the company, but the public would not be allowed to know the same. The latter would be under the impression that it was all done by the company; and, therefore, they begin to doubt the sincerity of the company's statements.

It is again to be deplored that when attempts were made sometime back to raise railway capital in England for Indian railways, the government did not permit this for reasons best known to themselves. The government is working with a deficit, and if the portion of Indian Railway investments is relieved either wholly or partially by the raising of foreign capital on Indian Railway account, nothing would be more consoling and desirable. It is preposterous to lay down that there shall be no chance of raising the railway capital at Home, if the management is transferred to Indian companies. To be frank, government does not want to put it clearly that they do not like to lose the interests of Railway investments, otherwise they would never have stopped the plan of some respectable Indian companies (Indian—in the sense that they are located in India), to raise railway capital. Besides, the government feels that if an Indian company raises capital, the value of government loan papers would dwindle down. For this fear, the government is always anxious to bluff the Indian public. It may not be possible to raise railway capital in India, but it is puite possible to have the money from the London market. But the government sees the difficulties of its own and tries to check the growth of the idea of raising foreign capital. Indians are carried away by the sentiments of patriotism; they do not see the inward workings of the government; and therefore they suggest the raising of capital in India and state management,—meaning thereby investments of tax-payers' money also. The Indians believe that they would thereby have an effective control over railways; but that there is deep politics behind, they forget and ignore, being blinded by the sense of excessive patriotism.

The proposal, that the East Indian Railway Company will be wound up on the termination of its contract, is most unfair and misleading. The East Indian Railway contract was terminated in 1879. The purchase price of the Company's shares was ascertained to be £32,750,000, and this sum was payable in annual terminable annuities of £1,473,750 till February, 1953. As an annuitant, therefore, the present East Indian Railway Company has an interest in the property of the Railway system, besides their function as the managing agent. Now the $\frac{1}{5}$th shareholders agreed to postpone their annuity and in place of it accept a new Contract on 4 per cent. guaranteed interest on their capital plus a certain share of surplus profits, varying from $\frac{1}{5}$ and $\frac{1}{15}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$. With the termination of the managing agency of $\frac{1}{5}$th shareholders, the interest of $\frac{4}{5}$th shareholders does not cease till 1953, Consequently, the binding of the $\frac{1}{5}$th shareholder with the $\frac{4}{5}$th shareholders cannot be easily sundered by government interference. Naturally, therefore, with the close of the present agreement, the government should not take such a step as to irritate the $\frac{4}{5}$th shareholders and bring financial bankruptcy to meet their legitimate demands. It is in the close binding of the $\frac{1}{5}$th with the $\frac{4}{5}$th shareholders that the deferred annuitant cannot be reduced to an ordinary annuitant.

It has been argued in this connection that there exists no company in which 80 per cent. of the shareholders delegate their rights to the remaining 20 per cent. If the $\frac{1}{5}$th shareholders could be appointed as Managing Agent by the Government with the farthest view of meeting the annuities, to a partial extent, of the th shareholders, within the period of their managing agency, and if the th shareholders could trust them and could raise no objections, there was no reason why the Government should not delegate any substantial responsibility to the 20% Indian shareholders. Cannot one perceive the political significance of this financial issue?

S. P. MUKHERJEE

TO THE ASOKA-TREE[1]

(*From the sonnet of Devendranath Sen.*)

What ruddy feet didst thou kiss, O Aśoka, thrilled in thy inmost being, thy green turning into one dazzling red?

Nature's darling! On what full-moon night of the Swing-festival, in what fresh-green grove of eternal Beauty and eternal Youth, didst thou joyously powder thyself with the crimson-dust of Love?

What happy wife, at the fulfilment of her vow of life-long wife-hood, made thee a present of that spring-mantle vermeil-dyed?

At what wedding, in the assembly of glad damsels, didst thou gather those armfuls of blossoming blushes?

Vain to guess! Alas, in this world, none has pre-natal recollection, neither man, nor beast, nor tree;

Heart-puzzled in the conflict of lights and shadows, the tree has forgotten its own story of joy!

Just as the baby smiles unwittingly in the dim light of infancy, so is thy smile, O Aśoka, thy red red mirth.

MOHITLAL MAZUMDAR

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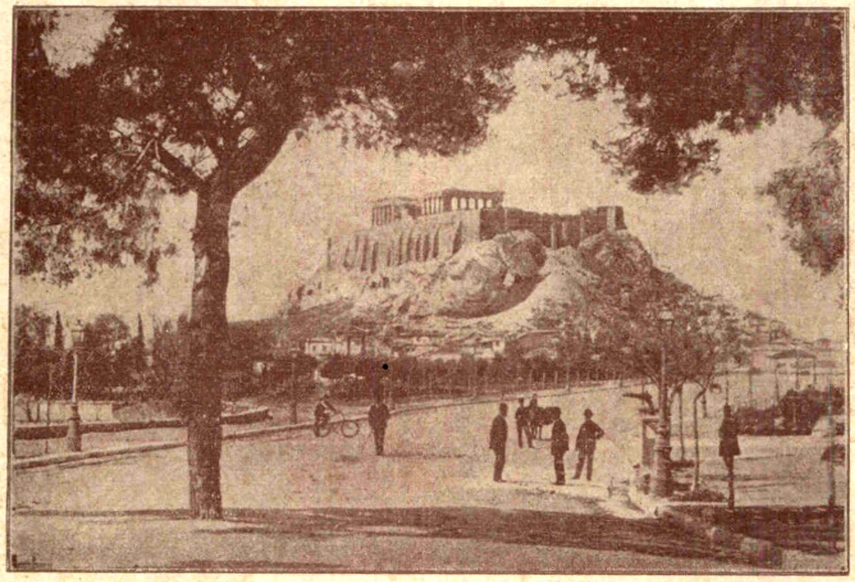
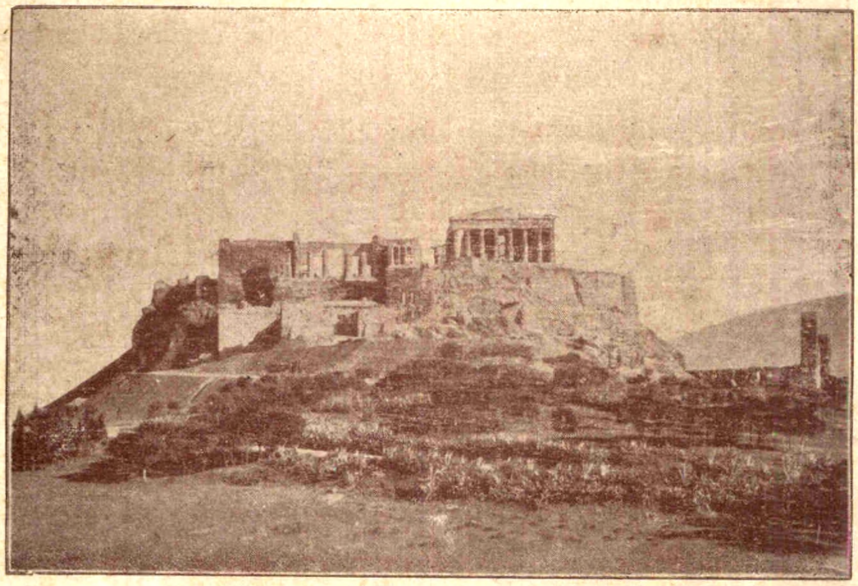
[1] An Indian tree (Jonesia Asoka Roxb.) of moderate size, belonging to leguminous class with magnificent red flowers.

ATHENS II

(*Old Athens*)



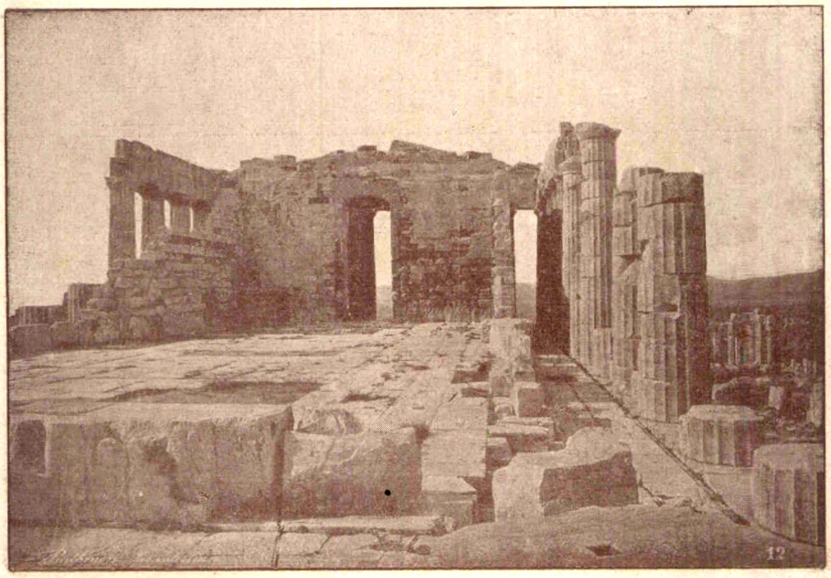
View of the Acropolis.



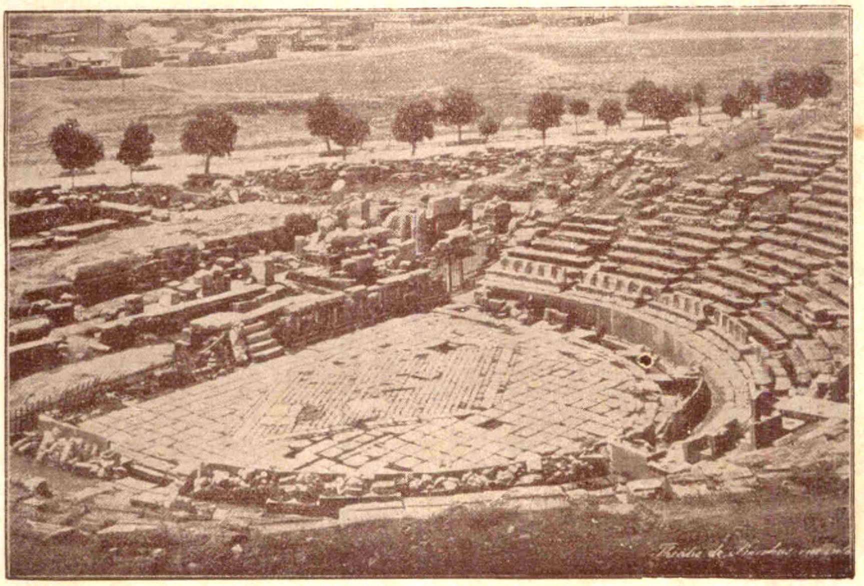
View of the Acropolis.

Erechtheion and Caryatides.

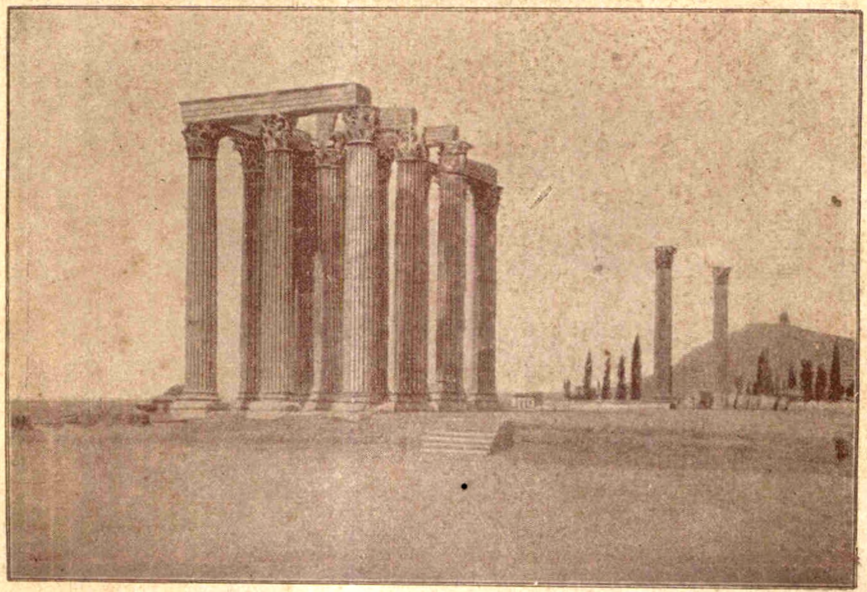
Temple of Wingless Victory.
(Nike Apteros.)



The Parthenon.



Theatre of Dionysios.



Olympeion.
(Temple of Zeus.)

Theseion.

NATURE[1]

Nature!—We are by her all round enmeshed,
And hemmed in, and surrounded. Quite beyond
Our mortal power it is to take a step
Away from her; and equally beyond
Our mortal ken her secret springs of work;—
Her veil we neither hope to lift nor pierce.
Unasked and unawares she whirls us up
Into the magic vortex of her Dance,
Forcing us back and forth to tread her maze;
Until exhausted, giddy, worn out quite,
From underneath her arm we slip away.

* * * *

Ever doth she create fresh forms: what now
Exists, ne'er was before; nor what was once,
Shall e'er come back again. All she creates
Is ever fresh, and yet naught but the old.

* * * *

We live in her, we move in her, yet still
She, like a stranger shy, eludes our gaze.
She speaketh unto us unceasingly
And still her secret rests unguessed by us;
Constantly though we strive to plumb her depths,
She still hath kept herself beyond our grasp.

* * * *

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[1] This is a paraphrase of an exquisite string of aphorisms by Goethe, the greatest poet of Germany. These were written about A.D. 1780. They have already been rendered into English by the great naturalist Huxley and I have occasienally borrowed a word phrase from him.

The highest goal of all her effort seems
Creation of the Individual.
Yet once created, not a thought she wastes
Upon him—so it seems to mortal minds.
She builds up and destroys—unceasing round;
None may discover where her workshop stands.

* * * *

Her life is with her children,—aye, *in* them :
But she—the Mighty Mother—where is she?
The One Great Artist she : from simplest stuff
Fashions she deadly contrasts. Effortless,
The most precise precision can she reach,
The most exact perfection she attains.
And yet her works are subtly covered o'er
With softness all her own. Each work of hers
Hath charm peculiar, and a message too,
Belonging to itself and shared by none;
And all are parts of ONE GREAT PLAN—One Whole.

* * * *

She is an actress, acting out the Play.
We know not if herself she is aware
That she is acting; still for us she acts
And from our corners silently we gaze.

* * * *

In her are founts of Life and Energy
And Motion everlasting; yet she seems,
Without progressive motion, standing still.
Eternally she's changing, for she knows
No moment's rest. Of utter standing still

She hath no concept: she hath laid her curse
Upon stagnation. Firm is she. Her steps
Tread out a stately measure, never once
Turning aside from the appointed track:
Her laws are changeless through Eternity.

* * * *

Deep-brooding hath she been and always is;
Her thoughts are not like thoughts of human minds,
But—Nature's own. Within herself she broods
Upon a single thought all-compassing;
No mortal man may hope to contemplate
Its vastness, nor its secret wrest from her.

* * * *

All men are in her, she in all men dwells:
With them she plays a friendly game of chance;
And in her heart rejoiceth when a man
Wins, one by one, the treasures from her store.
With most the game ends in her victory,
They scarce suspect they lose it—and themselves.

* * * *

There's nothing outside Nature. E'en the thing
We name Unnatural is but a phase
Of her activity. The rankest quackery
Must on her Truth and Law perforce take stand.
Who sees her not in every speck of dust
And everywhere around, lacks eyes to see.

* * * *

Her lov'd one is herself: with thousand eyes
And thousand hearts eternally she clings.

Unto herself. Herself doth she divide
In images unending of herself,
And multiplies her joy unceasing lucky.
She bids new forms arise—an endless chain
Filled with a thirst for joy, which never knows
Satiety; with these she shares *her* Joy.

* * * *

She finds illusion greatest of her joys.
Woe to the man, who seeketh to remove
The softening veil, that hides her blazing eyes
From eyes of flesh. For such her punishment
Is swift and terrible and merciless.
But whoso follows her with humble faith
Unquestioning, she takes him, like a child,
Into her Mother Heart—and gives him Peace.

* * * *

The number of her children none could tell
But niggardly of blessings unto none
Is she, nor can be. Favoured ones there are,—
Her very own,—on whom she squanders much
To whom she always offers sacrifice
Of all her best. Of greatness she makes use
And fashions from it her protecting shield.

* * * *

Out of the "empty space" she tumbles forth
Her creatures myriad-formed. Nor doth she tell,
Whence are they come, nor whither are they bound.
Their's but to follow, hers it is to lead—
She knows full well their God-appointed Path.

* * * *

Not over-complex her machinery;
Few are the springs that lend it driving force
But these rust never, neither do they wear
Working their utmost in a million ways.

* * * *

The play of Nature's ever new and fresh,
Because by her unceasingly renewed
Are spectators and actors of the piece.
Her best invention, fairest too, is—LIFE:
Her most expert contrivance to unlock
The floodgates of all Life, we know as—DEATH.

* * * *

In misty darkness hath she wrapt mankind,
But spurs them onwards ever unto Light,
She makes us earthy, creatures of the earth,
Heavy and dull,—but shocks and shakes us oft
To make our Spirits upward, homeward, soar.

* * * *

She loveth motion and activity;
Hence she creates, as spurs to urge us on
Needs and desires. Effortless she threads
The complex mazes of her wondrous dance.
Each Need, as it ariseth, comes from her,—
A blessing,—swift fulfilled, as swift renewed.
And new Desires rise, ere old ones pass,
Each one a source of joy to lead us on,
Upwards and on, till equipoise is reached.

* * * *

Each moment sets she forth a path to trace,
Which longest seems;—and yet she can attain,
Each instant, her desired goal.

* * * *

Herself
She is but Vanity and Nothingness;
But not to us; for she hath made herself
A thing of vast importance to mankind,
Their light in darkness, indispensable.

* * * *

She lets each child unhindered mould itself,
Each fool to sit in judgment on himself.
Thousands of creatures tread each other down,
Listless and dull;—they see not where they go.
But she from their blind gropings gathers joy
From every creature she exacts her debts.

* * * *

Her laws man must obey, e'en though he wish
To stand against her. *With* her must he work
E'en though his heart desire to work *against.*

* * * *

All that she gives her children she doth make
For their good,—indispensable her gifts.
She dallies and delays and makes us yearn
For her; but hastes away, lest sated man
Despise her and regard her gifts as naught.

* * * *

No language nor discourse she needs to use,
For she creates a million tongues and hearts,
Through which she feels and eloquently speaks.

* * * *

Love is her crowning glory. 'Tis the path
By which alone we nearest may approach
Her heart. She fixes vast deep-yawning gulfs
'Twixt creatures different: each finds its food
In others, feeding others on itself.
Thus hath she isolated group from group
That they may work together in the end.
With her for all the worries of a life
A draught of Love is recompense enough.

* * * *

She is all that we see. She's always just,
Herself she punishes, herself rewards:
Her joy she is herself, herself her pain.
Tender and rough at once; filled with deep love
And filled with malice terrible is she:
Weakest of weak and yet almighty she.

* * * *

In her is everything contained, that is,
Or was, or shall be. She can understand
Nor Past nor Future; Time is unto her
But One Eternal Now. Gracious is she;
I praise her and her modes. Silent and wise
She is. No loving cajoery can force,
Nor threats succeed in wresting, from her heart
Her deep laid secrets, which she freely gives

Whene'er and unto whomsoe'er she list.
Crafty she is, but worketh for good ends
And not to make her tribes for us were best.
Whole and complete she is, yet incomplete
She shall remain until the end of time.
As she is working now, she shall work on
Through all eternity.

* * * *

Each creature looks
At her in its own way. She hides herself
In thousand shapes and names, and yet herself
Remains to all, eternally the same.

* * * *

She brought me here; and she shall lead me on
Higher. I trust her. Let her work her will
And bless or curse me. She can never hate
Her own creation. 'Tis not I who spoke
Of her—not I. What true is, what is false,
All this long since hath she herself proclaimed.
The wrong is hers, if any wrong there be
The merit of it all is hers alone.

POST-GRADUATE

THE LEGEND OF YIMA

(*Reply to Dr. Taraporewala's Rejoinder, published in the Calcutta Review, May, 1922.*)

My attitude in calling into question certain assertions of Dr. Taraporewala regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō has been that of an earnest student and enquirer, and I am always open to conviction. I presented my case as clearly and briefly as possible, dealing only with the salient points of Dr. Taraporewala's arguments, and I am glad that my criticism has evoked two rejoinders, one from the learned Doctor himself, and another from Mr. Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya who has not only criticized my views regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō, but, in his zeal, also vehemently attacked my theory regarding the original home of the Aryans as advanced in my book, *Rig-Vedic India.* I always welcome any fair and honest criticism of my book, as I have never claimed that my theory embodies the last word on the subject. But this simultaneous attack on two different and unconnected points, directed by Mr. Chattopadhyaya, seems to smack of a desire on his part to embarrass me, if possible, by diverting my attention from the main point at issue to another remote and irrelevant point which, however, he considers to be vital so far as I am concerned, and which, he probably thinks, I would hasten to defend. But I am not going to do anything of the kind, and propose to confine myself to the point at issue, leaving *Rig-Vedic India* alone for sometime to take care of itself as best it can.[1]

Dr. Taraporewala and Mr. Chattopadhyaya have advanced almost identical arguments in reply to my criticism regarding the situation of Airyana Vaējō. But, first of all, I would ask the learned Doctor whether he is really satisfied that Airyana Vaējō was situated in the Polar or the circum-Polar region, and that when wide-spread glaciation destroyed the happy land, the good Yima and his men and animals lived underground in the *Vara* for generations and generations, and plant and animal life flourished there all this time, though almost shut out from the light and breath of heaven. I venture to anticipate his answer in his own words: "No reasonable person can hold this view." He says, however, that "all this is quite beside the point." Is that really so? Would not all reasonable men first like to be satisfied that such a state of things was possible in the underground *Vara* before they would accept his view as reliable history? The learned Doctor interjects the following query: "Is it possible that Airyana Vaējō was in the south 'not far off from Sapta-Sindhu,' and that Yima emigrated thence to the North Pole to escape the ice of the Glacial period?" There is nothing absurd in the proposition, though I have maintained that the invasion of ice that destroyed Airyana Vaējō on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand was not identical with that wide-spread glaciation that made the Polar region uninhabitable.

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[1] I would, however, request Mr. Chattopadhyaya to read, in the meantime, my reply to Mr. H. Bruce Hannah's formidable criticism of the book, which has been published in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (1922).

Let us see what Geology says on this point. The following extracts are made from Mr. Wadia's *Geology of India* (1919):

"At many parts of the Himalayas there are indications of an extensive glaciation *in the immediate past* (my italics), and that the present glaciers, though some of them are among the largest in the world, are merely shrunken remnants of those which flourished in the Pleistocene age." (p. 245).

Elsewhere he says:

"Further evidence, from which an inference can be drawn of an Ice Age in the Pleistocene epoch in India, is supplied by the very striking circumstance to which the attention of the world was first drawn by the great naturalist, Alfred Russel Wallace. The sudden and wide-spread reduction, by extinction, of the Siwalik mammals is a most startling event for the geologist as well as the biologist....The sudden disappearance of the highly organized mammals from the fauna of the world is attributed by the great naturalist to the effect of the intense cold of a Glacial age." (p. 246).

This Glacial age of India, however, as Mr. Wadia has observed, was "greatly modified and tempered in severity." The destruction of animal life in India, caused by the advent of this age in the Pleistocene epoch, probably synchronised with the general destruction that overtook the animal world in Airyana Vaējō, situated on the high tableland of the Pamir, known as the "Roof of the World," against which Ahura Mazda had warned Yima. In the face of this undoubted geological testimony regarding the existence of an Ice-age in India, it is really exceedingly surprising to be told by Dr. Taraporewala that "certainly there is no geological record which states that the Sapta-Sindhu was ever covered under glacial ice!"

As regards Yima's emigration to the circum-Polar regions in the Inter-glacial period, the learned Doctor says: "Why he (Yima) should migrate during the Inter-glacial period passes my understanding." Prof. Geikie furnishes an answer to his query. Says he: "During the Inter-glacial period the climate was characterised by clement winters and cool summers so that the tropical plants and animals, like elephants, rhinoceroses and hippopotamuses ranged over the whole of the Arctic region, and in spite of numerous fierce carnivora, the Palæolithic man had no unpleasant habitation there." (Geikie's *Fragments of Earth-lore*, p. 266.) Says Mr. Tilak: "There were great vicissitudes of climate in the Pleistocene period, it being cold and inclement during the Glacial and mild and temperate in the Inter-Glacial period, even as far as the Polar regions." It is an admitted and well-known fact that when, in the Pleistocene epoch, there was an Ice-age in Northern India and the Trans-Himalayan regions, a mild and genial climate prevailed in the Polar regions, and this period is identical with the Inter-glacial period. Would it not be quite natural for Yima to migrate to the Polar regions in this period, when fatal winters and ice invaded Airyana Vaējō on the table-land of the Pamir, and made it uninhabitable ?

This brings us to the question whether the narrative regarding the destruction of Airyana Vaējō was addressed by Ahura Mazda to Yima or to Zarathustra. I have put the question contained in Fargard II 39 (129) in the mouth of Yima, as all the previous conversation takes place between Ahura Mazda and Yima, and there is no mention of Zarathustra as yet excepting in the reply of Ahura Mazda in stanza 42 (137) later on. I may mention here that I am not alone in interpreting stanza 39 (129) in the way I have done, for Mr. Tilak also has interpreted it in the same way. Says he: "The *Vara* or enclosure, advised by Ahura Mazda, is accordingly prepared, and *Yima asked Ahura Mazda* 'O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! what [lights are there to give light] in the Vara which Yima made?'" (*Arctic Home in the Vedas*, p. 72).

That the passage admits of an interpretation like the above is undoubted. But even if we admit for the sake of argument that the question was put by Zarathustra, and not by Yima, what does it imply? It goes to show that the prophet did not know anything about the physical characteristics of the *Vara* which must have been situated far far away from Iran Vez or Airyana Vaējō, and of which his son, Urvatad-Nara and he himself were said to be the lords and rulers (Far. II. 43), though the fact had to be told to the Prophet by Ahura Mazda himself The real fact seems to be that in Zarathustra's time the Vara had passed into the realm of legend, and nobody (including the prophet himself) knew where it really existed. The reference of Zarathustra's or his son's so-called lordship over this region goes to show that people still believed it to have been inhabited by the descendants of those men whom Yima had taken with him, and Zarathustra as the leader of the Ormuzdians was supposed to hold his sway over it.

With regard to the passage of the Avesta, Yasht X. 104, which mentions three places in Airyana Vaējō, respectively situated in the East, West and South, can it not mean that Airyana Vaējō, situated as it was on the tableland of the Pamir and Khokand, had the Asiatic Mediterranean to the north of it, extending as far north as the Arctic region, which disappeared only in early historic times (*Ency. Britt.*, Vol. V, pp. 179-181, Ninth Edition), and that, therefore, only three places in the three directions could be mentioned, there having been no land towards tho north? The country on the south coast of the Asiatic Mediterranean, which was Airyana Vaējō itself, was thus regarded as the middle point of the earth, having a sea on the north, and lands in the other three directions. Did not the Hindus also in a later age regard the Himalayas as the very centre and back-bone of the earth? The above passage of the Avesta, therefore, does not go to establish unquestionably the Polar home of the Aryans. If the middle point of the earth be identified with the North Pole, the idea must have originated after the emigration of Yima to the Polar region. There is absolutely no mention of the Polar region in the Rig-Veda; but in later Sanskrit Literature, *viz.*, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, as well as in the later astronomical works, we find mention made of Mount Meru, round which the sun is said to travel without setting for six months. This knowledge of the Polar region was obtained by the Hindus, like the Parsis, in a later age, and does not go to establish the original Polar home of the Aryans.

With regard to Yima's "stepping forward towards the luminous space southwards" thrice, with a view to meet the sun and stretch the earth, the act may have been performed in the Polar region after Yima's emigration to that place, or even in Iran-Vez, to the north of which was situated the Asiatic Mediterranean, barring all progress in that direction, and making it necessary for Yima "to step forward towards the luminous space *southwards.*"

The reason why time was measured by *winter* and not by *summer* in Airyana Vaējō was that a cold climate prevailed in ancient times in that country as well as in the land of the Seven Rivers. *Winter* is also the name of the year in the Rig-Veda. (R-V. 1. 64-10; II. 1. 11; II. 32. 2; V. 54. 15; VI. 10. 7; VI. 48. 4, etc.)

Ahura Mazda says in Fargard I. 4 (9) that there were ten winter months, and two summer months in Airyana Vaējō. His statement is corroborated by the geological evidence regarding the existence of a glacial age in the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan regions in the Pleistocene epoch, reference to which has already been made.

I did not discuss or criticize these points in my reply, published in the February number of the *Calcutta Review* (1922), simply because they were minor points and could be explained in the way I have done, without admitting the original cradle of the Aryans in the Arctic region. Once you concede that Yima emigrated to the North Pole, the other descriptions referred to by Dr. Taraporewala would follow as a matter of course.

Lastly, I will discuss again the ancient custom of disposing of the dead body, as it obtained among the Zoroastrians. Dr. Taraporewala ridicules me for saying that in ancient times they postponed the disposing of the dead body, if the sun remained covered behind clouds for days together, and ramarks : "It would have been easy for Dr. Das to have found out *that the Zoroastrians never have postponed funeral ceremonies on account of rain or clouds.* (My italics.) Only the *absence* of the sun (not its mere hiding behind the clouds) could warrant keeping such a contamination as a dead body within a house......Dr. Das says 'the contingency of clouds concealing the sun for three days does not seem to have struck Mr. Tilak at all.' Most certainly it did not, nor would it strike any one who was in the least acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either modern or ancient." I do not pretend to be as thoroughly acquainted with Zoroastrian customs, either ancient or modern, as Dr. Taraporewala. But I rely upon the sacred scriptures of the Zoroastrian religion for the assertion I have made, and wonder what he would say regarding the following extracts from Fargard VIII. 4 (11), 8 (18) and 9 (21) :

"O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One ! If in the house of a worshipper of Mazda a dog or a man happens to die, and *it is raining, or snowing, or blowing, or the darkness is coming on* (my italics), when men and flocks lose their way, what shall the worshippers of Mazda do?"

Mazda in reply says that in such a case a certain place should be selected and "on that place, they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man, if it be soft; [they shall cover the surface of the grave with ashes or cow-dung] ; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, of stones, or of dry earth. And they shall let the lifeless body lie there *for two nights, or three nights, or a month long,* until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, *the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth*" etc.

There can be no doubt or mistake, then, about *raining, or snowing or blowing* being some of the reasons for postponing a funeral. The *darkness* in the above extracts evidently means not only the darkness of night, but also the darkness caused by masses of clouds over-spreading the sky, precipitating rain, or by snow-storms, blizzards, or boisterous weather lasting for days together at a time. The words "two nights" and "three nights" have been used in the sense of "two days" and "three days," just as the word "fortnight" is used in English for "fourteen days," and the word "Pancharatra" in Sanskrit for five days.

I hope, my readers will now be convinced that whatever may be the modern Zoroastrian custom (and old customs always change yielding place to new), the ancient orthodox Zoroastrian custom was *not* to take out a dead body for funeral, *if it rained, or snowed, or blowed,* or if the days became darkened by overhanging clouds and boisterous weather. I am sorry, I have to interpret a Zoroastrian custom to Dr. Taraporewala, but I have been forced to this unpleasant task for which certainly I am not to blame.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

June 15, 1922.

Reviews

The Text of the Sakuntala; by B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S., Poona, 1922. (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Fort, Bombay.)

This is a paper read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, and has been published in book form on the advice of several scholars. Students of the Śakuntalā know too well the great difference that exists between the different recensions of the work, especially between the Devanāgarī and the Bengali recensions. In the case of an oft-read work like the Śakuntalā such differences are particularly galling to scholars. "Cultured humanity," says Professor Thakore, "cannot possibly tolerate three divergent Śakuntalās or even two. It must have one single definitive Śakuntalā acceptable to all competent judges." On account of these differences, a student has either to stick to the recension he happens to be best acquainted with or to follow an eclectic principle in choosing his text. Both these methods are uncritical. Unfortunately for the restoration of Kālidāsa's own text, we do not get old manuscripts to work on. Professor Thakore therefore thinks that we have now no alternative but to select "out of the divergencies that reading and that arrangement of speeches which in the light of dramatic criticism is demonstrably the best." He has applied his æsthetic judgment to the study of the play and has shown the relative merits of several differences in the Bengali, Devanāgarī, Kāshmīrī and South Indian recensions. Along with the great Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara and other competent judges, Indian and Western, he has come to the conclusion that the shorter Devanāgarī recension is considerably superior to the longer text of Bengal. But he has not altogether shut his eyes to the defects of the Devanāgarī recension and he is very much to be commended on the openness of his mind. In sections 1—4 he has discussed those passages of the Bengali and Kāshmīrī recensions for which the Devanāgarī gives a better version and in sections 5 and 6 have been discussed the defects of the Devanāgarī and the South Indian recensions.

Professor Thakore has admitted that æsthetic judgment differs in different individuals and that all his conclusions will not to be accepted by others. We too feel constrained to differ from him in several cases. We would not, for example, subscribe to his criticisms in section 2 of the Bengali arrangement of the Fifth Act, though we might not feel inclined to reject the Devanāgrī text either. There is absolutely no harm in Kañcukin's beginning the Act and in the description of the king's fatigue as in the Bengali recension. The king's excessive labour seems to give some justification, from his own point of view, of his falling an easy prey to Durvāsā's curse and consequently for getting Śakuntalā. The fatigue is a natural consequence of his constant activity and Kañcukin's words can serve as a good prelude to this. As regards the place of Haṁsapadikā's song, the Bengali arrangement may not be so bad as Professor Thakore would have us believe. The reference to Śakuntalā if meant at all is very distant and by taking the Queen Haṁsapadikā to be the person referred to we learn that after returning from the hermitage, Duṣyanta did not seek the company of his other wives and unconsciously kept true to Śakuntalā. कमलवसइमेत्तणिव्वुओ should be noted in this connexion. This would be a sufficient compensation for Duṣyanta's forgetting his beloved. The Bengali recension does make the king restless after the रम्याणि वीक्ष्य verse. We cannot see how the Bengali इत्यनुस्मृतिनिमित्तसुन्मनस्कत्वं रूपयति is different from the Devanāgarī इति पर्याकुलस्तिष्ठति. We would also think that the Kañcukin's long soliloquy, in the Devanāgarī recension, when the king is trying to recollect his past, mars the beauty of the king's condition. The Kañcukin's not understanding the state of the king's mind and approaching him with his message as given in the other text does give a good rounding off to the situation and introduces the king immediately to the cause (to him now unknown) of his pensive mood. There are also other cases in which we feel constrained to differ from Professor Thakore. His choosing of the reading भावि from one solitary manuscript and of आयासि from Rāghava Bhaṭṭa in the *śloka* कामं प्रिया न सुलभा, etc., of Act II is uncritical and cannot be supported. The sense too, we would think, is greatly spoiled by the reading he has chosen. अकृतार्थेऽपि मनसिजे रतिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते in the second half of the verse ought to have convinced Professor Thakore of the soundness of the reading (न च दर्शनायासि) which all the recensions give. But we must admit that Professor Thakore has on the whole performed his very difficult task with great sobriety of judgment.

Lovers of Kālidāsa and particularly of his Śakuntalā will find this small book of considerable interest and value. Students of literary criticism will also learn a very good deal from it. But historical students will not be convinced from what the Professor has written that the method he follows can ever fix the text of the Śakuntalā. They will not subscribe to the view that æsthetic considerations can determine what a very ancient writer wrote. The method they would follow is comparison—comparison of different old manuscripts and comparison of the other works of the author himself. In the case of Śakuntalā, the first sort of comparison fails us for want of sufficiently old manuscripts and on account of the presence at an early date of divergent recensions to go behind which we have no palæographic authority. The second sort of comparison—comparison of what the author has written elsewhere in similar passages—is perhaps the only way open to us. If our choice between the divergent readings is determined by what comparison makes it probable that Kālidāsa did write, we can attach to it a scientific value and the resulting text would be acceptable to scholars. Professor Thakore has on æsthetic grounds assumed that the reading

राजा। अपरिक्षतकोमलस्य यावत् कुसुमस्येव नवस्य षट्पदेन।
अधरस्य पिपासता मया ते सदयं गृह्यते रसोऽस्य॥
(मुखमस्याः समुन्नमयितुमिच्छति।)
शकु। (परिहरति नाट्येन।)

of the Devanāgarī recension in Act III is authentic. To many it might seem an unjustifiable assumption but a good deal of probability will attach itself to the reading if we compare Vikramorvaśī II. 14 and Mālavikāgnimitra III. 19 and particularly IV. 14 and what follows. We must not confine our comparison to the dramas of Kālidāsa but must also utilise his poems. Persons who follow the comparative method often make the mistake of supposing that an author always holds the same view; in actual practice they often keep very little room for a natural development of the author's mind and art. In the case of Kālidāsa's writings we find an undeniable growth. His literary activity can be divided into three periods, the formative, the developed and the mature. To the first undoubtedly belong the Ṛtusaṃhāra, the Mālavikāgnimitra, and the Kumārasambhava, to the second probably the Meghadūta and the Vikramorvaśī and in the last, few would object to place the Śakuntalā and the Raghuvaṁśa. This is of course only a tentative arrangement. Detailed study can, however, fix the sequence of Kālidāsa's works beyond doubt. In the text-criticism of the Śakuntalā the views and methods of the earlier books have to be taken into account—not only those that persist in this period but also such as have certainly been discarded or improved upon. But the really final conclusion can be obtained by comparison of the other works of the same period (probably only the

Raghuvaṁśa). In the Raghuvaṁśa there is generally no useless display of words and everything is arranged in a most artistic manner. The philosophy of life too is very deep. Similar ideas and similar style make us put the Sakuntalā in the same period and we therefore can feel no compunction in rejecting the long passages of the Bengali recension. The Bengali text must have passed through a revision at the hands of the *Gauḍa* school proverbial for its love of अक्षरडम्बर. Kālidāsa's own *Vaidarbhī* style which had fully matured by now, with all its grace and harmony, is perhaps better preserved in the Devanāgarī recension. In many points of detail however, this joint comparative-*cum*-genetic method will give the palm now to this recension and now to the other.

We read that some of the friends of Professor Thakore have suggested that he should bring out an edition of the text. We hope that if he does this he will not pin his faith too much on mere æsthetic considerations, but will primarily use the critical method just suggested.

K. C.

Selections from Hindi Literature, I and II; compiled by Lala Sita Ram, B.A., Sāhityaratna.

Typical selections from Oriya Literature, Vol. I; Edited by B. C. Mazumdar, B.A., B.L.

(Both published by the University of Calcutta.)

During the last three years the University of Calcutta has undertaken instruction in the Indian Vernaculars. A far-sighted and extensive course of studies has been laid down and so far it has produced encouraging results. As a part of the whole plan scholars of the various Vernaculars were invited to prepare books of typical selections from the various literatures and the three volumes under review are the first three of a whole series of such books which will embrace all the important mediæval and modern languages of India.

The two ponderous volumes of "Selection from Bengali Literature" compiled several years ago by Rai Saheb (now Rai Bahadur Dr.) Dineshchandra Sen have served as a guide and it seems the very excellent volumes of Prof. T. H. Ward on "English Poets" might also serve as models.

The Hindi volumes cover the period from Chānd Bardāi to Dhruvadās (last half of 17th century). The authors are arranged according to chronological order, each author being preceded by a short notice in English. The selections follow and they are fairly copious and enable a student to form a very decent appreciation of the author. There are, however, two shortcomings which we hope would be seen to in the future. The absence of diacritical marks is very noticeable. And one would like to have had a bird's-eye view of the whole range of Hindi literature. Perhaps this may be done as an Appendix in the concluding volume.

The Oriya Selections have at the very beginning a good account of Orissa and its literature and also short notices of the authors treated in Section I. The book is very well printed and attractively bound. It covers the literature from the Koili Lyrics up to Visvanath Khuntia (circa A.D. 1750). It is however a pity that the introductory notices for the authors treated in Section II (1569-1750 A.D.) have not been put at the beginning of that section. Perhaps these would form the Introduction to Vol. II. The selections are copious and well chosen (to judge by the titles) and would serve to give a student a fairly accurate idea of the extent and contents of the literature of Orissa. One slight suggestion might be made here, which applies to both the books, the titles of each "selection" might have been given both in the Vernacular as well as in English.

On the whole these books supply a decided want. They put together much of what has been scattered till now and has thus been available with difficulty even to a professed scholar of the Vernaculars. A good many defects may be pointed out if one wishes to be pedantic, but we are sure that, supplying as they do a firm basis to go upon, these first editions should be welcomed very heartily. Later editions will of course take care of themselves. The University of Calcutta has done most valuable service to the cause of our national revival by undertaking this series.

POST-GRADUATE

Indian Export Trade; by R. M. Joshi, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), B.Sc. (Econ.), (Lond.), Gladstone Memorial Prizeman, London, Professor of Indian Economics, Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, 1922, pp. 195.

The book is a critical analysis of India's export trade mainly during 1900-1914 based upon statistical data. The quantity, the value and the distribution of the main articles of India's export trade have been studied under three main heads—raw materials, food stuffs and articles mainly manufactured. This study has been supplemented by a consideration of the principal factors which have influenced year by year the volume of the export trade. Professor Joshi has done a useful piece of work in this survey—useful alike to students of economics and commerce as well as to persons interested in the industrial development of the country. An admirable feature of the book is the large number of diagrams which have considerably heightened its usefulness.

ECONOMICUS

Gleanings

The eyes of Azrael are fixed upon high education ; and the University of Calcutta is in *articulo mortis,* gasping, struggling. The struggle has been long and bitter. It has not yet come to an end. On the contrary the attitude adopted by the Minister of Education is largely tinged with obstinacy and is, therefore, not calculated to conduce to general satisfaction. The radix of the unseemly contest is visible even to the most indifferent eye. He who runs may read it. If we fathom the depth of general sentiment in regard to this matter of vital importance, we can safely assert that the public do not like that this University which has made Bengal what it intellectually is—which has shaped its youth on the anvil of moral education—which has poured forth its mellow light upon the most obscure hamlet in Bengal and chased away ignorance, should be treated with supine nonchalance and cut off with a shilling. There is the Minister of Education in his sanctum listening to the gnathonic encomiums of his courtiers who are against the University ; and this noble institution has been constrained to submit to the ignominium and indignity of sending the hat round to keep its life-blood coursing through its veins. For centuries it has provided intellectual pabulum to the people of India and Burma and held aloft the oriflamme of culture. Must it be given a quietus now in the twentieth century for want of funds ? This is self-government in all its glory ! *Humiles laborant, ubi potentes dissident.* We therefore wish that His Excellency intervened and poured oil over the troubled waters.

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Mr. Van Manen in a letter, under the capitation " Ancient records in danger," published in the *Statesman* of the 29th December, 1922, computes the cultural value of this city in these feeling words : " I have heard it said that nowhere in the world is intellectual life at such a low ebb as in Calcutta. I do not invent this saying. It is no doubt an exaggeration but hyperbolically it embodies truth. Do you know, sir, the cases of anguish and despair amongst an impoverished intelligentia in this city ? I could cite the Chinese monk who is a twentieth century translation of the old pilgrims, Fabian and the rest. After ten years in Calcutta he has ended by teaching English to Chinese carpenters and opening a boot shop to keep alive. Or the Russian scholar whose recent publication on Persian subjects brought him complimentary letters from the greatest living authorities in three continents, and who has still a few months between now and starvation. Or the young Indian scholar responsible for two remarkable volumes about India's past, published within recent years, a master of Sanskrit, Pali and old Prakrits, who cannot pay his house rent. Or the promising Bengali scholar whose earning does not enable him to meet the doctor's bill presented to him after his old father's illness.............................. saddest of all, that one of the greatest endeavours in this city to build up an intellectual centre, a true University, focus of culture and learning, is howled at like the rising moon by village dogs." We are in entire agreement with Mr. Van Manen. Intellectuality is lamentably at a discount; otherwise a clandestine and Judus-colond movement would not have been set on foot to mangle the University.

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In his historic speech, delivered sometime ago at the Senate, the modern Mæcenas—the intellectual light of Bengal clearly showed how the University had been consistently and persistently sinned against. Informed with an ingenuous candour and vibrant with a message of hope and freedom, the speech will live with undimmed lustre to the last syllable of our University's recorded time. We quote a few lines which will repay perusal. "Our Post-graduate teachers would starve themselves, rather than give up their freedom. Do not, my friends, believe for a moment that there is no Providence. If Science or Philosophy has taught you that get rid of your blunder. If it is the design of Providence that high education should disappear from Bengal, let His will be carried out. But I have an unalterable faith in Providence; that has been my one, sole inspiration in moments of trials and tribulations. Reaction is bound to come. I call upon you, as members of the Senate, to stand up for the rights of your University. Forget the Government of Bengal. Forget the Government of India. Do your duty as Senators of this University, as true sons of your *Alma Mater*. Freedom first, freedom second, freedom always—nothing else will satisfy me."

GOVERNMENT *v.* UNIVERSITY.

(BY N. CHATTERJEE.)

What a lot of pother is made over and around the poor body of the University. It is not quite dead; there is some little vital spark left in it, yet the ugly birds have got together, standing "cavy," to get an opportunity to get in their beaks to tear it to pieces. The guardians of the

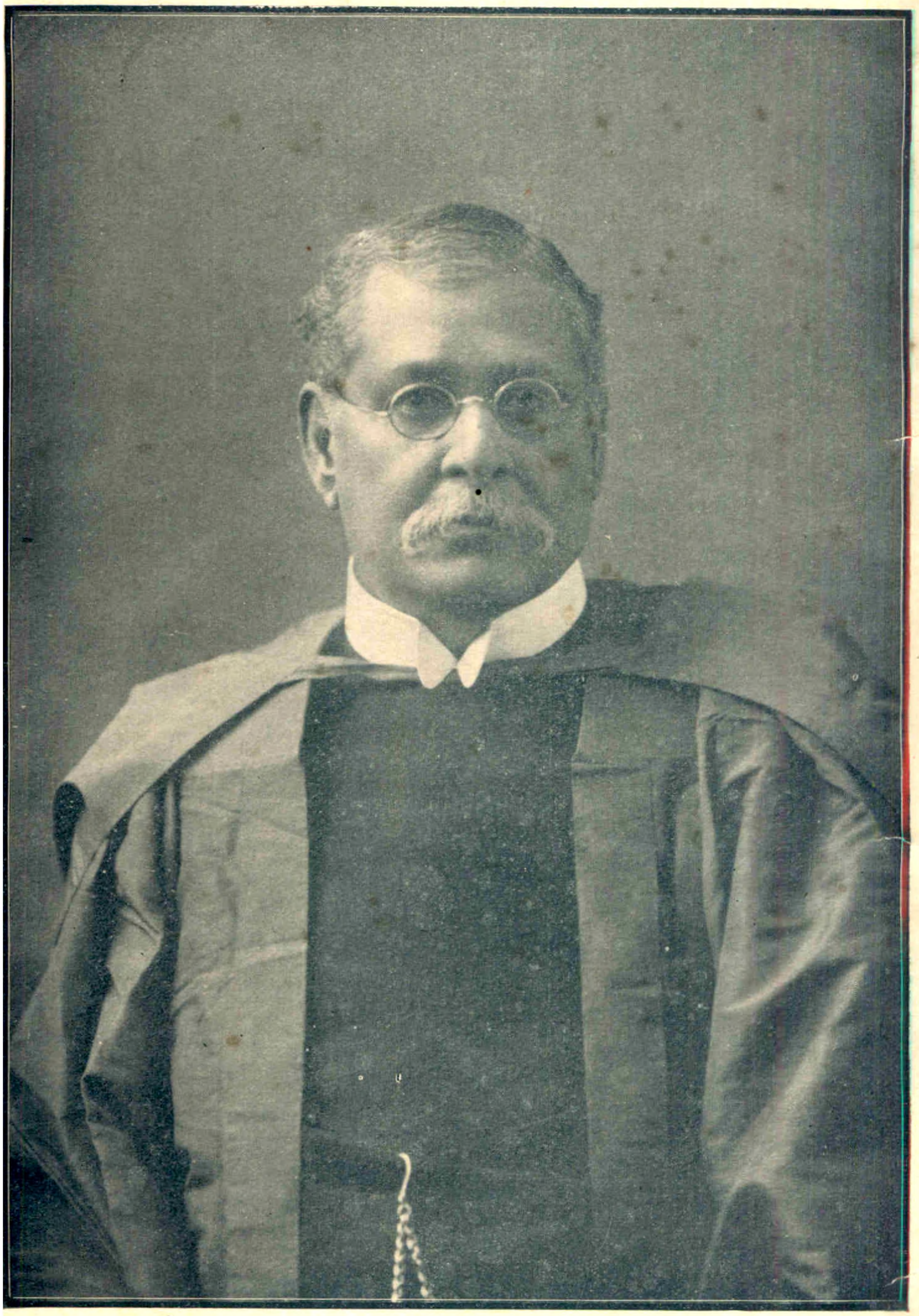
University have got into financial trouble and have asked the State for accommodation. The State like Barkis is willing, but makes a condition for the gift. The physicians, with the expiring patient under their eyes, plunged themselves into a frenzy of rage over the imposition of the condition. The whole controversy has been carried on *plenus sanguinis.* It is the Grove of Academe where a calm and dignified atmosphere should prevail, and the language of serenity and stateliness is necessary. We do not like this important topic to degenerate into personalities. That is the ugly tendency in this degenerate country. In Europe, in politics, this wretched spectacle is often visible.

That anglicised men with anglicised education, with the European word "culture" on the tips of their tongues should betray vulgar heat and passion is sad and humiliating. Under the present Vice-Chancellor the University has been raised to a high intellectual level ; some of the post-graduate professorships are excellent. Anybody with any pretension to intellectuality must commend them. There are other post-graduate subjects which ought to be turned down, thereby filling in the coffer of the University. It seems to us that the Education Minister has not been graceful in the language in which he couched his letter to the University. The tone of it should have been more sedate and dignified as it was written to a learned body. The Education Minister is the past pupil of the University and should have felt an attachment for it. He should not have chastised and humiliated it. But Linus instructed Hercules in music, and was slain by his scholar with his musical instrument.

We have a bone to pick with the University. It was established in 1857 and we are in the year of grace 1922. We solemnly ask whether the University education has done any real good to the people. Politics is talked and written glibly and with ease. Any tiro on the sands of Timbuctoo can do it. "Freedome is a nobile thing" wrote old Spenser. Have the English professors for two generations taught the students under them the true significance of the expression and all that is implied in it? Have they ever told them in the lecture rooms that women needed emancipation, education and fresh air;—that many social customs, which hedge round the country and are followed and practised blindly and without reason, should be thrown into the dustbin of discarded, noxious things ? Has the University been able to instil into the mind of the student the importance of food,—that its chemical virtues either go to degenerate or ameliorate the physique of the men and women ? Food, fresh air, exercise and cleanliness help psychic qualities in us and generate determination, resolution, perseverance and fearlessness. Has the University been successful in producing such a race of men and women in the land? It appears to us that with all the book learning, the University men think and believe that the social customs and traditions which have descended to us from remote ages are sacrosanct and superior to those of the western countries. They are lured and captivated by the jingle and sonorousness of the phrases of the European writers, and quote them with avidity to air their knowledge which is merely superficial. The University men in all the European countries have been the leaders of the people in social, ethical, economical and political matters. Has the University turned out men of such calibre and nature? It has doubtless manufactured so-called politicians by the bushel. They have not learnt that true politics is strengthened by grim determination—character, and that this is induced by the social and economic elevation of the people. In London, for instance,—and it is the same all over Europe, the University men give discourses to thousands of men and women nearly every evening on the advancement of social, ethical, economic and political measures. In the slums in London, or in the big cities, University men and women place their services for the improvement of the poor and the uneducated. Has the University been able to give this inspiration to the tens of thousands of its students? The shortcomings of the University are egregious. It cannot compare with the University of any country in Europe except of Bulgaria, Yogoslavia and Turkey. When this University turns out intellectual Bulgars and Yogoslavs, we cannot but expect hateful, ill-natured prize-fighting within doors.

The University needed money and applied to the State for it. The borrower cannot impose his terms on the lender. That is the simple position. The lender without considering the position and status of the borrower dictates onerous terms to him. It is indelicate. It should not have been done. There is gracefulness even in the conduct of commercial transactions. This has been overlooked. In the meanwhile, the professors are being starved in a country where the reproduction of the species is carried on helter-skelter in the hallowed name of custom. How can a man, in the teeth of the woman's economic dependance, be expected to pinch his and his dependants' stomachs for the empty glory of freedom. The soldier fights on his stomach. He is the saviour of his country. He understands the first principle of biological law—the self-preservation. He makes sure of his food before starting on the perilous journey of saving the honour and freedom of his country. He is unencumbered by a brood of children. The professors have their quiver full, and it is puerile to ask them to starve with a family of children. As it is, the Hindus are bereft of stamina, owing to their bad and unhygienic food, but if the little mites are put upon enforced starvation they will grow up to be complete degenerates. We have been served with bad dishes, for the University and gubernatorial cooks are Nineday cooks. In this naughty and theocratic world money is in estimation. And Ovid truly says, "Dat census honores; census amicitias : pauper ubique jacet."

The serious drawback of the University has been the appointment of men of narrow mind and indifferent intellectuality who have taken their degrees by memorising. Men with broader outlook and experience of European systems should be introduced into the Senate to place their knowledge in the service of the University. They will be able to put their case ably and clearly. They will explain what is implied in the term, higher education. Every University man should be a missionary in the cause of social, economical and political matters, and that he should assimilate and make a part of his mental structure what he has learnt in the University. That is the true education. Learning by heart and speaking by rote is merely a feat of memory. It leaves no impression, as water does not wet the duck's back. This dispute has raised a contemptuous laugh among people outside of the University and the Government. Let there be truce and no more of the unpleasant exhibition of childishness and temper. The fossils and the half-fossils should be taken back to Sawaruck and put into the earth where they ought to be. The University must be preserved and must remain autonomous.—*The Rationalistic Review, January 1923.*



SIR RASHBEHARI GHOSE.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW
MARCH, 1923

A FORM OF BEAUTY[1]

(*From the Persian of Sádi*)

How often wakes before my eye
  In youth's first prime that day of bliss!
When, as entranced, my eyes they fell
  Upon a form of loveliness!

Autumn wind was hot and burning—
  I was weary, sunk in grief,—
Autumn sun was red and piercing,—
  Faint I sat and asked relief.

From the shady portico
  Issued forth a form of beauty!
O! the voice of Eloquence
  Describeth not such radiant beauty!

Seemed from gloomy shades of night
  Issuing fresh and dawning brightness!
Seemed the stream of life and light
  Issuing from the realms of darkness[2]!

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[1] This is one of the unpublished poems of the late Mr. Romesh Chundra Dutt.

[2] The Mohammedans believe that the stream of life issues from mountains of darkness.

Bearing in her snowy arms
  Cap of ice and filtered water,
Bearing with a modest grace
  Juice of grape and sprinkled sugar.

From the drink a fragrance issued,—
  Might be of the rose distilled,
From the blossom of her cheeks,
  Might be some sweet drops instilled!

Thirst of lips was soon allayed,
  Freshening strength I soon did gather
Thirst of heart the maiden waked
  Streams of rivers cannot smother!

Happy youth, whose eye each morning
  Opes upon a face so lovely!
Happy youth, whose night's last glances
  Close upon a face so lovely!

Intoxication from the red wine
  Ceases when night fades away,
Intoxication with such beauty
  Ceases not till Judgment-day!

15-1-1873 R. C. DUTT

FOUR BRITISH THINKERS ON THE STATE—IV

(5)

PROFESSOR HOBHOUSE ON THE IDEALISTIC THEORY OF THE STATE.

One of the ablest attacks on the Hegelian theory of the state is contained in Professor L. T. Hobhouse's *Metaphysical Theory of the State.* He is unsparing in his condemnation of Hegel and Bosanquet, but Green is gently let off and is even appreciated. The cause of this differential treatment is not apparent. In principle, there is not much difference between Green and Dr. Bosanquet. Being the first to introduce into individualistic England the political ideas of Plato, Aristotle and Hegel, Green necessarily displays, as Dr. Bosanquet puts it, "scrupulous caution in estimating the value of the state to its members," but he is not one whit less emphatic than Dr. Bosanquet in proclaiming that an individual can live the life of a moral being only as a member of some state. Perhaps Green's radicalism in practical politics and his fervent faith in democracy make Professor Hobhouse indulgent to him. His attack on Hegel is not the outcome merely of a scholar's meditations in his study but of the desire of an ardent patriot, precluded by the disabilities of middle age from volunteering for active service in the war, to do something for making the world safe for democracy. One fine morning, during the war, Professor Hobhouse sat in a garden annotating Hegel's theory of freedom when a German air raid took place. This was to him an eye opener. "In the bombing of London I had just witnessed the visible and tangible outcome of a false and wicked doctrine, the foundations of which lay, as I believe, in the book before me."

All that he had witnessed, he had no doubt, "lay implicit in the Hegelian theory of the God-state." Inspired by this belief, it is no wonder that Professor Hobhouse fights with the zeal of a crusader. But to less gifted men, the connection between Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* and the war is by no means obvious. What is the head and front of Hegel's offending? Is it the teaching that the individual cannot be a moral being without subordinating himself to the social whole? Does the spirit of self-sacrifice endanger the peace of the world and the insistence on one's right to do what one pleases, provided that the same right of others is not infringed, bring about the millenium? It is true that in Hegel's eyes the state is the earthly god; but he has nowhere said that the earthly god is the only God. On the contrary, the burden of his teaching is that the human soul can find final satisfaction and rest only in the Absolute Spirit. Above and beyond the earthly god is the heavenly God. The state, with all its majesty and power, is only a subordinated element of the whole and not the ultimate Reality. The fall of Germany is due not to the teaching of Hegel but to its forgetfulness of that teaching, to its failure to recognise anything higher than the state. No country, in recent times, has repudiated Hegel's philosophy more than Germany. The besetting sin of the whole world to-day is the same, *viz.*, forgetfulness of the eternal verities. It is deaf to the message of Hegel, reiterated in endless ways, that "God is present, omnipresent, and exists as spirit in all spirits. God is a living God who is acting and working." "Then all the old things were true." "This," says Dr. Bosanquet, "is the overwhelming impression which the events of the last five years (written in 1919) have left upon my mind * * It *is*, then, only spiritual goods that is real and stable, earthly and material aims *are* delusive and dangerous, and the root of strife * * An immense fabric of civilisation, with its pride and policy mainly directed upon material prosperity, invited, according to all that our teachers have told us, disaster proportional to its magnitude" (*Preface to Philosophical Theory of the State, 3rd ed., XLV*).

Professor Hobhouse denies that there is any such thing as the general will or that the state is the embodiment of it. But he is most explicit in declaring that society is not an aggregate of individuals. "Every association of men," we are told, "is legitimately regarded as an entity possessing certain characteristics of its own, characteristics which do not belong to the individuals apart from their membership of that association" (*Metaphysical Theory of the State*, p. 27). "The life of a whole is more than that of its parts. * * The body is something other than the cells which compose it, for this simple reason among others that the cells die when separated from the body and therefore rapidly cease to be that which they at present are." Even so, are individuals unreal in separation from the social whole whose members they are. After this, one naturally expects an exposition and defence of the idea of organic unity. But no. Instead of this, there comes the announcement that the distinction between the self and others is irremovable. "The self is a continuous identity united by strands of private memory and expectation, comprising elements of feelings, emotion and bodily sensation which are its absolute exclusive property. No such continuity unites distinct selves, however alike, or however united in their objects. So at least it seems to those whom Dr. Bosanquet dismisses with contempt as "theorists of the first look." For them human individuality is and remains something ultimate. "The difference between self and another is as plain as the difference between black and white and if a man does not see it, there is nothing plainer to appeal to." How the ultimateness of human individuality is consistent with its being to society what a cell is to the body, Professor Hobhouse does not explain. His idea apparently is that the only alternative to individualistic theories is to set up "the state as a greater being, a spirit, a super-personal entity, in which individuals with their private consciences or claims of right, their happiness or their misery, are merely subordinate elements." (*Ibid, p. 27.*) And he proceeds to accuse Dr. Bosanquet of advocating such a theory. The individual, we are informed, "is absorbed in the organised political society, the state of which he is a member." Of the organised whole, he is regarded as "a kind of transitory phase." All this, however, is sheer misunderstanding. Dr. Bosanquet has nowhere said that the general will is something over and above the particular wills of individuals in which they are lost. What he maintains is that the wills of the individuals, in so far as they make the common good their end, is the general will. "It is in the difference which contributes to the whole that the self feels itself at home and possesses its individuality." "The social whole [is] of the nature of a continuous or self-identical being pervading a system of differences and realised only in them." In interpreting society, Dr. Bosanquet, in short, makes use of the idea of organic unity with which Professor Hobhouse, in spite of his body and cell analogy, is, strangely enough, never in close quarters. Because society is not other than the individuals, it does not follow that it is only a sum of them. It is possible to think of it as a unity realised in the plurality of the minds and wills of its members.

In support of his contention that "the difference between self and another is as plain as the difference between black and white," Professor Hobhouse refers to the fact that the inner experiences of men, their sensations, feelings and desires are absolutely private to them and are incapable of being shared. The outer world which is experienced is, no doubt, the same, but my experiencing of it is unique and is only mine and cannot be identified with yours. The object is one, but the centres of perception, thought, feeling and will related to that object are many. That the inner life of one man is his only and cannot be the same as that of another man is indisputable; but the inner cannot be divorced from the outer and the identity of the outer world, upon which different selves are based, furnishes an essential element of the bond of union between them. The subject and the object are opposed manifestations of a principle of unity that underlies them. Different selves, differently experiencing a common world, are therefore necessarily embraced within this concrete principle of unity. Until this fundamental point of idealistic philosophy is disposed of, the way to pluralism is effectively barred. It is no use pointing to the diversities of inner experience. The idealist has never denied them. His contention has always been that in and through them a universal principle is realised. No universal, no individual. The true core of individuality is not any element of isolation but the unique focalisation of the same world in each centre of experience. Professor Hobhouse is not unaware of the ground on which the idealist takes his stand. He alludes to the doctrine of the concrete universal but says that it is true only of the system of thought which is not identical with the system of reality. Immediately after, remembering perhaps the doctrine of the identity of thought and being, he makes the admission that "reality itself is not finally intelligible until we take the relation between it and thought into account by a further and more comprehensive thought." (*Ibid, p. 65.*) The idealist does not contend for anything very different from this. His point is not that the process of thinking is identical with the object thought of, but that the duality of thought and its object presupposes a "more comprehensive thought" of which they are factors. Once this principle is grasped, there is no escape from the conclusion that different centres of experience constitute a plurality in which an ideal and ultimate unity is manifested.

The system of law, which may be said to be the framework of the state, is, says Professor Hobhouse, " not the product of one will * * It is rather the product of innumerable wills, acting sometimes in concert, sometimes in opposition to one another, and through their conflicts and combinations issuing in a more or less orderly system " (*ibid, p. 61*). "The actual institutions of society," we are told, "are not the imperfect expression of a real will, which is essentially good and harmonious, but the result into which the never-ceasing clash of wills has settled down with some degree of permanency" (*ibid, p. 86*). The question is not whether laws and institutions have emanated from the mind of a single lawgiver framing them with foresight, but whether a common purpose, a generally accepted scheme of life, only vaguely apprehended by the bulk of men, runs through the particular wills of individuals. Is there or is there not a common platform on which the members of a community, in spite of their discords, can all stand ? Is this common purpose the result or the condition of the "never-ceasing clash of wills" ? Out of conflicting wills, not held together by some common ideal, social order can no more be evolved than can an orderly universe arise out of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. That there is such a thing as the inner spirit of a people, Professor Hobhouse will perhaps not deny. But this inner spirit, this ethos, is not an abstraction. Neither does it float in the air. It is incorporated in the laws, customs, usages and institutions of the people. Now, conceive of the outer laws and institutions as sustained and vitalised by the inner spirit and the inner spirit as externalised in the laws and institutions, think of them together as inseparable correlatives and you get the concrete whole which, regarded as exercising supreme authority over its members, is the state. It is not to be confused with an improvised association of men for the furtherance of some particular purpose. There may be any number of such special groups or associations, but there must be a supreme controlling power over them all. Life can go on because a harmony is maintained between these groups and without the state within which these groups are comprised, such a harmony cannot be maintained. Professor Hobhouse seems at times to understand by the state the Government or the state-organisation for the maintenance of law and order. So understood, it is, of course, ridiculous to say that the state is the embodiment of the general will. But thinkers like Hegel and Bosanquet mean by it the organised whole, the substantive reality on which our lives are founded and not simply the government.

One reason, perhaps the chief reason, of Professor Hobhouse's hostility to the idealistic theory of the state is his belief that it encourages the tendency to resist all proposals to reform and reconstruct society. If what is real is rational, all that we have got to do, it would seem, is to sing hosanna to the existing order of things. No man need make any effort to improve anything, for there is nothing to be improved. "His business is not to endeavour to remodel society but to think how wonderfully good and rational is the social life that he knows, with its pharisees and publicans, its ginplaces, its millions of young men led out to the slaughter, and he is to give thanks daily that he is a rational being and not merely as the brutes that perish" (*ibid. p. 87*). But is the ideal a thing always *to be* realised and never actually realised, only to be pursued but never attained? If existing social and political arrangements are wholly devoid of reason, what guarantee is there that reason can ever be effective in the organisation of life? The truth is that the very distinction of what is and what ought to be is made possible by an all-inclusive rational order of which the present growing out of the past and leading to the future is only a phase. If by the real you mean only what is here and now, then, of course, as a mere section of the whole it is not completely rational; but if by it you mean the eternal order within which the distinction of past, present and future falls, then to question its rationality is absurd. The present social institutions are found wanting only in the light of the ideal which the working of these very institutions has been the means of awakening. It cannot, therefore, be separated from the actual and *is* the actual in a more perfect form. Social order and social progress are interdependent. The activities of the individual which *really* contribute to social order also contribute to social progress. True conservatism is not possible without the liberal reforming spirit. It is only in exceptional circumstances that active rebellion against society becomes a painful necessity. If a society is progressive, if it undergoes necessary reforms, slowly perhaps but surely, then any member of it who impatiently defies its authority and disregards its laws merely because they do not at once conform to what he thinks is the ideal, is, most assuredly, a bad man. On the other hand, to rebel against a fossilised society governed by laws as unchangeable as the laws of the Medes and Persians may be the only way open to the good man to be faithful to the requirements of the higher life. The rebel may sometimes be a benefactor to his country, but, as often as not, he is only a turbulent egotist passing for a patriot or an idealist. True patriotism is not the readiness to do something exceptional. It is, as Dr. Bosanquet puts it, "the everyday habit of looking on the commonwealth as our substantive purpose and the foundation of our lives."

If the common social mind or the general will is only a figment of the Hegelian philosopher's imagination, if the distinction between self and others is fundamental and irreducible, how is self-government possible? To this question, Professor Hobhouse gives no answer. Unless it be true that from the point of view of the state the distinction between selves is transcended and that in being guided by the laws and institutions under which I live, I am only fulfilling the necessary conditions of my own self-realisation, the authority imposed upon me must be alien authority, even if I happen to be in entire agreement with those who impose that authority. I am obeying *their* will not mine. Majority rule is not my rule, no matter whether those who form the majority be my kith and kin or not. Only on the Hegelian principle that the state "is the objective spirit and that [the individual] has his truth and existence and ethical status only in being a member of it," does self-government become intelligible. The general will, which is my own substantive will, being embodied in the institutions, the civil and political organisation of the community to which I belong, I, in submitting to them, am not determined by what is foreign to me but by something which, in the words of John Caird, "are more truly me than my private self." It is idle to attempt to create a prejudice against Hegel's theory by constantly repeating that he reduces the individual to nullity. He does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he insists, in the strongest possible terms, on the importance of the individual. "The modern state," he writes, "has enormous strength and depth, in that it allows the principle of subjectivity to complete itself to an independent extreme of personal particularity, and yet at the same time brings it back into the substantive unity and thus preserves particularity in the principle of the state * * It insists that the interests of the family and civic community shall link themselves to the state, and yet is aware that the universal purpose can make no advance without the private knowledge and will of a particularity which must adhere to its right. The universal must be actively furthered, but, on the other side, subjectivity must be wholly and vitally developed. Only when both elements are present in force is the state to be regarded as articulate and truly organised" (*Philosophy of Right, Dyde's Tr., p. 249*). What Hegel opposes is license, not liberty, the freedom of the individual to do what he is inclined to do, limited only by the like freedom of others, not his freedom to exercise all his powers for the furtherance of a common good.

What Professor Hobhouse offers us is not the bread of self-government but only a stone. He seems to suppose that political freedom is attained if a man is allowed to express his views and to influence the policy of his country. "The claim of the free individual is not the impossible one that the common decision should coincide with his own, but that his decision should be heard and taken into account. He claims his part in the common councils, he takes his share of responsibility. In so far as he makes this claim effective he contributes to the common decision even though in a particular case it goes against him. He is free, not because the social will is his own, but because he has as much scope for expression as any one man can have, if all are to have it and yet live and act together" (*Metaphysical Theory of the State, p. 61*). Is that all? Is the mere freedom to take part in discussions of public questions enough to satisfy my desire for self-government? The value of such freedom is precious little. The vote which a man records at an election does not materially affect the result. For his having the vote no one is better or worse. Unless he is a Gladstone or a Disraeli, a Joseph Chamberlain or a Lloyd George, his influence in shaping the policy of his country is negligible. The average citizen knows this quite well. As Hegel says, "there is necessarily little desire to vote, because one vote has so slight an influence. Even when those who are entitled to vote are told how extremely valuable their privilege is, they do not vote. Hence occurs just the opposite of what is sought. The selection passes into the hands of a few, a single party, or a special accidental interest." The essential thing in self-government is not that I have a hand in making the laws by which I am governed, but that they are reasonable and, therefore, helpful to me in enabling me to fill a position for which I am fit and thereby to contribute to the common good. The demand that all should have a share in the business of the state involves the assumption that every one understands this business. This assumption, Hegel truly says, "is as absurd as it, despite its absurdity, is widespread." Self-government does not depend on the satisfaction of this demand. What it really means is the control of the particular self by the social universal expressed in the organisation of the state. To ignore the deeper unity underlying the difference of selves is to make self-government an enigma. Even when the common decision coincides with my own, I do not enjoy self-government for this reason alone. The common decision *agrees with* but is not *my* decision and in being guided by it I am certainly not *self*-determined.

Professor Hobhouse takes Dr. Bosanquet to task for saying that as yet Humanity as a single organised entity does not exist. This, he thinks, is tantamount to hostility to all projects of world-federation or a league of nations. But to affirm that, as matters stand to-day, there is no super-state to which the various states of the world are related as families and other groups of men within a state are related to it is not to say that such an organisation cannot come into being in the future. It all depends upon the possibility of the whole human race being able to discover points of agreement more fundamental and more numerous than points of difference. It may be a good thing to cherish a humanitarian ideal, but let us not cherish illusions. The two dangers to be avoided are abstract cosmopolitanism and a narrow-minded nationalism. The would-be citizen of the world must remember that he has got to begin as a loyal citizen of a particular state and the ardent nationalist, on his part, must not forget that the true ideal is to regard his state as only a unit in a possible confederacy of nations. But nothing will be gained by a fanatical advocacy of a league of nations. It is wise to recognise that no effective federation of the world is possible in the absence of something approaching a common view of life. "A partial agreement for certain purposes" is not sufficient. A few strong, efficient and highly organised empires maintaining the conditions of a good life and giving full scope to science, art, religion and philosophy are more likely to come together in an effective league than a large number of petty, unstable and discordant states.

HIRALAL HALDAR

ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE INDIAN RICE EXPORT TRADE

I.

PREAMBLE.

The food problem of India is growing so acute day by day that no word of apology is needed to discuss the propriety of the existing export trade in rice. It cannot be gainsaid that it is one of the factors responsible for the inflation of the price of that important commodity which constitutes the staple food crop of a majority of the population. Speaking at the Agricultural Conference at Poona in October, 1909, Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the then Governor of Bombay said:

"The provision of an adequate food supply is a primary condition of the existence of mankind, and the great growth of population which has accompanied British rule, and which is still proceeding, entails more and more demands upon the land. Whether the prevailing high prices are due to a growing disproportion between the population and the production of foodstuffs, or whether they arise from other causes, the fact remains that the 300 millions of people in India must be fed, that the food supply will have to be increased as the years go on and that a point may be reached at which the growth of other staples will have to be checked unless the production of the necessaries of life can be increased."

Rice is eaten by the Bengalees, Assamese, Uriyas, Madrasis, Biharis, and even the Mahrattas. Its use is extending to the other races of India as well. Its cultivation occupies over 79 million acres, while wheat which is the staple food crop for most of the remaining communities of India is cultivated in 30 million acres. More than one-third of all the cultivated lands is under rice and only one-ninth is under wheat. The world production of cleaned rice has been calculated at 90 million tons, and Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., in his "Handbook of Commercial Information for India," has taken India's share to be 40 per cent. of this grand figure. If it can be established that the total produce of rice is not sufficient to meet the total requirements of the people, it will certainly be considered suicidal for the people of India to allow any export to foreign countries under the head of rice.

II.

QUANTITIES OF RICE REQUIRED FOR THE RICE-EATING POPULATION.

It has to be ascertained what is the total quantity of rice required for the rice-eating population of India in order to maintain them in health and strength. For this purpose the scales of food prescribed in the Famine Codes of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces and in the Bengal Jail Code, may be taken to represent the lowest amount required per day to maintain an ordinary man in proper health. As these scales are somewhat different I have assumed an average standard for the convenience of this discussion. The table below shows the prescribed scales as well as the assumed average :—

Age.	Quantity of rice fixed per man per day in the Bengal, Bombay, Madras and United Provinces Famine Codes.	Quantity of rice fixed per man per day in the Bengal Jail Code.	Standard adopted for present discussion.
1	2	3	4
	Ozs.	Ozs.	Ozs.
0 to 1 year ...	6·2 } to the	4·1	*Nli.*
1 to 2 years ...	6·2 } mother.	8·2	7
2 to 5 years ...	8·2	...	8
5 to 10 years ...	10·3	...	10
10 to 15 years ...	15·4 to 17·5	18·5	18
15 to 50 years ...			
Male workers	35·0	26·7	30
Male non-workers	22·6	18·5	
Female workers	26·7	18·5	24
Female non-workers	18·5	18·5	
Above 50 years ...	...	...	20

In fixing the standard in column 4 of the above table it has been assumed that a woman requires four-fifths and a child three-fifths of the food of an adult male.

The provinces in which 99 per cent. of the rice produced in India is grown are nine in number, *viz.*, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Bombay, Sind and Coorg. Wheat and millets are also grown in some of these provinces and form the staple food of portions of the population. The relative importance of the various food crops in the different provinces may be gauged from the following statistics taken from the "Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India, 1919-20":—

Province.	Total cultivated area in acres.	Area in acres under		
		Rice.	Wheat.	Millets.
1	2	3	4	5
Bengal	24,424,000	20,938,000	116,000	92,000
Bihar and Orissa	24,867,000	15,255,000	1,145,000	1,354,000
Madras	32,964,000	11,649,000	...	2,000
United Provinces	34,500,000	6,539,000	7,037,000	4,378,000
Central Provinces and Berar ...	23,722,000	5,762,000	3,321,000	16,000
Assam	5,733,000	4,114,000	...	...
Bombay	29,327,000	2,175,000	1,849,000	26,000
Sind		1,100,000	587,000	32,000
Coorg	142,000	83,000	...	...
	175,679,000	67,615,000	14,055,000	5,900,000

It will appear that in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Assam and Coorg rice is the principal crop. The population of those provinces may practically be considered to be mostly rice-eaters. In the other provinces where a fair proportion of staple crops other than rice is grown, it may not be far wide of the mark, for the purpose of the present discussion, to assume that the number of rice-eaters is equivalent to the proportion which the area under rice bears to the areas under wheat and millets put together. On this assumption the proportion of rice-eaters to the total population may be considered to five-eighths in the Central Provinces and Berar, two-thirds in Sind, half in Bombay and one-third in the United Provinces. The total requirements of rice may, therefore, in the absence of more accurate standards, be calculated on the basis of these assumptions.

The population under different age groups in the nine rice provinces referred to already may be had from the Census Tables. With these figures of population and the standard quantities of rice which persons of different ages have been assumed to consume, the total quantities of rice found by calculation to be required for consumption in India are shewn in the table below :—

Age.	Population (according to census of 1911).	Quantity of rice required per head per day.	Quantity of rice required by the whole population per day.
1	2	3	4
		Ozs.	Tons.
0 to 1	5,161,163	7	150
1 to 2	2,570,704	7	
2 to 5	16,122,980	8	360
5 to 10	24,112,312	10	6,727
10 to 15	17,837,341	18	8,958
15 to 50	40,728,039 males 47,939,102 females	30 24	34,091 32,102
Above 50	18,111,575	20	1,010

Total per day—83,398 tons.
Total per annum—30,440,270 tons or
30·44 million tons.

It will thus appear that the total quantity of rice required for the rice-eating population of India amounted to 30·44 million tons in 1911. It should now be estimated what quantity was required in the year 1920, which has been adopted as the basic period for the purpose of the present review. The period from 1911 to 1920 is the intercensal period. The calculation for the intercensal period is based on the assumption that the same rate of increase holds good as during the previous intercensal period. On this assumption the rate of increase of population during 1891-1901 can be ascertained from the equation, $231{\cdot}6 = 221{\cdot}2\ (1+r)^{10}$, where r represents the annual rate of increase per unit. The rate works out at 0·463 per cent. per annum in 1901-1911 and at 0·535 per cent. per annum or say 0·5 per cent. in 1911-1920. Assuming that the rate of increase of population was uniform in all age-groups and equal to that of the increase of population as a whole, 0·5 per cent. increase in population will cause a corresponding 0·5 per cent. increase in the quantity of rice required by the rice-eating population. On this basis the quantity of rice required during the period subsequent to 1911 may be estimated as follows :—

	Millions of tons.
1911-12	30·44
1912-13	30·59
1913-14	30·74
1914-15	30·89
1915-16	31·04
1916-17	31·19
1917-18	31·34
1918-19	31·49
1919-20	31·64

The quantity of rice required in 1920 for the consumption of the rice-eating population of India was *31·64 millions of tons.* To this must be added the amount of seed required for the purpose of cultivation. Calculating at the rate of 25 lbs. of seed per acre, which is the average of 20 lbs. and 30 lbs. recommended in Mr. N. G. Mukherji's "Handbook of

Agriculture,"—the total amount of seed required for cultivating 79 millions of acres of paddy land in 1920, must have been 873 thousands of tons. The total quantity of rice required for use in India may, therefore, be estimated at *33·51 millions of tons* approximately.

III.

The Rice Crop of India.

Owing to the increase of population and the increasing demand of rice not only in India but in foreign countries as well, the area under paddy cultivation is gradually extending year after year. An idea of the extent to which both the cultivation of rice and the outturn thereof have increased can be had from the following statement:—

Years.	Average acreage.	Yield in tons.
	Millions.	Millions.
1901-05	50·06	21·55
1906-10	56·05	22·29
1911-15	70·25	23·38
1916-20	79·51	32·02

These figures clearly indicate that in spite of increased cultivation the supply of rice has not kept pace with the demand, for the total quantity required for consumption in India has been estimated at 33·51 millions of tons. It seems, therefore, that but for the relief which Burma rice gives to the people of India, the consequences would have been disastrous. The cultivation of paddy may be extended further, but it has to give way before cotton and jute which by reason of the high prices fetched by them are more popular with the tenantry and have already covered a large area. At present, however, in Bengal, the tendency to cultivate more jute is showing signs of decline. This is partly due to the low prices of jute during the last few years, and the recognition of the greater importance of a food crop. The area under jute need not be contracted, for it is necessary that the cultivator should grow some subsidiary crops like jute which he can sell and get money for paying his rent, purchasing his cloth and other necessary articles. The popular impression that the cultivation of jute is abnormally increasing and thereby prejudicing the cultivation of paddy is not well-founded as the following figures for the area under jute since 1910 will show:—

Year.	Acres.
1910	2,937,800
1911	3,106,400
1912	2,970,500
1913	2,911,000
1914	3,358,700
1915	2,375,900
1916	2,702,700
1917	2,736,000
1918	2,500,400
1919	2,821,600
1920	2,502,273

The price of jute which was Rs. 19-15-0 per bale of 400 lbs. in 1864, rose to Rs. 33-7-2 in 1894 and to Rs. 80 in 1914. In 1915-18, the price ranged between Rs. 47-8 and Rs. 54. The circumstances of India are peculiar. In spite of her being recently accorded a rank among the most important industrial countries of the world by the labour organisation of the League of Nations, she is yet an agricultural country *par excellence.* Industrialism has not yet taken hold of her. Most of the European countries as well as America are pre-eminently industrial. The food-crops grown by them are not sufficient to meet their requirements. They naturally look for supply elsewhere. India cannot, therefore, expect any supply of food from those countries. As the food-crops grown in India are not always even barely sufficient for the sustenance of her own population, the question of their exportation cannot arise until the quantity required for home consumption is ascertained in the first instance, for it is only the surplus that can go out. Jute and cotton, however, should be grown as commercial crops for they are principally meant for export to industrial countries where they are finished into articles of merchandise to be sold in other countries.

Similarly, the cultivated area for cotton, which is grown more or less in all the provinces of India, has not increased as the following figures will show :—

Years.	Average acreage.
1910-1914	23,204,000
1915-1919	21,828,000
1920-1921	21,016,000

The price of cotton per candy of 784 lbs. was Rs. 295-12-10 during the first of the periods referred to above, and Rs. 380-1-7 during the early part of the second period. In 1918 the price rose to Rs. 653, and in 1919 it was Rs. 635, but in 1920 it fell to Rs. 502-12-0. In spite of the propaganda for the cultivation of cotton there has not been any appreciable increase in its production.

IV.

VARIATIONS IN THE PRICES OF RICE.

According to the well recognised principle of Political Economy the supply of rice being inadequate, the rise in its price is inevitable. The following table shows the extent of rise since 1901 as also the average acreage and outturn :—

Year.	Quinquennial average acreage.	Yield in tons.	Average annual export.	Price per md. in rupee in Calcutta.
1901-1905	50,067,000	21,550,000	2,083,448	(*a*) 3/ 9/ 6 (*b*) 4 /14/ 3
1906-1910	55,051,000	22,291,000	1,864,595	4/ 9/ 8
1911-1915	70,252,000	28,389,000	2,358,819	(*a*) 5/ 4/ 6 (*b*) 6 / -/-
1916	79,514,000	32,025,000	1,635,280	6/ 4/ -
1917				5/ 1/ -
1918				4/ 2/ -
1919				6/ 15/ 6
1920				8/ 6/ -

If the prices be traced further backwards the proportion of rise becomes more marked. The way in which these high prices are being tolerated in the present day, makes the stories of low prices prevailing in pre-British days almost incredible. It is said that during the time of Shaista Khan, who was the Viceroy of Bengal in the seventeenth century, the price of rice having fallen to eight maunds for the rupee, he had one of the gates of the city of Dacca closed and an inscription put thereon that the gate should be opened only by the person during whose administration the price of rice would again fall to that level. It is a matter of history that during the reign of Murshidkuli Khan the price again fell to that level, and the Deputy Governor, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, opened that gate with great cheer. We find in the "Sixth Report" submitted to the Parliamentary Committee that in 1782 during the time of Warren Hastings the price of common rice in Calcutta was 4 maunds 35 seers for the rupee. The average price of rice—

in 1864-68 was Rs. 2-12-1 a maund,
in 1889-93 was Rs. 3-8-10 a maund,
in 1904-08 was Rs. 4-14-3 a maund,
in 1914-18 was Rs. 5-4-6 a maund,

while in 1920 the price was Rs. 8-6-0 a maund. (Prices and Wages in India, 1922, p. 225.)

Mr. K. L. Datta in his "Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India," Volume I, classifies the principal causes affecting the general price-level into the following broad heads:—

(1) A shortage in the supply of agricultural products and raw materials;
(2) An increase in the demand for these commodities;
(3) An increase in the cost of production;
(4) The development of railways and other communications in India and the lowering of direct and indirect costs of transports in India itself and between Indian ports and foreign countries;
(5) An improvement in the general monetary and banking facilities and an increase in credit; and
(6) An increase in the volume of the circulating medium.

I would attribute the gradual rise in prices generally to the following causes:—

(1) Commercial and industrial activity causing an enlargement of the market and improved facilities of communications;
(2) Periodical famines due to abnormal, physical and meteorological conditions;

(3) Unrestricted export trade; and

(4) The inflation of currency.

These causes have always been in operation since the assumption of sovereignty in India by the Crown. The year 1860 which brought in an era of peace and security after the suppression of the Mutiny was conspicuous by an all-round rise in prices, and the rise in the price of rice was not exceptional. In 1866 prices further rose owing to the Orissa famine which extended to Bengal, Bihar, Madras and the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. There was a great expansion of the export trade in 1872-73 and in 1874 there was scarcity in Bihar. The great famine of 1877-1878 which affected Western India, Northern India and Southern India caused some rise in prices. In 1891-92 prolonged draught caused distress in Madras, Bombay and Bihar. There were also large exports owing to the failure of crops in Europe. The prices in India rose almost to famine levels. There were famines again in 1897 and 1900. The year 1905 saw another rapid rise in the prices of food-grains. In 1906 the crops in Bengal were damaged by floods, and the rise in prices was accentuated thereby. In 1909 there was a phenomenal rice crop in the whole of Bengal, and there was a temporary fall, but the price rose again owing to a strong demand from China. In 1911 the unfavourable monsoon and the strong demand for export again raised the prices. In 1915 serious floods in Assam and parts of Bengal were responsible for increased prices. In 1918 the defective rainfall almost throughout the country affected the autumn and spring crops. In 1920 the high prices were due to a smaller yield of crop caused by defective rainfall.

The spirit of commercial enterprise which the Britishers brought to this country and the administrative difficulties which the English conquerors experienced for want of easy communication necessitated the construction of railways in India soon after their establishment in England, and in 1845 the East Indian Railway; the Great Indian Peninsular Railway and the Madras Railway received the sanction of Government to open lines in different directions. Railway building was, however, taken up on a serious scale since after the issue of Lord Dalhousie's great Minute of 1853 in which the social, political and commercial advantages of connecting the chief cities by rail were pointed out. Subsequently other railways also came into being, *e. g.*, the Eastern Bengal Railway in 1857, the Bengal Nagpur Railway in 1887 and the Assam Bengal Railway in 1892; so that the whole country became a network of railway lines. To-day there are more than 33,000 miles of railway in India and Burma as compared with 1,600 miles in 1861. With the extension of the railway system, innumerable roads have been constructed and steamer lines have been opened to feed the railways. These means of communication have facilitated the transfer of raw materials and food crops to distant countries, and with the increase of demand the prices have naturally risen.

The inflation of currency as the result of an attempt to introduce a western standard in India has played no small part in raising prices. In India where the bulk of the population are extremely poor there is no need for a currency of high value. In the past *cowries* were current and the necessaries of life could be had for a few *cowries*. They have gradually been replaced by nickel and silver coins of much higher value. Prices have thus been artificially raised.

V.

FACTS RELATING TO EXPORT TRADE IN RICE.

Up to the period immediately preceding the War, the export trade in rice had been assuming alarming proportions. The total export of rice which amounted to 8·76 million tons in 1901-02 rose to 13·36 million tons in 1913. Owing to the Great European War which began in August 1914 there was an appreciable falling-off in export in the succeeding years, but that did not lead to any decline in prices. This might seem to falsify the theory which attributes high prices to export. But really there is nothing wrong in the theory itself, for there were other causes in operation which prevented the price from falling. To counterbalance the contraction in export, there were large quantities commandeered by the military authorities for consumption in war areas. Rice merchants took advantage of the situation and stocked large quantities to sell at exorbitant prices. This ultimately resulted in actual profiteering. Consequently although the quantities of rice exported out of India amounted to 13·02 millons of hundred-weights only in 1920, the price of rice which was Rs. 6-15-6 in 1919 rose to Rs. 8-6-0, a maund.

The "Prices Enquiry Committee," formed in 1920 in pursuance of a resolution passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, went in detail into the question of the high prices of rice. In the report which they submitted to the Government they said :—" In Bengal we consider export to be the principal factor in keeping up the high prices of food-stuffs. There can be no objection to the export of food-stuffs if there is really any surplus stock in the country, or if there is sufficient reserve stock." In support of their statement the Committee pointed out how in April, 1921, when the restrictions on the inter-provincial movement of rice were removed, the price of Bengal rice steadily rose every week owing to the exportation of rice from Bengal to Karachi and from Karachi to the Persian Gulf and other foreign stations. The Government of Bengal in reviewing the report of the Committee in their resolution No. 1704-Com., dated the 25th April, 1921, did not, however, agree that the export trade was an evil. They remarked :— "All restrictions on trade and particularly on the inter-provincial traffic of food-stuffs are in themselves an evil, and have been proved by the experience of the last two years to be an evil, to which the country cannot justifiably be asked to submit, unless there is a reasonable prospect that a greater evil will thereby be averted............................ . The Governor in Council cannot leave this aspect of the case, without expressing his dissent from the view of the Committee that the restrictions on the export of rice from Bengal can be imposed without injuring the cultivator. It is admitted that such restrictions must tend to depress the prices obtained by the cultivator, and must therefore injuriously affect those cultivators who have surplus stocks to dispose of, but the Committee claim that 'the number of agriculturists who get and can keep sufficient stock of their rice for consumption throughout the year and have surplus for sale so as to derive benefit from the high prices at the export time is very small.' His Excellency in Council is unable to concur in this description of the condition of the Bengal agriculturist.................. .... A large surplus notoriously exists, and it is obvious that any artificial measure tending to reduce the price of food-grains must in the long run tend to discourage production by inducing the cultivator to take to the cultivation of commercial crops yielding a higher profit."

England being the high sponsor of Free Trade, it is natural that the British Government in India would very much like to follow the same policy. But a deviation from this avowed policy has sometimes been induced by the circumstances of India. In 1866 the Committee appointed by the Government of India to revise the customs tariff recommended the raising of the duty on grain to serve as a check on the exportation of a staple article of food during a period of famine. The necessity for such deviation was also recognised in 1873. The Government of India declared :—"Nothing could justify recourse to this expedient of prohibiting exports of food-stuffs unless it were a certainty or reasonable probability that exports of food had so exhausted the resources of India as to render them incapable of affording supplies, which may be required for affected districts." (Indian Foodstuffs Commissioner's Report, para 15). This principle was re-affirmed on behalf of the Government of India by Sir John Miller in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1908. This principle was acted upon during the period of the Great European War, and from 1915 to 1920 some form of embargo always existed on the export of food grains from India. On the 17th December, 1918 the Government of India frankly declared the inability of India to supply any rice to Austria, Canada, the Dutch East Indies, China and various other countries. In fact, the export of rice from India during 1918-1920 (2 years) amounted to 991,659 tons only as against the previous annual average of 2,044,011 tons. Such prohibition has not been restricted to food articles alone. Not long ago the Government of India extended the prohibition to coal also and coal shipments from India to foreign countries came to a standstill. As a result the coal trade of the United Kingdom flourished immensely, and there was an increase in the output of coal by 39 million tons and a corresponding increase in profits amounting to £29 million.

The export trade in rice would be advantageous to the country only if there be a surplus left after meeting the demand for home consumption. But it has already been made clear that this is far from the case. Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, an Indian Economist, in his "Fiscal Policy in India" (p. 199) writes :—" It is open to doubt whether there is, in a normal year, any exportable surplus of food-grains in the country. Some persons, whose opinions are entitled to weight, hold that the total production of food in India is not sufficient for her own consumption, and if everybody were to be adequately fed, she would be a food importing, not exporting country." As within the country itself the supply is less than the demand in the matter of her principal food product, India can hardly afford to be generous and undertake the task of supplying food to foreign countries. For many years she had been sending food grains not only to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland but also to many of the countries of Europe, America, Japan, China, Persia, Africa, Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chile, and to all the British, Dutch, French and Portuguese colonies. The Strait Settlements, Ceylon, Japan and Java purchase Indian rice in large quantities. Before the Great War Germany, Austria-Hungary and Holland were India's largest customers. It appears from the Indian Trade Review for 1912-13 that while the exports to Asiatic countries were meant for food consumption, the vast quantities sent to Europe were mainly used for starch-making and distillation. The export of rice to foreign countries for purposes like these, while the producers themselves would be famishing, is nothing short of a suicidal policy. The views of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 1922, in connection with the imposition of export duties are very significant. According to them export duties should be imposed with great caution, and should be imposed only on articles in which India has a monopoly or semi-monopoly. The only exception to these principles which they recognise is *when the price of food-stuffs shows a tendency to rise to dangerous heights.* In such a case, they hold, it *may be necessary to restrict the export of food grains,* and that as there are grave objections to direct Government prohibition or regulation of exports, the least objectionable measure would be a temporary export duty on food grains. It is hoped that in view of these observations and the condition of food supply in India, it will not be difficult for the Government of India to finally adopt such a policy with reference to the export of food grains as may be consistent with the best interest of India, though it may violate the strict principles of free trade. The argument often advanced that the export is principally meant to meet the demand of Indians staying in some of the colonies cannot always be accepted in support of the policy of export. The Indians that migrate from this country and settle in other lands should not expect any supply till the needs of the producers themselves are met, though when any quantity becomes available for export their claims are entitled to the first consideration. It is not rare for India to show such consideration. It will appear from para 16 of the Indian Foodstuffs Commissioner's Report that in 1918-19 a serious situation in Ceylon was saved by the relief sent from India by the export of 26,000 tons of rice, a month. But for this the island containing a large population of Tamil coolies from the Madras Presidency would have starved. These are, however, exceptional occasions when a settled Governmental policy has to give way before the larger feeling of humanity.

The Government of Bengal in their Resolution on the "Report of the Prices Enquiry Committee" have remarked that "a large surplus of rice stock notoriously exists." The basis for this statement has not been explained; neither is it an easy thing to ascertain the stock of rice or paddy in each household, particularly as such stock is constantly varying. It appears from the "Report on the operations of the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, 1920," that the attempts made in November, 1918 and in June, 1919 to ascertain the stocks of rice in Bengal proved more or less abortive. "It was impossible," it is frankly stated in the Report, "for the stocks in every village to be examined, not only because the staff was inadequate but also because the risk of panic could not be faced; reliance had to be placed on general estimates based on detailed enquiries in typical villages and on information from traders. Actually, enquiry showed that there was no ascertainable relation between the total stocks in most districts and the amounts left with the large stock-holders. The proposed comparison of existing with normal stocks proved to be useless...They did not prove the existence of a surplus over normal stocks, but they made it very probable." In connection with the rice census of June, 1919 it is remarked that "taken generally the returns could not be accepted as giving an accurate estimate of the total stocks of the province." The Report of the Director of Civil Supplies, Bihar and Orissa, also contains a similar confession as to the uselessness of such censuses, for it is said that " it is not practicable to obtain reliable information of the stocks held by the people in their own houses and villages. ....The estimates taken as a whole are so plainly unreliable that no conclusions of value can be drawn from them." It is conceivable that at any particular season of the year the cultivators and others may have large stocks of rice at their disposal, for example, in Bengal, immediately after the winter harvest. But as time wears on, the stock gradually diminishes, so that about the middle of the rainy season a majority of farmers and cultivators find their so-called inexhaustible store entirely exhausted, and they are compelled to purchase Burma rice of much inferior quality which they are not ordinarily used to eat. If surplus stock should exist, the distribution of *takavi* loans or the importation of Burma rice for the consumption of distressed people, which Government not unoften undertake would be quite unnecessary. It is possible, and is frequently a fact, that there are certain sections of the people, for example, the monied *mahajan* and the speculating trader, who keep large stocks in hand,—call it 'surplus' if you please,—for the purpose of 'profiteering' in difficult times. But for the majority of people a surplus stock is entirely out of the question. Had there really existed such a stock, it would have been easy for the people to tide themselves over times of scarcity and famine. But it is an undeniable fact that in such difficult times they find themselves in awful misery. To avert such difficulties *dharmagolas* in which grain contributions are received on co-operative principles have been started, and the multiplication of such institutions, which should stock whatever seasonal surpluses may be available, would be all for the good of the country. It is with such reserve stocks alone that export in the matter of food grains can be more freely indulged in.

Another argument often put forward by the advocates of free trade against an embargo on the export of food-grains is that it leads to the depression of prices obtained by the actual cultivator. This argument might be acceptable in a country inhabited solely by cultivators, where there are none outside the producing class among whom there may be any demand. But the condition of India is different. Here besides the cultivators there have always been hosts of other people who have to purchase rice, and from whom the cultivators are not at all likely to demand a price which is not considerably above the cost of production, for the latter have to keep in view the prices of some of the other necessaries of life for which they have to pay. If during the years when there has been no surplus, export outside India be allowed, not only will there be a shortage of food-grain, but the prices of even other commodities would rise so high as to adversely affect all classes of people from the highest to the lowest. In India, as in most agricultural countries, food price is the real index, on which hinge the prices of other articles, for every individual, in whatever station of life he may be placed, follows his own calling ordinarily for the purpose of purchasing food and other necessaries; and he fixes the price of the article produced by himself or the fees of his profession in terms of the price of food. Conditions in India in recent years have very conclusively proved this fact. The high prices of food-stuffs have necessitated the revision of pay of most of the employees both under Government and private companies; medical practitioners have raised their fees and wage-earners have raised their rates. So that ultimately the cultivator is also touched.

The state of things in India is so peculiar that even when looked at from another point of view, the lot of the cultivator does not show much sign of improvement. Suppose the export of food-grains is allowed to go on freely and plenty of money flow into the country; but unfortunately a very small proportion of the increased wealth goes into the pocket of the cultivator, for the lion's share is appropriated by the much-despised but indispensable middleman who must make his existence felt till education permeates the lower strata of society.

VI.

CONCLUSION.

From the brief *resumè* of facts set forth above it is evident that the conditions of India are very much incongenial to the pursuit of a policy of unrestricted free trade in the matter of rice. While the total produce of rice in 1920 amounted to 31·64 millions of tons, the total requirements of the producers themselves and their countrymen were 33·51 millions of tons. It is not fair that they should be encouraged to export their own produce, which is naturally more suitable for their use, and ultimately compelled to purchase unwholesome Burma rice to meet their own requirements. In favourable years when bumper crops are obtained, export will take place as a matter of course and no intervention of Government is necessary. Trade will automatically resume its normal course and the movement of food-grains may be safely left to the regulation of the laws of supply and demand. But in lean years, when the people themselves have not got enough for their own consumption and the masses in their ignorance and impecuniosity fail to realise the baneful effect of parting with their stock, export should be restricted. The Indian Fiscal Commission have recommended the imposition of an export duty, but I think it would be better still, if Government adopts a system of control instead, more or less similar to what was followed in 1918-19. The crop in India is very much dependent on conditions on which weak mortals can have no control. Conditions in India are very much different to those of Burma, where the monsoon is usually most propitious and the rice harvest ordinarily fulfils human expectations. As there are Government agencies to watch weather conditions and the prospect of crops in every village and district, it will always be possible for Government to decide every year what policy should be pursued in the matter of export of rice. As long as education does not make sufficient headway among the masses in India and they continue to be as ignorant of the conditions of the world as they are at present, this duty will devolve upon the Government, and the interested agitation of the monied mercantile classes, who must obviously be always in favour of unrestricted export trade, will have to be scrupulously guarded against. Otherwise it will not be possible for her to emerge from the stigma of poverty, from which India has long been suffering, in spite of her proverbial prosperity in the days of yore when her land "bloomed and grew with unabated bounty, waving with yellow harvests." What Sir W. W. Hunter, than whom India has seen few more able and distinguished administrators, observed more than a quarter of a century ago in his famous work "England's Work in India," *viz.*, that a fifth of the population went through life on insufficient food, still proves true. It is up to the Government of the country to give a different turn to the state of things by following a policy of restricted export trade. It may not be desirable for Government to directly control the price of rice nor perhaps possible by executive orders to extend its cultivation, but it is always practicable, as past experience has shown, by following a system of control in the matter of movement of food-grains in critical times, "to reduce speculation, to conserve supplies, to keep down prices in exporting provinces and to indirectly facilitate price control in importing provinces."

The International Commercial Congress, held in Paris in June and July, 1920, was also of opinion that the necessities of the producing countries were to be given the first consideration and the needs of the allied nations considered next. It appears from the Report of the Prices Enquiry Committee, that in 1919-1920 the Government of Bengal acted on this policy and persistently refused to agree to the exportation of rice from the province of Bengal as long as the possibilities of high prices of food-grains lasted, in spite of repeated requests from the Government of India for the withdrawal of restrictions on export. That this was the right policy to pursue was proved by the fact that as soon as the Government of India subsequently removed all restrictions on the inter-provincial movements of rice, the price of Bengal rice steadily rose week after week. I have already pointed out that in certain circumstances, for example, like those prevailing during the time of the Great War, even the Government of India are prepared to relax the rigid principle of free trade and put some form of embargo on export. During the time of the War the restriction was imposed for three reasons, *viz.*, (1) for the prevention of leakage to the enemy, (2) for the conservation of supplies and (5) for the maintenance of local prices at levels reasonable to both the consumer and the producer. The first inducement was a purely temporary one and has ceased to exist but the other two will continue to be operative from time to time, for the conditions on which the growth of crops are so much dependent in India are most variable. The Government of India will always have to keep these two points in view, in dealing with the question of export of rice from India.

"SALBURD."

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE AMONG THE ARABS

Of the civilisation of a people no test is surer than the status they accord to woman. When she is endowed with full legal rights, and stands by the side of her husband—not merely as the mother of his children, but the mistress of his household —not merely the first among his attendants, but his life-long friend and companion—then, and then only, the people among whom the relationship subsisting between the sexes has developed on these lines may be said to be civilised. Of this proposition early Arab annals offer convincing proof.[1]

During the highest bloom of Arab nationality, woman was not only man's equal, but was not infrequently the object of a chivalrous devotion. But, with growing political degeneration, the social conditions worsened too, and the *Harem-system* began to manifest its degrading influences. The portrait of a free, courageous wife, with an independent will of her own, vanishes and, in her stead, step into light the fair captives of the *Harem*, immersed in toilet, in trifles, in sensual pleasures, shorn of all dignified pride—the brightest ornament of emancipated womanhood.

The modern Arab woman is pretty, but generally not educated; virtuous, but not always from a consciousness of the value of chastity. But whatever may be her position now—far different is the picture of her which has come down to us from the early days of Islam, or from those of Arab antiquity.

Harith Ibn Auf, the powerful chief of the Murra tribe, decided to woo a bride. He asked a friend if he thought any Arab chief would dare refuse the hand of his daughter to him. Yes indeed! said he. And when Harith questioned who that proud one might be—his friend replied: Aus Ibn

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[1] Von Kremer, Culturgeschichte des Orients, Vol. II, pp. 95 *et seq.*

Haritha of the tribe of Tāyy. He straightway ordered a slave to get two dromedaries ready for him, and, when ready, he rode away with his friend to Aus. Aus met him just in front of his house. He greeted the new-comers and enquired the business which had brought them there. I come to seek a bride of thee—said Harith. Thereupon rejoined the other—to the wrong place hast thou come, and angrily made back for his house. His wife, who was of the tribe of Abs, asked him who the stranger was that had stopped, and to whom he had spoken so curtly and sharply. He told her that it was Harith Ibn Auf—the most prominent figure of the entire neighbourhood—that he had come to seek a bride of him, and that he had peremptorily refused him and turned away from him, taking him to be mad. The wise woman bitterly reproached her peevish husband, and vehemently remonstrated with him for treating in such an off-hand fashion so distinguished a tribal chief, and argued with him until he yielded and promised to ride after the two strangers and induce them to return home with him. This he did. He speedily set out, overtook them at a little distance, and begged them to return and accept his hospitality. They consented. Aus, after he had seen to the comfort of his guests, sent for his three daughters.

To the eldest he spoke first. He told her what the matter was, and asked her if she would accept Harith as her husband. She replied: O father! I am not pretty, and I have many faults. Besides my suitor is neither my cousin nor yet a neighbour of mine who would, for thy sake, show consideration to me. Nor must I forget that, if I please him not, he will divorce me, and then eternal will be my disgrace. Aus said: may God bless thee, my daughter! Thou art right. In the same strain he spoke to his second daughter, and she too, like her elder sister, declined the offer. To Bahysa, the youngest, he now turned with the same proposal, and this was her reply: I am pretty and am well-versed in handicraft.

Of noble descent am I. Fair and tall too. Despite all this—were my husband to put me aside and divorce me, may God punish him! Her father said: God bless thee! He then went to his guest and said: I give my daughter Bahysa as a bride to thee. Now preparations were made for the wedding. The father of the bride had a large tent pitched, and when everything was ready the bride was conducted to the bride-groom. But, when he wanted to approach her, she repelled him, saying: what! here, with my father and my brothers and sisters, shall I celebrate my nuptial day? Never. Thereupon Harith gave orders to start. Tents were taken down; camels were saddled and loaded and lo! the small caravan was on its way home. After they had gone some distance, Harith halted for the night. When again he approached his young wife, she repelled him, saying: what! dost thou treat me like a slave-girl whom one purchases or takes as a captive of war. By God! thou shalt not embrace me until my marriage is festively and fittingly celebrated in the midst of thy tribesmen, with camels and sheep slaughtered for the feast, to which are invited guests from all the Arab tribes. Thereupon they continued their journey until they reached the homeland of the tribe. A feast was prepared. Guests were invited. Camels and sheep were killed and roasted. Once again Harith approached his wife, but she, as before, repelled his advances, saying: How findest thou the time to fondle and caress women, when the Arabs outside are mutually extirpating themselves, and the two tribes of Abs and Dhubyan are well-nigh on the verge of extermination. Hasten, then, to them; reconcile the two tribes; and then come home to thy wife, who longingly and lovingly will await thy arrival. Harith, forthwith, rode to the two hostile tribes, and restored peace among them. The slain on either side were counted, and blood-money was arranged to be paid to the tribe which showed an excess of slain over the other. Harith pledged himself to the blood-money, assessed at 3,000 camels, which he undertook to deliver in course of three years. After this was done, Harith returned home—praised, applauded by all. His wife Bahysa received him in her loving, caressing arms and bore him as many sons as daughters.[1]

The classical finish and noble simplicity of this charming little story alone show that it comes from the best days of Arab Chivalry, and present us with an ideal portrait of the Arab woman as she was then conceived, painted, described. It would perhaps be rash to accept this story as a true presentation of facts, but doubtless it does convey a fairly accurate idea of the Arab woman as entertained in those far-off days. The story may be set down as one, in all probability, belonging to the first or second century of the Muslim era. It was an age when they loved to invent such romantic, moving tales of Arab antiquity, or of Beduin life, to cheer and enliven friendly gatherings at eventide. Both at the court of Damascus, and later at that of Baghdad, such stories were highly relished.

The qualities expected of a woman, to please and attract men, were not merely personal beauty, but noble descent, intelligence, cultivated taste, forceful character. The most shining embodiment of these qualities was Ayasha, daughter of Talha, grand-daughter of the Caliph Abu Bakr, and niece of Ayasha, wife of the Prophet. She was the prettiest and the proudest woman of her time. She never wore the veil, and to her husband (Musab), who bitterly taunted her for it, she answered: " on me God has set the seal of beauty, and I rejoice when my beauty is seen and the mercy of God is therein acknowledged. Never shall I cover my face, for no flaw or fault finds a place in God's work." This led to a scene with her jealous husband, and being of a fiery temper she broke off all connection with him for a time. The husband went to war, and returned victorious. Ayasha, however, felt the estrangement deeply, and secretly wished it would end. A freed woman suggested the return of her husband from war as the right and proper moment for peace and reconciliation. Ayasha went to meet him; congratulated him on his return; wiped the dust off his face and coat-of-mail, and when the husband said that he feared that the smell of the rusty iron coat-of-mail and of the weapons might be offensive to her she rejoined; By God, it is sweeter and lovelier to me than the musk. Musab, her second husband, gave her a dowry of 50,000 Dirhams. After him she married a third time; and her husband, one of the wealthiest and noblest Omayyads, presented her a dower of 1½ million Dirhams, and to it he added another half-a-million as a gift. Even her third husband she survived. When he died, she sang the funeral dirge, conveying therein that she never would marry again.[1] Such repeated marriages were by no means rare, nor did they cause the slightest scandal. Atiqa, belonging to one of the noblest families of Mekka, married three times; and when, on the death of her third husband, a noble Mekkan sought her hand, she replied that she was by no means inclined to outlive her fourth husband.[2] As all her husbands had fallen in battle, the saying arose "he who wished speedily to enter Paradise let him marry Atiqa."

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[1] Kitabul-Aghani, IX, 149-151.

In the choice of husbands women enjoyed the most perfect freedom. There is even a case on record of a widow of the Caliph (Saffah) marrying a private gentleman of poor circumstances, though of distinguished lineage.[3] Suspecting an intrigue with a slave-girl, she divorced him in the end.

I shall conclude with one more instance; namely, that of Sukaina, who distinguished herself, not merely by marrying several times, but by making complete freedom of action a condition-precedent to her marriages.[4] On her third marriage she stipulated that she was in no way to be interfered with in her freedom of action, and that her husband was to give in to her in everything. She enforced this stipulation so vigorously that her husband had no alternative but to divorce her. She married a fourth time, but this marriage too was soon dissolved.[1]

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[1] Aghani, X, 54. [2] Aghani, XVI, 133. [3] Aghani, IV, 89.

[4] Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 581. "Maimuna, daughter of Al-Harith Ibn Hazn and member of the tribe of Hilal was married to Masud Ibn Umar-ul-Thakafi in the time anterior to the announcement of Islam. Divorced by her husband she became, the wife of

In the social intercourse of the sexes there was no check or hindrance. Men called on women without hesitation, and women received them without the least fear of comment—not only their relatives but even strangers.[2] They went out when they pleased, and enjoyed with men the right of praying at the mosque at the stated time of prayers[3]—a practice which fell into disuse by the third century of the A. H.

The right of choosing husbands was conceded to them, and so was the right of refusing those that did not please them. Unanimous was the opinion of the oldest jurists that a wife never could be bought; that the presents which her father or other kinsmen made to her, before marriage, were her own separate property.[4] Finally, the jurists expressly acknowledged the woman's right to bind her husband, before marriage, not to take a second wife during her life-time.

Although the instances cited above refer to women of the highest circles of society, the statement that the position of women, in less exalted spheres, was no less favourable, hardly calls for special proof. If anything, it was, in point of fact, freer and more independent—only as might be expected, the wife had to attend to domestic work.[5] In the humble hut of the

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Abdul Uzza, and on his death she was espoused by the Prophet, A. H., 5. She was the last of his wives." Ibn Khall, Vol. I, p. 580 (note 1).

[1] Aghani, XIV, 170, 171.

[2] Aghani, XIX, 161.

[3] Bukhari, 553, 555, 567.

[4] Muatta, III, 8.

[5] Spinning was the work which women did in the highest circles. Maarri speaks of it in one of his epigrams : Teach her to spin, to weave, to do embroidery work. I might observe here that the word which I translate as 'embroidery work' perhaps only means 'crotchet work,' for it is well-known that 'embroidery work' was only introduced into Europe in the XVIth century. It is said to have made its way first in southern countries—

peasant; in the tent of the dwellers of the desert; in the houses of the modest commoners and the simple artisan, she exercised an influence perhaps greater by far than that exercised by the wife in the palace of the rich where the master could easily forget the displeasure of one in the embraces of another. For those the wife was the ruler, with unlimited powers in the domestic circle. And thus it need not surprise us to find Abul Atiyyah (of the time of Harun-ul-Rashid) referring thus to his wife in a poem:

"Ah! For her will I gladly renounce all life's prizes and all the world's wealth."

In the beginning of Islam the status of woman was indeed high, honourable, independent. For sometime woman was even the object of chivalrous devotion. Men sang of her in rapturous terms and wove around her all the enchantment of romance. In the legends of the North Arabian tribes, nothing is reckoned nobler, more glorious, more worthy of imitation, than the daring feats of a warrior who, in defiance of all danger, nay, at the very risk of his life, seeks to protect women from shame and lust. And in a heroic defence of this sort does Antar, the hero of the North Arabian legends, end his life, loved and honoured by all. In an attack he saved the women of his tribe from dishonour, and single-handed held out against the hostile troops until his tribesmen had effected a safe retreat. Though mortally wounded, he stuck to his post on his charger, at the mouth of a defile, leaning on his spear. There, in that position, he breathed his last. While thus holding his post, women managed to get safely back to their tribal camp, where the enemy did not venture to pursue them. Only when the movement of the horse brought the corpse down, was it perceived how even in death he continued his yeoman service to his very own. Unworthy and contemptible it was always held to be, to wound or kill a woman.

Spain and Italy. I will not venture to decide whether this was a European invention or an importation from the East.

When the wife of a rebel was killed under orders of Abdullah Ibn Zubair, the rival Caliph at Mekka, a poet, expressing his indignation, concluded thus :[1] "Ordained for us men it is to kill or to be killed, but for women naught else is ordained but to trail the train of their dresses." And another poet thus speaks of his wife: I see husbands strike their wives, but may my hand wither were I to raise it against Zainab.............Zainab is the sun, while naught but stars are the rest of womankind. Before the splendour of her peerless beauty not one single star doth man notice.[2] Even in the earliest period of Muslim warfare, it was settled law that women and children of the enemy—even non-Muslims—were not to be killed or ill-treated unless they actually took part in war.

The disgrace of having lowered the high position of women belongs, in the first instance, to the morose, fanatical theologians of Islam. It was not due, to be sure, to the fact that they were indifferent or insensible to feminine charms—for they had their own well-stocked *Harems*—but outside that delightful little paradise—they loved to affect a thorough contempt for things earthly, and to express a pious horror at the sinfulness of the world and the levity of the fair sex. For this reason, perhaps, one of the oldest traditionists has collected, with apparent relish, several traditions which purport to say[3] that women, for the most part, will go to Hell. The pious traditionist has obviously forgotten that Mohamed has peopled his paradise with *Huris* of unfading beauty, youth and grace. But these attacks of the theologians and the fanatics would not, of themselves, have been powerful enough to effect so complete a transformation in the social status of women as that which later followed had there not been other causes contributing to that end. The gradual decline of the old Arab aristocracy appears to have dealt a serious blow at the dignity of womanhood. The old families of Mekka who, during the first century, regarded their right to rule as a hereditary right, rapidly disappeared during the unceasing wars, and gave place to a mixed race wanting alike in purity of descent and in refinement of feelings. Equally responsible for rapid degeneration, I doubt not, were frequent marriages between close relations. This was felt early enough, for it tended to prejudicially affect physical development. Thus Omar I is once said to have observed, and expressed, in an assembly of the Quraish, their small, undersized stature; whereupon they rejoined that it was due to the extreme frequency of marriages between relations (cousins). Omar I is reported to have recommended the discontinuance of this practice. A poet, speaking of a man whose physical strength he intended to emphasise and applaud, says: His father was not a cousin of his mother.[1] The idea of transmission of hereditary defects is illustrated in the remarkable statement that a curious defect in speech, called *Rattah*, a certain clumsiness of tongue, at the beginning of speech, was a peculiarity of the noblest families—a peculiarity which was transmitted as a hereditary gift.[2] Whatever it may be—other causes also—to which we shall allude later, soon hastened the moral and physical declension of the Arab race. Noble figures—such as we have described—became rarer and rarer. Zubaida, the cultured wife of Harun, was the last of the band of the noble, self-asserting, high-born lady of the old aristocratic type. The poems of a certain Hamida, handed down to us, best illustrate the proud consciousness of these aristocratic ladies. She was constrained to wed a man of low descent. In a satire on him she said; A full-blooded Arab woman am I—born of a noble mother. A noble child do I bring to the world. If such an one—know 'tis mine. But if a monster—know equally 'tis his.[1] Soon, indeed, such women disappeared, and this not merely because the old aristocratic Arabs dwindled and died away, but also because such women were no longer in demand. They, therefore, as a class, became extinct. The idea of nobility of descent, both on the father's and the mother's side—so tenaciously held in earlier times—gradually lost its hold on the popular mind. In the beginning of the Caliphate there is not one single instance of the son of a concubine (even when the father was a Caliph) succeeding to the Caliphate. An Omayyad Caliph attempted it, but unsuccessfully.[2] While in the beginning they despised the sons of concubines; later they altogether blinked at or ignored descent on the mother's side.[3] Thus in the place of *marriages of equals*—on which great emphasis was laid earlier—the rule of mistresses and courtesans set in. The legitimate wife could not successfully combat or quell the growing influence of the fair sinners deeply versed in all the arts of seduction and conquest. The pleasure-loving husbands found these absolutely irresistible; and never, indeed, seems the thought of securing legitimate children to have disturbed their smooth current of pleasure and shame, or to have drawn them to their lawfully-wedded wives. In this the Muslim Law is not altogether free from blame, for it put no difficulty in the way of acknowledgment of illegitimate children, nor did it worry itself with the question whether the mother was of noble or of ignoble descent. Nor could any such question be seriously or decorously raised, for most of the Caliphs themselves were sons of Greek or Persian slave-girls. The greater the laxity, the more jealous and rigorous grew the watch placed upon the legitimate but neglected wives. This marks the first step in the history of the real *Harem system*—so degrading to womankind—which has made Eastern womanhood—so lavishly endowed with all the gifts of nature—what it is to-day. It is not possible precisely to lay one's finger on the exact date when so deep and tremendous a transformation took place, for such changes occur slowly and unobserved, making the boundary line scarcely discernible where the old order vanished, yielding place to the new. But so much we can assert, that the change in the social position of women was effected some time between the end of the Omayyad rule and the Caliphate of Harun-ul-Rashid.[1]

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[1] Aghani, IV, 227.

[2] Ibn Khall, under Kadhi 'Shuraih'; Ibn Hamdun, II, 207.

[3] Bukhari, 21. Muatta, 1, 337.

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[1] Isphahani, Muhadherat, I, 207.

[2] Ibn Hamdun, I, 79. Lane: Lexicon, Sub 'Rattah.'

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[1] Aghani, XIV, 130.

[2] Von Kremer, culturgeschichte, Vol. I, 393.

[3] Ibu Khall., II, 210, under Zain-ul-Abidin. Kamil, Mubarrad, 299.

When Mukhtar (a politico-religious party-leader who, in the first half of the first century of the A. H., caused a great deal of trouble, and obtained even temporary possession of Medina), on taking possession of Medina, repaired to the mosque and ascended the pulpit to address the assembled populace there, he is reported to have said : you have chosen singing-girls as your companions and taken to eunuchs with delight.[2] We can infer from this that the introduction of eunuchs was then regarded as a foreign innovation. The old prejudice against eunuchs continued still later.[3] This hateful fashion of using eunuchs to guard the [4] *Harem* came into existence, for the first time, under the Omayyad Caliphs, presumably in imitation of the Byzantine court, or of the Persian kings. We know, indeed, that trade in eunuchs was entirely in the hands of the Byzantine slave-dealers. In the beginning, eunuchs may have been employed in rich houses, as articles of luxury, to attend to womenfolk, but with altered conditions they were transformed into imperious warders and supercilious supervisers.

Next to eunuchs, that which contributed most to the degradation of womankind was the slave-trade. With the conquest of Syria and Persia slave-girls came to Arabia in much larger numbers than had been the case before. When later the residence of the Caliph was transferred to Baghdad, it was especially the Turkish tribes of the North-Eastern frontier—conspicuous for their physical beauty—which sent in numerous contingents of attractive young women to Baghdad, to be sold as slaves. It was then a very profitable and by no means a degrading trade to purchase young women; to train them carefully in music and song, and then to sell them, at enormous prices, to rich men. The houses of the slave-dealers were the meeting-places of rich youths, who amused themselves with the girls—full of music, song and fun. Love-affairs were not altogether absent from these abodes of shame and lust, but these generally ended in either the purchase of the slave-girl for an extravagant sum or in the ultimate ruin and penury of the lovers. Both the slave-dealers and the slave-girls were adepts in the art of money-making, and they reaped a rich harvest.[1] In Baghdad and also in the large towns of Iraq these houses were the most favourite resorts of frivolous and light-minded youths. The description of one such place of business has come down to us where a rich slave-dealer, named Ibn Zamin—apparently a Persian or an Indian—living under the Caliph Mansur—received his numerous customers and lovers of his slave-girls—visits which always meant a rich flow of gold to the house. His slave-girls—one outshining the other—freely mixed with the guests; sang songs or played music before them, or received musical instruction in their presence. Salma (surnamed Zaraqa, the blue-eyed) was the *prima donna* of the house. Besides her, two other girls of this establishment (Sa'da and Rubaiha) are expressly mentioned. Very loose must have been the relations between the sexes there, for the beautiful slave-girls were not restrained by any sense of modesty in their intercourse with their rich, money-lavishing lovers. No favour was indeed withheld if only the necessary gold was forthcoming. Alongside of the *Café chantant* of Ibn Zamin[1] there was yet another *place of meeting*, at this time, at Kufa—the meeting-house of Zuraiq—where Suhaiqa held sway. Between the two *honest* men there was a violent spirit of rivalry, in which even the governor took sides, often even the side of Ibn Zamin. This honest man did excellent business with his charming slave-girls. One of his girls, Rubaiha, he sold for 100,000 Dirhams; another, Sa'da, for 90,000 Dirhams and the beautiful Zaraqa for 80,000 Dirhams. This Zaraqa was purchased by a youth whose father was the governor of Basra. The ill-advised son sought to keep the affair back from his father as long as he could. But he got wind of it, and one day he surprised the loving pair. Zaraqa scarcely had time to conceal herself. The old man made a fearful scene, and overwhelmed his son with taunts and reproaches. The son hardly knew how to appease his angry father. He made a sign to Zaraqa, who suddenly appeared on the scene; threw herself round the neck of her old father-in-law, kissed him, caressed him, and succeeded in so enchanting him, that he was completely won over to her side. There was reconciliation and forgiveness.

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[1] Goldziher, M. S. I, 124. "In the history of the decline of morals it is notable that Mamun legalised *muta marriages* by a proclamation which he was soon compelled to withdraw." Ibn Khall, IV, 36.

[2] Kutb-ul-Surur, M.S., Fol. 148.

[3] Ibn Taghribardi, I, 611.

Ibn Taghribardi, I, 148.

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[1] The author of the *Kitabul Mowashsha*, in the chapter dealing with the social conditions of Baghdad, sounds a note of warning against the snares of singing slave-girls. He says: 'if one of them sees a rich youth in a company she tries to infatuate him. She casts amorous glances at him; she sings to him; she drinks the leavings out of his cup; flings kisses at him until she captures him in her meshes and he falls desperately in love with her......Then she sends messages to him and pursues her Cunning ways. She lets him know that for him she is robbed of her sleep and never ceases to pine. She sends him a ring; a lock of hair; a piece of her nail; a little chip of wood from her lute; a fragment of her tooth-brush; a bit of sweet-scented incense (Loban) which is meant for a kiss; a short letter, folded up and tied with a chord of her lute, moistened with a few drops of tears, sealed with *Ghatiya* and impressed with her signet-ring, bearing on it an appropriate maxim or proverb. Once in her complete control, she begins asking for valuable presents, such as: materials for dress from Aden; curtains from Nishapur; garments from Angog; Turbans from Sus; silken waist bands; shoes; sandals from Kanbaja; head-ornaments set with jewels; bangles; valuable ruby rings. Not infrequently she feigns illness. She has herself treated or bled without the slightest cause. All this, indeed, with one object; namely, to obtain presents from her worshipper—presents such as: amber-scented shirts; chemises fragrant with musk; expensive lozenges; neck-chains of camphor or cloves soaked in wine, etc., etc. Unending are her demands for presents. The lover's purse exhausts itself, money is gone and the purse lies empty. Perceiving that there is nothing more to be got, she shows signs of impatience; and makes her lover feel her change of attitude. She speaks unkindly to him, and seeks a pretext for breaking with him. *Kitabul-Mowashsha*, MS, Folio 91.

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[1] Aghani, XIII, 128. The name Suhaiqa is not calculated to ensure us of the respectability of this place of business.

More and more were the rich and powerful drawn to these seductive priestesses of the enlivening arts, and instead of seeking the hands—as in the days of yore—of girls of good birth and breeding—they purchased pert and pretty slave-girls who united with the charm of good looks the careless, sunny temper of the artist. Thus Mahdi, when still Crown-Prince, purchased a pretty singing girl for 17,000 Dinars, and by her had his daughter Olayya,[1] who distinguished herself by rich artistic gifts and accomplishments.[2]

With but few exceptions the later rulers pursued the very same course as Mahdi. Light-minded, frivolous women ruled the palaces and fashioned the tone therein. This was a veritable misfortune. Numerous instances show what laxity of manners these women introduced in the best circles of society.[3] Polygamy, too, may have been largely responsible for it, by weakening and destroying the feminine ethical sensibility. In spite of this and other evils, oriental polygamy has been wholly misjudged and improperly condemned. At the time of the rise of Islam it was an institution consonant with the then existing conditions of popular life and society. For this reason, precisely, we find polygamy prevalent among all the civilized nations of antiquity. It will easily be conceded that at that stage of human history, when the tribal system reigned supreme, and there existed no strong bond binding the individual tribes—such as generally leads to the formation of a state—every tribe, every family, had to hold itself in readiness for self-defence against the rest. To defend itself successfully, it was imperative that the tribe should be strong, and able to muster a sufficient number of efficient men. This could only be done by securing the support and assistance of other tribes through kinship or other alliances. Furthermore, it was of imperious necessity that every tribe and every family should do its utmost to secure a large number of children, for upon numerical strength depended the power, the reputation, the security, the very existence of the family and the tribe. Polygamy met the needs of the time by not merely enhancing the family prestige, but by satisfying the craving for children. Through it alone could be woven valuable family alliances of one tribe with another.[1] And how highly such connections were prized, is evident from the care with which the most distant marriage-relationships were looked upon and cherished.[2] Milk-kinship was reckoned as good as kinship by blood.[3] They sought, moreover, the aid of the institution of adoption, and even recognised a kindredship between the master and his manumitted slaves, which the Muslim Law sanctioned, for according to that Law, patron and client—in the event of failure of ascendants and descendants—could mutually inherit from each other. These facts convincingly prove the pressing need—then felt—for enlarging the circle of kinship, to strengthen and enforce the family and the tribe for attack, offensive and defensive. The polygamy of those days is in no way to be compared or confused with the later oriental *Harem system.* The Arabs were a race of decided aristocratic bent. On nobility of descent they laid an augmented emphasis, and cases of *mésalliance* were very rare with them.[1] In the house or tent of the tribal chief several women—with equal rights—never ruled or held sway. One, and one only, was the mistress of the house; namely, the noblest, the full-blooded one. The other co-wives held a position midway between the first and the rest of the domestic servants. Of this the relation of Sarah to Hajar offers the best proof.

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[1] Aghani, XIII, 131.
[2] Aghani, XIII, 114, 115; Ibn Khall, I, 317, note 2.
[3] Aghani, XI, 98, 99: Aghani, XVIII, 185.

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[1] It will not be out of place to refer here to a passage in the "*Occasional Addresses*" of Mr. Asquith (p. 17): "Whether you are judging a book, a picture, a character, or a movement, no one now dreams of denying that it is the first duty of the critic to put himself, so far as may be, imaginatively at the point of view of his subject, to take into account the antecedents which led up to, and the atmosphere which surrounded, its production, and not to be a party to that worst form of *ex post fact* legislation which imports modern standards of thought and taste into our judgments of the past."

[2] Von Kremer, Gesch der herrsch. Ideen, p. 349.

[3] Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 172; Also pp. 266 et.

When Islam made its appearance, the old order was unchanged. In fact, it received fresh sanction and support from the Qur'an, which emphatically recommended begetting of numerous progeny. *Then* the existing position of affairs was such that polygamy could not be regarded as anything but necessary and wholly justifiable—more so even than in antiquity. The Arabs conquered large countries, and settled down over immense tracts of land where conquered races constituted an overwhelming majority. These they had to rule and keep in check by a huge network of military colonies. But these colonies were insignificant compared with the subject races whom they were called upon to govern and hold in check. The only way they could avert the inevitable doom, namely, of dying out speedily amidst a foreign people, was to rapidly enlarge the Arab population. For this purpose they pressed polygamy into their service, and on a very extensive scale. True enough, many *mésalliances* took place—unions of full-blooded Arabs with women of foreign nationalities—which eventually destroyed the purity of the race—and also other evils ensued which later shewed themselves in glaring light—but in the extraordinary condition of things then existing no one can justly find fault with the polygamy of those days, which was the only means available of multiplying and strengthening the ruling race. In the great families of the Mekkan Aristocracy they adhered to the old principle of national exclusiveness, and laid great stress upon the purity and nobility of the race. They lived for a long while in the old traditional way, and looked upon numerous offspring as the surest guarantee of power and influence. There was no fear then of the struggle for existence, nor was there any reason to economise, for the entire Arab population lived at the expense of the conquered countries, and the ruling families acquired fabulous wealth by conquests, by shares of booty, by means of lucrative posts. No consideration checked or hampered the multiplication of the Arab race, which grew with remarkable Arab fecundity. The subject population, on the other hand, declined in number, due partly to starvation and partly to conversion to Islam, which at once raised them to the ranks of the ruling race. Thus the families of Arab magnates became exceedingly large. A son of the Omayyad Caliph Walid I had no less than sixty sons ; and with the daughters, the inmates of the *Harem*, male and female attendants, relations and clients, the entire household may have counted more than 1,000 persons.[1] The household of an Abbasid family[2] even reckoned 4,000 heads. The ruling families multiplied with an enormous rapidity. When an insurrection broke out under Yazid I, in Medina, members of the Omayyad family with their clients, were expelled from the town. Their number, according to one version, was over 1,000, and according to another, over 3,000. Somewhat later, at the battle of Wadi Sabu, which was fought against the rebellious Berbers, no less than 10,000 Omayyads were said to have taken part in it.[3] Without attaching very much importance to the exactness of these figures, so much is certain, that immense was the increase in the ruling families—due either to high birth-rate or to the introduction of a large number of clients among them. When the Abbasids rose to power, their number grew with such astonishing rapidity that, at the time of Mamun, the members of the ruling family counted no less than 33,000 heads.[1] These facts suffice to convey to us some idea of the then existing social conditions, and the enormous effect of polygamy thereon. But hitherto we have looked only at the bright side of the picture—to its dark side too we must turn our attention.

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[1] Kamil of Mobbarrad, p. 27.

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[1] De Goeje: Frag. Hist. Arab, I, 13.

[2] Mujam: IV, 18.

[3] Ibn Athir, I, 42.

(*To be continued*)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

SONG

Come with me, sweet, and we will go
A-harvesting the spring;
I know a place where bluebells grow
And where brown thrashers sing.
We'll trip across the fragrant hills,
Abloom with haw and crab;
We'll listen to sweet-sounding rills,
And dance a round with Mab.
We'll chance on violets, I know,
And toadstools in a ring.
Give me your hand, and we will go
A-harvesting the spring.

WAYNE GARD.

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[1] Masudi, VII, 59: De Goeje, Frag. I, 351; II, 430; Ibn Athir, VI, 225; Ibn Taghribardi, I, 575.

FIFTY-EIGHT YEARS' FIGHT WITH MALARIA

VI

We now propose to discuss the remedial measures that are likely to be efficacious. Before doing so, however, it would probably be helpful to the reader if we briefly recapitulated what has been said in the previous articles. We have shown that the widespread, virulent type of malaria was synchronous with the construction of railways and raised roads about 1860, and that it spread from Central Bengal as a focus all over Northern India along with their extension. There is hardly any dispute about these facts. There is, however, some dispute about the way in which railways and roads may have affected health and caused fulminant malaria. There are some who hold that the railway and road embankments have increased malaria by obstructing drainage, others opine that they have done this not directly but through the "borrow-pits" bordering them, while there are a few who maintain that they have led to this lamentable result not by impeding drainage, but by causing diminution of water.[1] We saw that the hypothesis of "borrowpits" is practically the same as that of obstructed drainage. Of those who recognise that railway and road embankments have led to obstruction of drainage, there are some who hold it primarily responsible for the violent outbreak of malaria about 1860, while there are others who assign it a secondary place. We have refuted, and I trust convincingly, the arguments in favour of the two most authoritative hypotheses advanced by the latter—congregation of labour on a large scale and the loss of the floodspill of the Ganges. In our last two articles, we have shown how sad and signal has been the failure of the antimalaria measures which have hitherto been adopted by the Government of Bengal—flooding low lands, spasmodic jungle-cutting, and sale or distribution of quinine. Their failure might have been predicted as they do not touch the root cause of the virulent type of malaria which has proved the greatest scourge of Northern India, especially of Bengal, during the last six decades—the obstruction of drainage caused by the embankments of railways and roads

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[1] So far as I am aware, Dr. C. A. Bentley is alone in this opinion, which I think, is altogether untenable. After I had sent my article (No. IV) criticising his views I received from him a pamphlet on "Some Economic Aspects of Bengal Malaria" (reprinted from the *Indian Medical Gazette*, September, 1922) along with some other pamphlets which he very kindly sent me, and I may take this opportunity of saying that his view which he has reiterated in it, that railway and road embankments have led to diminution of water in Central Bengal is quite unintelligible to me. By intercepting the drainage from villages and towns, they may have diminished the supply of water to *bils* and adjoining paddy fields, but as there is no evidence that there has been diminution of average rainfall, I cannot understand how there could be diminution of aggregate water-supply. The evidence on which this conclusion is based is of a most unsatisfactory character.

With the single exception of Dr. Bentley, the importance of this cause has never been denied by any authority whose opinion is entitled to any weight, though there has been considerable diversity of opinion about the degree of that importance. We have already seen that the Malaria Commission of 1864 pressed it, and that Chief Engineer Nicholls, though he differed from them to a large extent, admitted that "some obstruction is inevitable and should be remedied as far as practicable." Col. Bate said at the Malaria Conference of 1909, that "in the Punjab very extensive tracts had been drained with great benefit to the people, and so far as he was aware there was hardly any desire on the part of the people greater than one to be delivered from the suffering inflicted by imperfect drainage." Col. King emphatically declared at the same Conference that "in his opinion for permanently getting rid of the anopheles there is no measure that could equal that relating to the drainage of surface and subsoil water."

Col. W. M. Clemensha who, as we have seen before, considers the congregation of labour during the construction of railways and other large public works to be the most important cause of virulent malaria admits "that the blocking of drainage is, in many parts of the country, a very serious affair."

The obvious remedy for the impediment to drainage caused by railways was, as we saw in our second article Oct.-Nov., 1922, pointed out by the Malaria Commission fifty-eight years ago, and has since then been repeatedly urged. But no steps commensurate with the gravity of the problem have hitherto been taken by Government. In fact their attitude may not inaptly be compared to that of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning.

Four years ago the Government of India made a show of action, as will be seen from the following extracts from a circular[1] issued by it to all provincial Governments:

> "3. The Railway Administrations have generally agreed that borrowpits should not be dug within the boundaries of considerable towns and railway stations, and that, when practicable, railway excavations should be made so as to drain off promptly and not result in a stagnation near inhabited areas. The Railway Administrations have also accepted the suggestions made in the circular letter of the Railway Board that Railways and local bodies should share the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations in equal proportions, though reservations have been made by certain railways that they should not be required to carry out drainage or reclamation when for sufficient reasons this is not practicable.
>
> 4. The Municipalities cannot legally be called upon to bear half or any portion of the cost of filling up or draining the existing borrowpits and excavations dug by Railways, and the provisions of the Railway Act do not deprive municipalities of their Statutory powers to require railways to fill up or drain excavations prejudicial to health.
>
> 5. The Government of India trust to the local bodies to exercise their legal powers in such a way as not to call upon the railways to incur expenditure which would not serve a useful purpose.
>
> 6. I am further to observe that it is generally agreed that the waterlogging in certain areas is due to the interruptions of the natural flow of water by embankments, canals, etc., which are insufficiently provided with

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[1] It is numbered 4 and dated 7th January, 1919.

waterways, and that by such waterlogging both the health of the people and, in certain large tracts of country, the productivity of the soil are prejudicially affected. Every endeavour should be made to see that natural drainage is not impeded and that, where it is already impeded, such impediments should be removed. This is one of the points which the Sanitary Commissioner in paragraph II (*f*) of his note has indicated as requiring attention when a new line is under consideration, but equally when the question is one of the removal of existing impediments to drainage the best results will be secured by consultation and discussion between the various interests concerned."

From this circular, it is quite clear that the conscience of our Government is very susceptible to the interests of railway administrations. If it were as mindful of the interests of the people, matters would have been quite different. Even in regard to the future, the railway authorities are so considerate as to agree not to dig borrowpits within the boundaries of only *considerable* towns, and to see in regard to other inhabited areas, that the excavations be so made as to drain off promptly, but only *when practicable.* Those who know how peace-loving and inarticulate the mass of our people are, how patiently and resignedly they face evils, and how heartlessly the high-placed functionaries take advantage of these traits of their character, will readily understand, that this little qualification renders the undertaking given by the railway authorities practically valueless.[1] But the question of drainage in connection with railway construction in the future is more or less of academic interest. For, there is not much room for further railway expansion in the alluvial flats where alone, as we have shown before, the obstruction of drainage caused by road and railway embankments is highly injurious. The great question is how the very serious mischief which they have already done is to be remedied. That mischief has been done by them is admitted on all hands[1] though there may be divergence of opinion in regard to the acceptance of the hypothesis of obstructed drainage as the primary and immediate cause of the post-railway virulent malaria. The recent catastrophe in Northern Bengal has only brought to a head the sufferings of the people during the last six decades. Yet, the tone of the circular issued by a Government who profess paternal solicitude for the interests of the people is feeble, apologetic, and elusively inconclusive as if they were mortally afraid of offending the powerful railway administrations. It is suggested that "railways and local bodies should share the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations." We do not quite understand the distinction between "borrowpits" and "railway excavations." We are under the impression that borrowpits are excavations whence earth is dug out for embankments. "Railway excavations" other than these must be rare, and it is rather confusing to be told that one class of excavations is to be filled up and another class is to be drained. Besides, it would

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[1] In connection with the recent disastrous floods in Northern Bengal, it came out that some people of Adamdighi (a village between Santahar and Bogra on the E.B.S.R.) applied to the Agent, Eastern Bengal Railway, in April, 1921, through the District Magistrate of Bogra, for a bridge on the railway line between that village and Nasratpur. The Agent replied (October, 1921), that his "investigations do not show that a bridge is necessary." Yet, the E. B. S. Railway is under State management, and that a bridge was urgently needed is clearly shown by the fact that the floods were heaviest in the area in question. When the Sara-Santahar line was doubled some years ago, the waterways were reduced. It is said that the then Commissioner of the Rajshahi division strongly protested against the reduction, but to no effect. The consequence has been catastrophic. If the railway authorities are so very apathetic in the matter of waterways which are necessary for the protection and security of the railway, one can imagine what their attitude is likely to be in regard to the draining of borrowpits which would be adverse to the railway interests.

The following instructions are given in regard to borrowpits in the "Bengal Nagpur Railway Construction Manual (1900)." "When setting out land for side borrowpits, arrangements must be made for berms at suitable intervals, whenever it is desirable to prevent side-cuttings developing into water courses, and to allow of convenient access to the line during construction. For this purpose a width of 50 ft. in a length of 300 ft. should generally be adopted." (p. 22.)

[1] Dr. Bentley is reported to have told an interviewer in connection with the recent floods in Northern Bengal last September (1922); "Unfortunately, the engineers who are responsible for the construction of District Board roads and Railway lines in this region did not trouble their heads about the natural drainage of the country. The roads and railway lines are insufficiently provided with culverts and waterways." This remark applies generally to all the railways and to all roads whether constructed by District Boards, Municipalities or the Public Works Department of Government.

generally be much more economical to drain the borrowpits than to fill them up, for filling up would necessitate fresh excavations which would have to be drained. However that may be, one fails to see the equity of an arrangement which would make the local bodies share with the railways "in equal proportion," "the cost of filling up existing borrowpits and of draining all excavations" for which railway administrations are solely responsible, which have been made by them in contravention of elementary principles of hygiene, and which have had disastrous consequence in diverse ways. Indeed, it appears that the palpable iniquity of the arrangement struck the legislators, and there seems te be a law which empowers Municipalities to "require railways to fill up or drain excavations prejudicial to health." I doubt, if any Municipality has ever had the temerity to take advantage of this right; but should any wayward Municipality ever take it into its head to do so, the Government of India is so very considerate for railway interests that they "trust to the local bodies to exercise their legal powers in such a way as not to call upon the railways to incur expenditure which would not serve a useful purpose." The Municipalities which are the only local bodies that are vested with such legal powers are few and far between; and it is much to be doubted whether even any of them after this authoritative caution will venture to enter the lists with the puissant magnates of the iron road.

If borrowpits and obstructed drainage have affected health prejudicially—and that is admitted—they have affected the health of towns--people as well as of villagers. One, therefore, fails to understand, why law should have empowered the former only to seek for relief. Besides, effective relief even for them cannot be secured unless the causes of the unhealthiness of the country adjacent to Municipalities are removed. These objections are so obvious, that they must have occurred to the Government, and in the last para. of the circular we have quoted above which deals with the mischief done by waterlogging over the country genrally, they say that where drainage "is already impeded, such impediments should be removed." But that this is only of the nature of a pious wish is evident from the facts, that no remedial measures are indicated, and that they are left to be " secured by consultation and discussion between the various interests concerned," as if we have not had enough of such consultation and discussion during the last sixty years. The circular we have cited is so far as we are aware, the latest pronouncement of the Central Government upon the problem of health—the most momentous of all the problems we are confronted with to-day. Until the extremely pro-railway bias it discloses is removed, there is not, we are afraid the shadow of a chance of anything like a satisfactory solution of it.

It might be urged on behalf of the railways, that they have conferred great benefits and, therefore, deserve special consideration and indulgence. But there is no evidence to warrant such a contention. They have no doubt done some good; but they have also done harm, and the harm, in our estimation, considerably outweighs the good. It is true, that by facilitating communication they have raised the prices of agricultural produce ; but by facilitating the export of food grains of which there would be no surplus if our entire population were to be fed properly, and if provision were to be made for years of scarcity, they have contributed to the reduction of their vitality. They have stimulated the production of non-food crops, but they have done so at the expense of food grains and fodder which are essential for the subsistence of our people and their cattle.[1] They have put more money into

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[1] The following figures are taken from the report of Mr. K. L. Datta on High Prices.

		Quinquenium 1890-91 to 1894-95	1895-96 to 1899-1900	1900-01 to 1904-05	1905-06 to 1909-10	1910-11	1911-12
Food grains	...	81·3	81·0	80·2	79·5	79 2	78·2
Oil seeds	...	6·0	5·5	5·7	5·4	5·6	5·8
Jute	...	1·0	1·0	1·1	1·4	1·2	1·4
Cotton	...	4·6	4·4	5·1	5·5	5·8	6·0

the pockets of our peasentry, but by spreading "civilization," and facilitating the transport of imported inutilities, futilities and superfluities they have also served to drain them to no useful purpose. If they have helped to raise wages, they have also helped to raise prices, and to a proportionately larger extent.[1] If they have lessened the horrors of occasional famines, they have made famines more widespread, more frequent, and, on the whole, more destructive. By facilitating the transport of foreign merchandise, they have killed indigenous industry which a century ago not only made India self-contained in regard to her textile requirements but also enabled her to export a good portion of her surplus cotton fabrics. The soul of Indian civilization lay in villages; they have well nigh killed it, and have served to expand urban life at the expense of the much healthier (physically as well as morally) rural life. As the term 'benefit' is ordinarily understood, they have benefited a small number of industrial and commercial people, especially foreigners, and increased the number of exploiting, profiteering and parasitic millionaires and multimillionaires, but have, on the whole, done more harm than good to the mass of our people, by helping to reduce them to a condition of cultural and industrial servitude, by impoverishing them indirectly, if not directly, and by obstructing drainage and thus making floods productive of

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Mr. Datta observes.—

"Another effect of this increased cultivation of the commercial crops on the food supply of the country has been that the best lands available are applied towards that cultivation, while the cultivation of foodgrains is relegated to some extent to inferior lands the yield of which even in normal years is much less."

[1] These and other remarks here made are based upon facts given in the writer's work on "Survival of Hindu Civilization, Pt. I. Impoverishment of India and its Remedy."

"The Bombay Co-operatite Quarterly has printed extracts from a paper by Messrs. Mann and Kantikar read at the Conference of the Indian Economic Association held in January 1920, in which the authors observe that "in general, the evil effects of a rise in prices on the general condition of the rural population can in the Deccan at any rate, hardly be gainsaid. And this is clear, that the question of the maintenance of low prices, by any available means, may be a matter for much more serious concern on the part of those in authority than has hitherto been realised."

calamitous consequences[1] (instead of being more or less beneficent as they would otherwise be) and causing grave injury to health. This last is probably the most serious of all the evils that have resulted from railways. For health is the first requisite of happiness, the most tangible and abiding of all the good things of the world, the end of all ends, the most valuable of all the assets of a nation. No amount of short-sighted material advantage, however great, can compensate for the loss of health.

If the interests of humanity are to prevail over those of a coterie of exploiters, then the railway administrations should not be shown any special favour, but *should be compelled by legislation* to remedy the colossal injury they have done. Not only the railway administrations, but also the Public Works Department of Government, the District Boards and the Municipalities, who, in varying degrees, are also responsible for it. They should all be made by Law to provide adequate waterways, and to effectively drain borrowpits.[2] In the Delta tracts, the draining of the borrowpits would probably be best done in many cases, by connecting them so that they may form flowing watercourses with outlets into the nearest streams, or, failing such, into deep tanks, *bils* or *Baors* (deep pools in deserted river-beds).[1] Such water courses besides serving the purposes of drainage and sanitation, would remove one of the most unsightly features of the alluvial paines traversed by roads and railways, and might, in some cases, provide wholesome drinking water.

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[1] The following is the official estimate (which is considered by various eye-witnesses to be an under-estimate) of the damage done by the recent floods of Northern Bengal in September, 1922 in a portion of the area affected. " The principal areas affected are nearly 400 square miles in the District of Bogra, 1,200 square miles in the District of Rajshahi in varying degrees and a small area in Pabna......In the District of Rajshahi, it is estimated that the loss of the winter rice crop in the affected area is on the average 70 to 75 per cent. ....The huts demolished or damaged in the District of Rajshahi are estimated at 50 to 60 per cent."

The Rev. C. F. Andrews who has recently (January, 1923) returned from a tour in the flooded area of North Bengal has stated to a representative of the Associated Press " that matters appeared suddenly to have taken a very serious turn for the worse among the villages in the Rajshahi area. Cases of actual starvation had been discovered by the workers, and in one part a whole village had been found to be without food for nearly three days. The last year's crop had utterly failed. The straw was lying in a rank condition on the fields which were left in exactly the same condition as when the flood subsided. The peasants had no funds to buy cattle for ploughing or seed for sowing, and if immediate steps were not taken, there was a very grave danger of the land falling out of cultivation for the whole of the present year."

[2] In regard to the existing canals, proper siphon arrangement should be made where it is wanting now, and in future none should be constructed without making adequate provision for drainage.

In regard to ways and means, if the execution of the suggestion made above be confined, to begin with, to Central Bengal, which was the centre whence virulent malaria radiated along with road and railway extension, and which is still the greatest sufferer from that scourge, the cost is not likely to be very heavy. In any case, it would be preposterous to impose burdens upon the people for the remedy of evils for which they are in no way responsible and which have been caused by the authorities concerned in peristent and perverse defiance of the elementary and universal principles of health. All of them—the Railway administrations, the Public Works Department, the District Boards and the Municipalities—should be compelled to order their budgets so that they may not incur any expenditure on extensions and improvements until the present borrowpits have been properly drained and until adequate waterways have been provided for the existing roads and railways such as would permit free flow of flood-water even during years of exceptionally high rainfall. Better that the number of serviceable roads and railways be restricted, than that they should be allowed to continue to be a standing menace to health. The sages of the East as well as of the West, of antiquity as well as of modern times are unanimous in their pronouncements about the paramount importance of health.

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[1] This is substantially the suggestion made by the Malaria Commission of 1864. In the Madras Presidency the Public Works Department is prohibited by a Government ruling from digging borrowpits within certain distances of villages, and their drainage is enjoined. But there is no such ruling in the case of railways.

There is a well-known Sanskrit aphorism—*Ṣarîramādyam khalu dharma Sādhanam* (Health is one's first duty). "Health," avers Gautama Buddha, "is the greatest gain." "*Mens sana in corpore sano*" (A sound mind in a sound body) was held by the philosophers of Rome to be the proper aim of right living. "The first wealth," observes Emerson, "is health...... get health: no labour, pains, temperance, poverty, nor exercise that can gain it, must be grudged." "The wealth of a nation," according to Ruskin, "is the health of its people." Material development at the sacrifice of this invaluable asset of the individual as well as of the nation is mere moonshine. The cool assurance and placid self-complacency with which some people talk glibly of the benefits conferred by roads and railways in India would be laughable, but for the tragic consequences they have led to. A large number of the people who extorted the admiration of Lord Minto in the beginning of the last century as "tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest cast of countenance and features," has become puny, shrunken, cadaverous skeletons. A good portion of the province which, three decades later, was extolled by Macaulay as the "Garden of Eden," has been converted into a howling wilderness.

(*To be continued*)

PRAMATHANATH BOSE

THE ROSE OF INDIA

(ACT V; SCENE I)

[*Scene.* A room in Mahadevan's Palace; Mahadevan discovered with Manashtri his queen.]

Manashtri—

So to the audience came the lovers not.
I saw upon the face of Gurprashad
A smile of triumph, while a heavy cloud
Darkened the brow of Krishna. Now is flown
The hour of sunset, and the die is cast.

Mahadevan—

Nor may Mahadevan revoke his word,
Though Krishna rage and Gad his lightnings wield
Of threatened onset and the shock of arms.

Manashtri—

Rama defend us! O my lord the King,
Can nothing turn aside this dire mishap?

Mahadevan—

Nought I can see; but yea, one thing remains,
A single ray to pierce the thundercloud,
The single chance that might preserve us peace.

Manashtri—

Thy meaning?

Mahadevan—

This: should Gad to Draupadi
From Magudani's eyes exalt his suit,
Then with our blessing he might take his bride
And leave us to appease the Brahmin's wrath.

Draupadi—

The wisdom of the gods is in thee stored.
Let me but meet him father, face to face,
And I will win him for our people's sake.

Manashtri—

He will not woo thee, since his heart is set
On Magudani.

Mahadevan—

Let him then, bemoan
His baffled love in ignominious shame,
And when our banner floats on Narankot
Curse his own folly at our chariot wheels.

A Servant—

His Highness the Prince Krishna.

Mahadevan—

It is well.
Now Rani, pray withdraw thy counsellings
To inner walls of silence, lest our plans
Suffer defeat through thy unwariness
And artless habit of sincerity.
(*Enter Krishna in sordid garments.*)

Mahadevan—

My noble kinsman!

Krishna—

Prince of princes, hail.

Mahadevan—

Arise, O Krishna, wherefore thus attired
In garments vile dost thou our presence seek?

Krishna—

Because thy servant, King, is sore distrest
For Magudani, and the evil spells
Of witchcraft that enthrall her, since he came,
The white magician with his teachings strange
To lure our people from their ancient rites.

Mahadevan—

'Tis not the first report we have of him;
He must be silenced. But, meanwhile, disclose
More of thy daughter and her evil plight.

Krishna—

Yestere'en thy servant from the bath had risen
And in his banquet-hall long time reclined,
Awaiting Magudani, ere she came
Belated home at nightfall. When I asked
"Whence comest thou, and whither didst thou go?"
"To the Physician's house," she made reply,
"Who heals the bodies and the souls of men.
The sainted Thomas." "Callest thou," I said,
"That wizard a physician and a saint?
Have his vain words bewitched thee? Art thou mad?"
"Hast thou not heard," quoth she, "the miracle
He wrought on Sitaraman's wife and child?
As to his words, if thou wouldst only hear,
They should convince thee of the very truth
Of what he preaches, showing us how long
We have been fooled by falsehood, and estranged
From the true God who loves us, and whose love
Gave us His son who suffered in our flesh,
Died, rose again, and lives for evermore."

Mahadevan—

We would hear more of this—but to your story.

Krishna—

"All this dost thou believe it, child?" I asked,
"With all my heart," she answered, "and confess
The faith of Christ, Him only, and refuse
All other gods allegiance." Sore perplexed,
"Do what thou wilt," I answered, "so thou make
Incense oblation to the gods at eve
In the King's hall to-morrow. Whereupon,
She vowed that rather would she die the death
Than wrong her conscience and deny her Lord.
In vain I reasoned with her, shewing forth
All that her whim would cost her—how 'twould bring
Loss of her princely lover and a throne,
The peace endangered of his realm and ours,
Her shame for ever, and her father's curse.
"Yet doth the gain," said she, "outweigh the loss."

Mahadevan—

This is but folly, Krishna; it will pass.

Krishna—

The gods bestow that favour ere too late;
I can do nothing. Had the child a mother,
She yet might be persuaded. Wherefore, King,
I pray thee send for her deliverance
The Maharani in a mother's stead.

Mahadevan—

What says the Maharani?

Manashtri—

I will go—
Though what avails thee, Krishna, my success
Now the third sun hath set?

Mahadevan—

O artless candour!

Krishna—

I trust the goodness of Mahadevan
Not to inflict a doom of life-long woe
Upon two parted lovers, nor destroy
For a maid's freak his people's hope of peace,
When she repents her folly. Let this justice
Fall rather on the head to which 'tis due,
On that false wizard unto whom I owe
The sorrows that enwrap me in these weeds,
And wait to clothe them on Mahadevan
Should he his justice temper or delay.
Already to that Sadhu's lodge repair
Of the blood royal more than one. 'Tis said
Among them goes thine only son and heir,
The Prince Vizayan.

Mahadevan—

What is that I heard?
Vizayan goes there? (*To Manashtri*) Know'st thou
aught of this?

Manashtri—

The truth must out. His tutors, where are they?
'Tis theirs to answer for his whereabouts.

Draupadi—

They will, my father, be hard put to it,
Vizayan comes or goes in their despite,
E'en as he listeth.

Mahadevan—

We must look to this.
Ho, footmen, bid the Pundits and the Prince,
Into our presence.

(*Exeunt some attendants.*)

Manashtri—

Be not over harsh,
His years are tender, and his spirit, if high,
To love responsive.

Mahadevan—

It shall bend to mine.
By *Vishnu*, 'tis a liberty unheard!

Draupadi—

'Tis time his liberties were brought to book.

(*Enter two Pundits with Vizayan*).

Mahadevan—

How now, Vizayan! It is told of thee
That thou hast been to Sitaraman's house.
When and how often?

Vizayan—

Once, Mahadevan—
But yester evening.

Mahadevan—

Prithee, by whose leave?

Vizayan—

I knew not anyone forbad it me.

Mahadevan—

Where were thy Pundits? Didst thou go alone?

Vizayan—

The press was great, my father; as we turned
The corner we got parted. So I went
Borne in a stream of people towards the house,
And entered where they entered.

Mahadevan (to Pundits)—

Is this true?

Pundit—

The Prince has more imagination, sire,
Than memory for detail in diary.
'Tis true that as we went our wonted walk
We reached a corner; where to our dismay
The Prince was parted from us. But 'twas not
The crowd that did it, but his speed of foot.

Mahadevan—

Did you not call him? Made you no pursuit?

Pundit—

Thrice did we call. He only ran the faster,
Till in the crowd we lost the sight of him.

Mahadevan—

Is this the heed he gives to your commands?

Pundit—

The Prince is wilful and defies control.

Mahadevan—

Then we shall now control him. Take him hence,
Lay on full measure of pages' discipline,
And bolt a door upon him.

Vizayan—

Nay, my father,
I am of the blood royal.

Mahadevan—

Hence—away!

Pundit (to Vizayan)—

Come!
Now shall your Highness rue you were so long
Perverse in forming Hindi characters.

(*Exeunt Pundits leading Vizayan. Enter Gurprashad in white robes of mourning, his head shaved and beating his breast.*)

Gurprashad—

Woe for the pitcher shattered at the well!
Woe for the broken wheel, the loosèd cord!
Woe for the lamp put out by hand profane!

Mahadevan—

What is the reason of thy wild lament?

Gurprashad—

O deed too dark for day to look upon!
O crime too cruel for the night to hide!
O sin too black for death to expiate!

Mahadevan—

What hath befallen? Succour our suspense.

Gurprashad—

O blissful state of unenlightenment!
O halcyon calm before the hurricane!
O happy dream of those who wake to weep!

Krishna—

Now of a truth he is beside himself.

Gurprashad—

Mourn for the flock her shepherd stricken down!
Mourn for the earth her outraged sanctity!

(*Regarding Krishna*)—

Mourn most the fool who cannot feel the loss!

Krishna—

He feels it not, if he hath lost his wits!

Mahadevan—

It were ill spoken to deride distress,
When 'tis a day of mourning for ye both,
But tell us, holy sage, thy cause of woe.

Gurprashad—

A holy priest of Rama hath been slain.

Mahadevan—

Where and by whom?

Gurprashad—

In Sitaraman's house,
And in the room of Thomas Didymus,
The Christian wizard.

Mahadevan—

Ram be merciful!

Gurprashad—

Stabbed in the back that holy Sadhu lay,
Nor e'er went such a shiver through the heaven,
Since Rama lay on Lanka's bleeding field.

Mahadevan—

By all the woes of Sita, 'tis enough!
Krishna, thy prayer is granted. Hence resort
To Sitaraman's house and seize them both,
And lodge them in a dungeon till such time
As we have leisure to pronounce their doom.

Krishna—

Mahadevan hath said. His slave obeys.

Gurprashad—

Never more kindly drew the feet of night
Behind the burning heels of ruthless day.

(*Exeunt Gurprashad and Krishna.*)

Servant—

His Highness the Prince Gad of Narankot
Craves audience of the great Mahadevan.

Mahadevan—

He hath been long expected. We will leave
Him now to Draupadi's soft-hearted wiles.
Come, Maharani, 'tis no place for us.

Manashtri—

I like not thus to leave her.

Mahadevan—

Howbeit, come!

(*Exeunt all except Draupadi; Enter Gad, looks around and sees only the veiled form of Draupadi.*)

Gad (*aside*)—

'Tis strange! Methought I heard Mahadevan
But now the room is silent and deserted,
Save for this lady's presence. Who is she?
Can it be Magudani? then indeed
Fortune hath smiled on me. Love, is it thou?

(*Draupadi stretches out her arms and moves towards him; clasps her in his embrace.*)

Life of my life, it cannot, shall not be
That aught of man's device should sunder us.

Draupadi—

O sweet assurance of my heart's desire!
(*Gad disengages himself and starts back.*)

Gad—

Who art thou, lady? I supposed thou werrt
The Princess Magudani.

Draupadi—

O happy error
That drew me e'en a moment to thy breast!
I am not she thou namest. Would I were!
I am but the daughter of Mahadevan,
All, all too conscious of the lower place
Thy choice assigns me. What though all the world
My higher rank acknowledge, I am less,
Till in thy heart thou throne me in her stead.

Gad—

Daughter of Kings, I am ashamed for thee,
That thou shouldst humble at thy servant's feet
The pride of Mailepur's illustrious line,
There to throw down what Princes not a few
Have sighed in vain for, ay, and yet shall come
To sue for on their knees. And for myself
I blush, constrained to the discourtesy
Of slighting what with too much graciousness
Thou puttest in my power to lay aside.

Draupadi—

To use thy vantage may be perilous!
Not lightly thus may Mailepur's Princess
Be slighted. Nay, if thou for thine own self
Art fearless, then bethink thee of thy land.
Doubtless thou comest to Mahadevan
For Magudani to repeat thy suit,

While flouting his condition. Sir, 'tis vain.
I know my father; rather would he die
Than his decree revoke for any man;
Against this marriage he hath set his face,
And means to march his hosts on Narankot,
Unless thou take the bride he offers thee.
For war the Brahmins clamour, but to them
His care for us will seal my father's ear
So thou but take his daughter for thy bride,
And thus preserve from bloodshed both our lands,
Make sure thy throne, and save me from despair.

Gad—

Princess, if thou hast any love for me,
Think not that I despise it—God forbid!
For love ennobles woman and uplifts
Her soul to heights the loveless never reach;
It may be to the hills of happiness
In mystic union blest with mutual joys
Of troth and trust unbroken; or again
It may be to a mount of sacrifice,
And self-effacement for that other's sake,
Where Heaven itself bends down and God is found.
But Love with bribe or menace ne'er compelled
A lover to betrayal of his love,
Or profanation of that holy thing.
Therefore, though earth should split and heaven should fall,
I dare not give thee what is dedicate,
For love, like God, itself cannot deny.

Draupadi—

Thou cloakest thy refusal with fine speech
Learned doubtless at thy Jewish Sadhu's feet,
But in the rose lies hid the scorpion
As sin behind a mask of holiness,
And murder at his door they call a Saint.

Gad—

What slander ill of omen hast thou heard ?

Draupadi—

But now Mahadevan hath sent a guard
To seize this Christian Sadhu, on the charge
Of murdering a Brahmin.

Gad—

Let him beware!
If aught befall the Apostle, he shall answer
For this to Gondophares.

Draupadi—

O 'tis droll!
A menace to the lion from the mouse!
'Twere safer made afar, presumptuous Prince,
Than in the reach of those death-dealing claws,
Unsheathed already for thy chastisement.

Gad—

I thank thee much, Princess of Mailepur,
And own the wisdom of thy counselling.
'Tis time my ill-starred visit to this Court
Came to an ending. In the garb of peace
I sought a bride, and brideless hence am driven;
Next time I come it shall be in a suit
Of shining armour, with a naked sword,
To fight for God, Saint Thomas and for her,
My Magudani, Rose of India!!

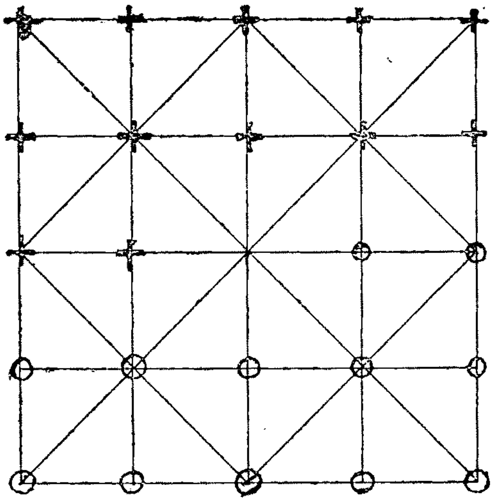
CURTAIN.

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

A TYPE OF SEDENTARY GAME IN THE PUNJAB

In the year 1919 I had an occasion to visit the Chor peak in the neighbourhood of Simla and in course of the march from Phagu to the bank of the river Giri, I came across a square drawn on a rock surface, the square being divided into a number of smaller squares by means of lines as shown in the following figure. On enquiry I came to learn that the figure was used for a particular type of sedentary game. According to the rules of the game two persons are necessary for playing it and the players are to provide themselves with twenty-four pieces of small stones or gravels of two different descriptions so that they can be easily-recognised.



The diagram shows that there are twenty-five points where two or more straight lines have met. These points may be called cross-points (Kruis-punten). Each of these cross-points, with the exception of the central one, has got a playing piece set on it. The move begins after the completion of this arrangement and when a player has one of his own playing pieces set next to one of his opponent's in such a way that the next cross-point in the same right line is vacant, the former's piece can jump over the latter's one, occupy the empty cross-point and the former player takes away the piece belonging to the latter. The player who can, in this way, capture all the pieces belonging to his adversary is declared to be the winner of the game. The game is not confined to the hills, but, as I could gather through the kindness of my friend Mr. Shiva Raj, it is also found in the Punjab plains and goes by the name of *bára guti* (twelve ballets), the name being evidently derived from the fact that each player has to provide himself with twelve ballets.

As far as I have been able to ascertain very little has been published dealing with the different types of the sedentary games of this country. In the year 1907 a very interesting article was published by Mr. Binodeswar Das-Gupta [1] in which description was given of the different types of games prevalent in Vikrampur, in Eastern Bengal. A reference to this paper shows that there is one game named *Mangal-pátá* [2] with which the Punjab game has a great similarity, but there are two main points in which the two games differ. In the first place, the diagram employed for *Mangal-pátá* has two triangles on the sides of the square and cross-points are produced in these triangles and these cross-points are filled up with the playing pieces. In the second place, the cross-points on the central horizontal line are all kept empty when the game is started. This type of diagram is also used in Behar.

Sometime ago Edw. Jacobson published a paper dealing, among other things, with the games prevalent at

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[1] Quarterly Journal of the Bangiyá Sahitya Parisad, Vol 14, pp. 214- 245 (1314 B.S.).

[2] According to Mr. Das-Gupta (*op. cit.* p. 240) the name of the game is derived from Moghal-Pathan and it is supposed to represent the strife between the Moghals and the Pathans and hence the play is not of very old origin. Mr. Basanta Ranjan Roy, Lecturer on Bengali in the Calcutta University, informs me that the word *pátá* may be derived from Prakrita *patta* = a plank. I think that the name of the game had its origin in the fact that the diagram used for the game was drawn on a piece of plank and that it was usually played during auspicious days, *i. e.*, holidays or at auspicious places, *i. e.*, holy places. It was only when the original interpretation came to be forgotten that the name of the game began to be associated with the fight between the Moghals and the Pathans. The name possibly originally meant *auspicious plank or board*.

Simaloer, the most northern of the islands situated along the west coast of Sumatra. In this paper the author has described a game known as *Satoel*[1] which agrees with the Punjab game in having only the central cross-point vacant. In this game, however, the square has two triangles on the opposite sides as in the Bengal game of *Mangal-pátá*, but the number of dividing lines is much greater and there are altogether ninety-three cross-points and the play is carried on with pieces of two different kinds, the number of each kind being forty-six. According to Jacobson, the play is of Malayan origin and it agrees very much with the game of draughts. A little consideration will show that there is an important difference between a game like *Satoel* and the game of draughts. In the latter the pieces with which the play is carried on are all placed on the squares while in the game of the former type these pieces are placed on the cross-points. Jacobson also described in this paper[2] a game called *rimoe or tiger play* locally in which also the pieces, with which the game is carried on, are placed on the cross-points. In parts of India there is also prevalent a type of tiger play the diagram of which recalls that of *rimoe* and in which also the pieces are placed on the cross-points. This game has been compared with the fox and geese game but in this case also there is the difference that the pieces are placed on the squares and not on the cross-points, though in one type of the fox and geese game that is played on a solitaire board[3] the pieces are placed on the cross-points. According to Jacobson these games are of Malayan origin, but in view of the fact of an ancient colonisation of Sumatra and Java by the Indians, in which, as it was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar,[1] the Hindus from Northern India also had some share and of the prevalence of types of sedentary games, at least in parts of northern India, in which the pieces are placed on the cross-points, whether these kinds of game were not originally carried to these islands from India is a question, which I think, is worthy of being investigated by the students of ethnology.

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[1] Tijds. v. Ind. taal,-land-en volkenkunde Deel 58, pp. 10-11 (1917).

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 8-10. According to the writer of this paper the diagram used for the play is cut in the floor planks of many houses and most *Soeraoes, i.e.,* houses where instructions are given regarding the mode of serving God.

[3] Cassell's Book of Sports and Pastimes, p. 393.

HEMCHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

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[1] Journ., Bomb. Br. R. A. S., Vol. 17, Pt. 2, pp 7-8.

THE CONTACT OF INDIAN ART WITH THE ART OF OTHER CIVILISATIONS[1]

I.

The process of art has two dimensions. The one is invisible to the eye. It stretches from the object of artistic representation to the artist. This is the main direction of creativeness and all works of art lie on that route. A work of art however exists not only by its expressive form. It is at the same time a means of communication. Primarily, it comprises an individual experience intimately connected with some concrete object; secondarily, it brings into or represents the contact of an æsthetic confession and a receptive mind. By a law which does not belong to the physical world, the two dimensions, the inner and the outer, are inversely proportionate. The deeper the object has sunk into the artistic subject, the smaller their distance has grown, the more intense is the effect the work of art has, the more lasting will be the impression it creates and the greater will be the number of persons who get impressed. Duration and extension of an artistic tradition are thus ultimately dependant upon the vitality of one or a few works of art.

Indian art spread eastwards and westwards. We can follow its expansion as far as France and Ireland in the West, and Japan in the East. From the 2nd century B.C. onward to the fourteenth century A.D. it was a continuous source of inspiration to the Far East and proved an intermittent stimulus to Western art. India's power of artistic colonisation is equal to that of Greece. Almcst simultaneously these two centres of civilisation which stand for the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements sent forth their traditions which mingled without any resistance with the indigenous arts and crafts of any country they came to. Greece, before its fatal end, had extended its artistic dominion over Asia Minor and Italy. After its death Rome became the heir and colonized the whole of Europe, the north of Africa, Minor and Central Asia and the Far East. The Indian and the Hellenistic tradition thus were for sixteen centuries rival missionaries promulgating their artistic creed over the surface of the whole world known to those ages. The equally great success of these antagonistic efforts is striking. The two mother countries India and Greece, both peninsular, both in the south of a continent had independently evolved their art, though their remote Aryan unity left traces in either. From these two roots art grew up in two vigorous stems which got full growth in their own soil and spread their branches heavy with fruits to sunrise and sunset and the twigs crossed each other and formed a bewildering thicket. But wherever their fruits dropped the new seedlings bore the unmistakable features of the mother stem and the profuse crop which thus grew on the ground of the multifarious traditions outside India and outside Greece is called Medieval art in Europe and Asiatic art in the East.

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[1] Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecture for 1922 delivered on the 16th and 17th December, 1922.

Medieval European and Asiatic art, therefore, are the syncretistic periods and regions of art, while Greece and India and similarly Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Far East are the creative centres. Of these, however, Greece and India had the most far-reaching bearing.

Forms of art do not spread by themselves; they need a vehicle in which they can be carried and various vehicles run from India into various directions. Religion was the driving force which moved them towards the East. While Central Asia and the Far East were inspired by and became permeated with Buddhistic speculation and the pictorial forms peculiar to Buddhistic art, the south of Asia, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and the Sundia Islands shared Buddhistic and Brahmanic divinities and their corresponding forms of art with India. Indian works of art, however, were brought to the West far less in the service of religion than in that of commerce. The fashionable world in Rome during the days of Augustus paid fancy prices for Indian pearls, brocades and textiles and Indian ivory work was as much in demand by the Christians of Egypt as it was liked by Charles the Great. The currents of Indian art outside India have thus a threefold source and speed. The one which links Indo-China and the islands, especially Java with India, keeps measure with the Indian evolution and its peculiarity is due to the indigenous art of the country which has become fused with Indian tradition from one centre or the other. The invasion of Indian forms into Central Asia on the other hand had to face not only the artistic traditions of every special country but also those currents which came from the extreme East, from China and from the West from the Hellenistic world. Still more currents mingled in the West to the effect that while Indian art to the South-East of Asia means a natural growth and therefore a continuous unity, it becomes an inspiring incitement to Central and Eastern Asia as long as Buddhism maintains the rule, and in the West it occurs sporadically and does not lose the charm of the exotic as long as it is not absorbed by and made into a Western convention.

The transmigration of forms of art proves with accuracy which features of the national spirit of any art can be transplanted—the elements accepted for instance by China will differ widely from those which found favour in Rome. It testifies on the other hand what features of the mother art resist all transformation so that in the most complex, locally and racially remote combination they still remain distinct. In short, colonial art keeps up the salient features of the mother art ; but as these enter new combinations, compelled by merely an outer necessity, that is to serve religion or trade or fashion, it is needless to emphasise that the works thus produced will be interesting documents with regard to the history of form but cannot claim to be works of art. For spontaneous growth, the fundamental condition for creation is replaced there by a clash of traditions and purposes. Indian art comes to an end the moment it leaves India. As long as it can afford to spend it does so. The gain, however, is not on its side and the chapter of Indian art closes when the Eshin Sozu painted his Amida and when the Kathedra of the Bishop Maximian was carved in Ravenna. These masterworks are nothing but Japanese or nothing but early Christian and yet they could not be as they are without that faint scent of Indian tradition which pervades them.

We have to come back to them. But we have to follow the route which Indian art took. At every turning of the way we shall meet it offering an unknown mood.—A Siamese Buddha head, for instance, though obviously derived from the Buddha type familiar to the sculptors of Magadha is yet a new individuality. Its refinement is less spiritual than physical; all the features have grown thin, and sharp accents emphasise them in pointed outlines. The subtle modelling of the Indian prototype has given way to a strained and sensitive definition of the Buddha's features and the calmness of his meditation has given way to a state of trance where all nerves vibrate. This sort of sensitive rigidity, hardened modelling and sharp and pointed outlines are typically Siamese. Expression and body, body and dress have become separate features. An almost imperceptible cruelty lingers for instance round Ardhanarisvara's eyes and mouth while his male-female body is equally above sex and above life on either side. It stands in heavy stiffness, for all movement has been concentrated into the winglike folds of the garment. They swing to either side sharp like knives.

The Buddha head dates back to the 9th or 10th century and the Ardhanarisvara image to the 14th or 15th. The Siamisation of the Indian form has progressed; sharp outlines joined in narrow angles have overpowered the round modelling of the Indian prototype. The art of the Sukotai Savankolok, of which the bronze Buddha head is one of the finest examples, is the spontaneous Siamese continuation of the art of Magadha. The Ardhanarisvara figure however visualises the effort made to connect the two elements with the result that an Indian body stands on Siamese feet, is clad in Siamese folds and wears a Siamese head. This style is frankly eclectic. The conclusion is that India supplied Siam with its iconography, Buddhistic and Brahmanical and with the iconography, the "icons" were transplanted and translated into Siamese. The one feature of Indian art which remained intact was the modelling in the round, though it had to withdraw from those parts of the figures which received the greatest attention by the Siamese artist. Face and garment were freed from the Indian discipline and only those parts of the body which remained uncovered also remained Indian. It is the plastic element, the modelling in the round which asserted itself against the Siamisation, and was carried along the centuries of Siamese art as dead weight, surrounded by frail and nervous outlines.

The Khmer art of Cambodia contemporary with the period of Sukotai Savankolok let its individuality flow through the channels of Indian tradition and received it back purified and strengthened. There is scarcely any idiom of Indian art with which the Khmer artist was not acquainted. And yet his language is entirely new. Warriors, for instance, defile on some of the relief pannels of Angkor Vat. Their crowd is arranged in a firm row of which foot—and head—line are drawn in straight parallelism. The rhythm of their bodies strained forward in one direction, forms pattern-like segments of the lowest part of the relief. Each of them has a motion of its own. The distorted ejaculations of limbs and faces of the mob come to a sudden stop where the arrow bearers march in severe dignity. Their arrows, however, reflect and repeat the curves of hands and fingers of the former group; while, on the other hand, their energetic steps become enhanced by a similar movement of the horses. The group of the spear-bearers at last throngs forward without restraint and their rushing bodies are bent by the hurry of their action. Yet in spite of all those contrasting groups and in spite of their arrangement is their procession but a narrow uniform strap at the bottom of the relief. Subtle trees of exuberant growth stretch over the rest of the surface actionless, but moved in peaceful, playful curves. Top and bottom of the relief at last are strewn over with a profuse sculptured ornamentation. The composition of this relief has nothing in common with Indian art of the same period, but it is closely related to compositions met with at the time of Sanchi. There too figures are arranged in rows and are set before a tapestry-like background of vegetation. This similarity is due to the epical spirit of either school. Narration there is the chief purpose. Contemporary Indian art, however, had progressed from narration to a canonized symbolism where such things as a cluster of trees and the like had become superfluous and insignificant. The age of mind therefore in which Khmer sculpture is executed agrees with the Sanchi stage of Indian art, with the difference that while the Sanchi artist had to rely on his own resources, the Khmer sculptor has the whole stock of the Indian inheritance at hand. And this may be seen in the supple modelling of the bare bodies and in the curvature of the branches. But what he had to give of his own exceeded that what he accepted. Again his hand similar to that of the Siamese artist cannot but chisel in angular outlines, which subdue and surround the fine modulations of the "plastic" and make the whole relief more into a drawing in stone than a sculpture. This way of artistic treatment is the natural expression of the peoples of Further India. Another peculiarity is their sense of proportion which makes the figures of men simply grown over with and buried under an immense vegetation. This way of treatment, however, has its roots in India, though the part which vegetation plays there is far less prominent. As a whole the Indian tradition and the indigenous inspirations of Further India keep the balance and make a strong amalgam because their affinity is close. But it must not be overlooked that the active part is played by the inspiration of Further India while the Indian tradition figures as foundation or background, and shines through the thin atmosphere of Khmer art.

The distribution, however, of creative power and the capacity for absorption is entirely different in Java. Javanese architecture and sculpture of the empire of Mataram are the works of a local school of Indian art which achieved its masterworks on this island, similar to the genius of Greece who at a time of full maturity occasionally found its culmination on Knidos or Lesbos. The Hindu kingdom of Mataram most probably had its artists brought from India. Sometimes however a local hand is traceable even in the sculpture of Middle Java. A relief from Tjandi Prambanan, for instance, maintains the rounded softness of Indian prototypes while a distorting eagerness bends arms and legs in unexpected angles and makes the physiognomies of men and animals alike grin with malicious cruelty. Angular distortion of the Indian limbs and a cunning brutality of facial expression makes Javanese reliefs and especially those of Eastern Java akin to the artistic ideals of Further India. This, however, was not until the eleventh century when middle Java had lost its power. A new flood of Indian art then spread from the South of India to the East of Java and at this time the Indo-Javanese mixture produced a compromise of which the obverse has all the qualities of Indian form while the reverse exhibits those of Malaya-Polynesian conception and the truth and perfection of either is alike. The figure of Ganesh may stand for one of the purest achievements of an all-round restlestly modelled volume, a treatment so dear to Indian art, yet the back view presents on its flattened surface the mighty grimace of a Kirtimukha dissolved into petty protrusions interspersed with holes full of dark shades ; and this appearance perturbating with its vicissitudes of clumsy shapes and formless holes shews the indigenous style of Eastern Java. Nowhere in India has the head of the Kirtimukha a similar gruesome liveliness and it seems as if this ornamental device were given to India from the store of Polynesian totemistic and frantically phantastic animal heads. But where the grotesque and the gruesome has no right to appear, figures like that of Prajnapara Prajnaparamita or of Durga Mahishasura Mardini attain sublime incarnation in purely Indian form.

Middle and Eastern Java were the leading centres of Indo-Javanese civilisation. The west of the Island remained more aloof from Indian civilisation. And yet its sculpture renders the breathless calm of meditation but does so with means of its own. The squatting figure of the man who holds a lotus bud has been laid into one vertical plan and reminds in its symmetrical simplification of the sitting Buddha from Sarnath. But it would be premature to draw any conclusions. It must suffice for the present to point out where, under what conditions and surrounded by which forms the Indian element rules, influences, or is subdued. The Javanese experience is complex. Java proved an extraordinarily fertile soil for the evolution of the Indian principles of form. In the outstanding works of Mataram it scarcely added anything of its own but it is worthwhile noticing that the ease with which the heavy full round figures in the reliefs of Borobudour move is the same that gives unapproachable dignity to the Eastern Javanese figures of Durga and Prajnaparamita. No indigenous Javanese trend of form will be found there. The extremes, however, which mingle with and set the limit to Indian form are the dissolution of the plastic volume into small sculptured compartments which rise as an agitated pattern over a plain and dark ground on the one hand, and the geometrical discipline of an abstract scheme on the other hand. But either convention has the two-dimensioned surface for its working field and it is this Malayo-polynesian symptom which had to offer the strongest resistance to the Indian perception of form, which comprises the three dimensions of space in one plastic volume. Java puts the full-stop to Indian art in its propagation south-eastwards.

Surveying the extension of Indian art in the south-east of Asia it proves to be colonial art in the same sense as Greek art in Asia Minor or Italy. The indigenous traditions of the various centres of artistic production, as the Khmer style of Cambodia or the Malayo-polynesian style of Java were either subdued or remained untouched. Buddhist, Sivait Visnait ideas and their corresponding images and forms were brought to the colonies. How readily they were accepted there is testified by their local taste, which in the case of Cambodia and Java is far above provincialism. Indian art in Java or as created by the Khmer artists is in a similar position as it is in the southern part of the motherland. There too the Dravidian population had a strong personal way of artistic expression. Yet this was overcome by the æsthetic of Northern India. The contact of South Asia with Indian culture dates back in historical times to the first Christian century for Java or even to the age of Asoka with regard to Further India. Thus the penetration of forms and ideas in the successive centuries had that leisure which is necessary for a productive assimilation.

The propagation of Indian art, however, in north and north-eastern direction, though historically not less fragmentary, has at least one cause in common. It is Indian art in the service of Buddhism which supports the art school of Gandhara during the first five centuries of the Christian era, and migrates to Khotan where it is traceable at the close of this period, and takes its way through the Turpom to the confines of China where it reaches its climax in the caves of Vungkong and Longmen and in the ninth and tenth century in the caves of the thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang, while in Japan at the same time the Buddhist frescoes of the Kondo of Horiuji were painted and Eshin Sorn got inspired by Amida's glory. But the most essential links of this north-eastern chain of Buddhist art are missing. Nepalese art is not known before the ninth century and the earliest Tibetan painting was found in China in the caves of Tun Huang, in the ninth century, brought or painted there when Tun Huang was under Tibetan domination.

We need not fight against the windmills of Gandhara which appear to European eyes so huge because their Greek features are so near to cherished reminiscences. The question for the present moment is: What did Indian art contribute to the International school of Gandhara for such it was, as Indian, Parthian, Scythian and Roman colonial workmen and traditions met there. It gave its plastic conception, not at once yet in the course of time, and in this way the syncretistic Gandhara sculpture became Indianised. Buddhism and local mythology moreover supplied the sculptors with Indian themes. The most ardent problem, however, involved in Gandharan production is whether, as it is held up, the pictorial type of the Buddha originated in Gandhara or not. The question still has to remain open. But it is remarkable that such essential *lakshanas* as the *usnisa* and the short curves of hair turned to the right and the elongated earlobes are met with in Indian sculpture of pre-Gandhara time, when the representation of the Buddha was still taboo to pious Buddhists. Examples of this type are carved as detached heads single in lotus-medallions which adorn the railings from Bodhi Gaya; there a standing figure of a Dvarapala exhibits the same *lakshanas*. There can be no doubt that these representations did not represent the Buddha and it is difficult to say how far the *lakshanas* of the Mahapurusha were associated with these unidentified heads. In any case Indian sculpture was acquainted with a plastic form which is identical with the latter *uṣniṣa* at a time when neither the bodily representation of the Buddha nor the Gandharan productions had come into existence; and so much can be said that these distinctly Indian bodily characteristics were not for the first time translated in stone in the province of Gandhara; on the contrary the undulated hair of early Gandhara Buddhas betrays Hellenism and is against the Indian tradition. Similar as in the case of this iconographic detail is the general behaviour of the Gandhara artisans; they took in every case the iconographic suggestions from India and as they were no longer fettered by any religious or artistic scruples and had the entire tradition of Hellas and India but also of Central Asia at their command, they did their best in illustrating as well as they could the stories and sacred heroes for which there was so much demand amongst the Buddhist devotees. The artistic quality of this market supply naturally cannot be but of the worst sort. The suddenness of the Indo-Hellenistic clash could not cause anything but disturbance on either side. The Hellenistic importation on the other hand got no supply on the spot and its fate was to be overcome and annihilated by the living force of Indian art. Yet there is one scheme of composition which was of greatest consequence in all future arts. This is the symmetrical arrangement of the groups of divine personages for the purpose of worship. The beginning of this frontal symmetry can be found already in Barhut and also in Sanchi. There of course some symbol or the other takes the place which later on is occupied by the icon. In Gandhara for the first time however those triads as Buddha with Brahma and Sudra are introduced and sometimes the donors represented in an attitude of worship are admitted into their circle. This strictly symmetrical form of composition originated in Gandhara and spread from here in the service of the Buddhist Church to the Far East and reached its height in Central Asia and Japan in the 10th century and is alive in Tibet to the present day. This artistic achievement of Gandhara is of an ecclesiastic type. Though Indian art is religious and at times conventional the business spirit of a clerical institution was needed to invent a way of representation where the donor could enjoy to see himself brought into direct contact with the object of his worship and where on the other hand any number of new gods to be propitiated and any combination possible was easy to be managed. This economical mechanism was set into working order for the first time in Gandhara. This way of representation became the standing type for the representation of Sukhavati, Amitabha's Paradise in the West. The Mandala of Tun Huang are based on Indian painting as far as the representation of human bodies is concerned. Their curved outlines betray Ajantesque tradition.

A drawing on paper gives the key how such compositions were quickly supplied to the market. It was used as pounce; the one half of the pounce is pricked the other drawn in outline. Variety was brought into the symmetrical monotony by a brilliant display of symbolic colours. The mechanisation of Buddhist art lead also to another way of rapid multiplication. Numberless Buddhas were stencilled and formed geometrical pattern; for the greater the number of images consecrated, the greater the merit of the donor. The caves of the thousand Buddhas, the caves of the million Buddhas are in this respect pure works of Buddhist art, for Buddhism in India had no special art of its own. The forms were Indian and the iconography Buddhistic. But uprooted from the Indian soil, iconography, that is the prescription becomes almighty, for the creative vigour which soaks its strength from the soil of the motherland had to be left at home. Buddhistic art fostered the various techniques of reproduction. Clay models, stencils and pounces were in use and the most ancient wood-cuts known were current amongst the communities of Central Asia, though their origin lay in the East.

No doubt Central Asiatic art grew up in local centres of Buddhist worship. The forms of art we therefore meet with are Central Asiatic conglutinations of the neighbouring zones of art. China and India, Persia and Greece were united there. In this melting pot we find the Indian stuff to be prevalent. The principle of decoration, for instance, peculiar to the caves of Tun Huang is the well-known tapestry-like cover of paintings (*cf.* Ajanta) extended all over the walls and the ceiling. But the exuberant jungle of living forms has been cleared and dried up. Only what is iconographically necessary remained and covered the walls in stereotyped order. The migration of Indian models into these centres of ecclesiastic art is indicated by several paintings and sculptures which, though made on the spot, keep up the Indian convention. These finds represent a provincial museum of Indian art. They mark movements of the Indian artistic evolution separated by thousand years and more. An ink-drawing found at Tun Huang for instance, repeats in free interpretation the design of several reliefs of the Sanchi gateway. The crowded figures which stand in rows and on top of one another according to the Indian conception of space are Indian in spirit and construction in spite of their Chinese features and costumes and exemplify a tradition at least as remote as the Sanchi monument.

A carved and painted wooden slab from Ming-oi Karashar introduces a new and nude type of the Buddha. The two upper pannels correspond with the style of sculpture in vogue in India under the early Guptas, although the faces of the figures do not try to hide their Mongolian origin of which the lowest pannel is a frank confession. But composition and movement, proportions and modelling, the treatment of cloth and skin coincide with that of early Indian art where no Hellenistic suggestions were accepted.

Some temple banners from Tun Huang painted on silk, cotton or paper represent contemporary Bengal art as understood in Central Asia and China. The Avalokitas show different distances of interpretation from Bengal prototypes. The Bodhisattvas on the banner to the left, apart from the treatment of his toes and from the flower pattern on top, could pass for a mediocre work of that school of Bengal painting of which only examples three centuries later than the Tun Haung banner have come to us.

But the most convincing taste of the archæological and ecclesiastic behaviour of Central Asiatic Buddhism towards India is a large silk painting from Tun Huang; its inscription says that the different painted figures were intended to reproduce sculptured images worshipped at various sites of India. One of the figures is mentioned to represent a statue in the kingdom of Magadha while others are either directly copied from Indian originals as the lowest figure to the left, and interpreted by the local painter. In none of these examples any Hellenistic feature is traceable. Indian art migrated *viâ* Nepal and Tibet and pictorial representation was the most popular way through which Buddhism captured the hearts of simple people of Central Asia. Its rapid success is due to the avalanche-like course it took. Impelled by missionary zeal it carried away within its movement whatever forms came in its way. Whether they were Hellenistic or Persian made no difference. And so we meet not only with provincial but also with hybrid mixtures where a Hellenistic modelling of the body mingles with the flowing style of Indian garments and Mongolian flatness squeezes the heads into a distorted laughter.

The achievement of the various missionary schools of Buddhist art in Central Asia thus has one artistic merit. Subventioned by the wealth of Indian forms the local craftsman was enabled to meet the demand of devotees, however, so extravagant in their craving for numberless figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. But as the directions to be followed were all more or less alike, symmetry resulted as the most dignified but also as the cheapest and quickest way of satisfying the donor. Thus a specific Buddhist art came into life in Central Asia which established the type of ecclesiastic art. The idiom of these paintings is Buddhistic and derived from Indian art-language. It achieved the refinement of an old pictorial tradition when coming to Japan; for although Indian art brought the type of the Buddha to perfection it was left to Japan to make Buddhism visualised in the myth of a landscape which has for its background the mood of Dhyani.

An inscription on the Hokke Mandala which was added at the occasion of a restoration of that Japanese picture, in the eleventh century does not forget to mention that this Mandala is a real product of India although except the Buddhistic composition in frontal symmetry, every brush stroke is Japanese. Yet the sacredness of the picture was enhanced by that suggestion, which reminded the Japanese worshipper of remote ages, when emperor Ming ti of China had sent for the first time to India to seek the truth about Buddhism and his messengers brought back amongst other religious documents, the first Buddhist image from India. This was in the year sixty-seven.

The earliest trace, however, of Indian art outside India we find, strange to say, in a Greek work of art of the first half in the second century B.C. It is the relief frieze from the altar of Pergammu in Asia Minor, where in the war between gods and giants the threefold goddess Hekate intervenes with many arms. This is the most ancient document of the gods of India with multiple limbs and it is preserved in Greek surroundings. And from this time onwards we meet with Indian motives here and there and now and then, without any continuity but brought to Europe just as pearls and precious silk, for which the taste of dying Rome had so much fondness. The other factor which eagerly seized the oriental form are the early centuries of Christianity, which were groping for some form adequate to their contents, and Indian or Persian, Syrian and Egyptian forms and symbols were welcome without discrimination for the expression of Christianity, the oriental faith in Western lands which could not be satisfied by Greek illusionism and which could not derive any inspiration from a non-extant Jewish art.

A painted cloth of truly pagan pattern rapt round the mummy of an early Christian lady was found in Egypt. There Bacchus triumphs and Selene dances and all of them wore Buddhist halos and their Greek limbs are curved with the voluptuousness of Indian lines. The product of Egypto-Indo-Hellenistic design has a pagan freshness of vision. The later examples of Europeanised Indian art of the middle ages appear in Egypt and Byzantium, were made in the south of France in Germany and in Ireland. The Sanchi composition of the war of the relics, which did not miss amongst the treasures of Tun Huang occurs again in an ivory carving from Trier in Germany. The cherished motive of woman and tree, a leading device throughout the centuries of Indian art may be seen on the pulpit of the monastery at Aachen. There however, the female figure is changed into a male and Bacchus plucks the grapes whereas the Lakshmi touched the tree with her foot. The ivory creeper of Indian art which carried there its life movement ornates the Kathedra of Bishop Maximian from Ravenna. But it is needless to enumerate the ivory elephant of Charles the Great or to draw attention towards an ivory carving in Orleans, where Christ and various saints figure in the canonised scene of the great miracle at Cravasti. Most of these medieval reminiscences of Indian art lingered in ivory reliefs and the material and the form might have come from one source. Under the Karolingian and Ottonian empire the Indianisation of European ecclesiastic book covers carved in ivory was at its height. One illustration may stand for the rest of them. It shows an altar in so-called bird's-eye view according to Indian perspective, an altar-cloth with early Indian lotus pattern, rows of worshippers on top of each other, the lowest row turning their faces inside the relief,—all this being early Indian conventions to visualise the third dimension, that is, the continuity of the assembly round the altar. This scheme belongs to the eighth century in Europe, to the second century B.C. in India. It must have come to the West at an early date and has preserved the memory of India in the seclusion of an ecclesiastic tradition of work carried on by the medieval monks.

A late Mahajanist conception in a fresco from Baraklik gives the scheme of composition to an ivory sculpture in Germany representing Christ under the form of the Armenian Yima. To another period of Indian art belong the frescoes in the palace of the Pope in Avignon. There the proportion of tree and man and their peaceful and decorative harmony is of the same kind as that which accompanied the representation of prince Vessantara in one of the wall paintings of Miran and is akin to the treatment of men and forest in early Mughal landscapes.

The Indian element in European art was always inobtrusive and of no consequence. In the structure of European art it had the function of a loan-word. It remained a name of foreign origin for contents which had become familiar to Western thought. It disappeared completely with the Middle Ages.

Resuming we may state :—Indian form outside India means: full unfoldment of the national genius of South-east Asiatic and Polynesian races; in Central Asia it created the ecclesiastic type of composition for Buddhist art and in Europe the Indian element acted through fourteen centuries as a ferment in the abstract art of the middle ages.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

II

In India.

Self-defence is a reaction of the living organism against irritating or destructive intrusions from outside. Without assimilation on the other hand life cannot maintain its existence. The two processes act upon one another and keep the individual vigorous. Their balance depends upon the strength inborn to the individual. Artistic production as a living organism is obedient to these two laws.. But the meaning of self-defence and assimilation as applied to art needs explanation. India, for instance, sending out her works and traditions of art to East and West was free from either activity. There it gave itself away to any context it entered and far from assimilating new suggestions it accumulated them and carried them on from country to country and from century to century. For Indian art there was no longer immediate expression of an inner experience, but it lived on its past and used it as store from which convenient formulæ could be drawn. It had become petrified in the service of religion and commerce and needed not the protection so necessary for growing life.

The earliest art we meet with in India is that of the Asokan age. At that time it is already fully matured so that its early history remains veiled by ages and its movements lie hidden under the cover of an unknown past. The science of the creative genius and its work is new. Laws and periodicity are not yet established, yet as far as from a comparative study can be judged it appears that the art of every cultural unit is open to extraneous influence either in its early infancy, when to the groping spirit who wishes to express himself every form wherever it comes from is welcome for that purpose, or again after complete self-expression is reached and fatigue has overcome intuition. At that stage again foreign forms are appreciated and accepted though they cannot rejuvenate the senile body of art and a fresh impetus from within is needed to start anew the game of self-defence and assimilation. This periodicity may be verified from the evolution of Greek art for instance which affords the best example as its beginning, its height and end are fully known. In the early stage Mediterranean and Asiatic conventions supplied the stock of forms to an imagination which had not yet grown sure of its own trend. But after these external helps were assimilated and digested sufficient strength was gained for self-defence against a repetition of a similar invasion and Greek art from the 6th to the 3rd century B. C. attained its national form which after having exhausted almost all resources looked round to the same funds which it had used centuries ago, but neither freshly imported subjects nor forms could stop its decay.

The case however of Greece is extraordinarily simple, for there one well defined mentality, we may say one creative individual, had lived its life. The evolution of Indian art however contains many artistic individuals and what to the one may have the meaning of death reveals itself with regard to some other as the beginning of new life. But this vicariate of creative unities and personalities is not peculiar to India, and the same rule is valid for Europe in its entire artistic productions. The marks of beginning or end are set in every case by the dynamic power of artistic creation inherent in the single national units. Indian art thus passed through three critical ages, the Asokan and post-Mauryan age, the time of the Moghul Empire and the present moment. It goes without saying that apart from these well marked periods of foreign contact some minor motives linger on and ooze down to the devices of popular art and cottage industry where they remain in the vocabulary of domestic crafts throughout the centuries of its existence. In this way we find for instance some animal patterns as those of the heraldic two-headed bird or fish-tailed human figures as devices known to the textile arts all over Asia, Egypt and Eastern Europe and this early Asiatic art cannot definitely be traced to one centre only, though the Persian was apparently the most distinct. The immortal Akanthos of Greek origin on the other hand occurs at times as border on late medieval temple banners in Ceylon and the same device is to be seen on semi-Europeanised Bengal village architecture where it seems difficult to decide whether its use is due to a more recent importation or whether it lingered on as one of the hereditary motives of the unwritten grammar of domestic crafts. But we shall leave those unessential details aside, and start from the beginning where mighty stones tell their message in discordant tongues.

The lion capital from a broken pillar at Sarnath is witness of a complex artistic process. Four lions there are united into an all-round pattern round the elongated shaft of the column. They rest on a round plinth where four wheels of the law are circumambulated by various animals, the elephant for instance and the buffalo. This pedestal with its load is superimposed to a bell-shaped flower-like bulb The structure seems organic because it is powerful enough to overcome two discordant plastic principles. The one is the modelling of the lions' bodies, that is to say, their artistic physiognomy. The other is the way how the bodies are combined in the round and how this all-sided form is linked to the rest of the capital.

The striking feature of head, mane and legs of the lions is their distinct precision. How the face is kept apart in sharp line from the mane and how neatly but also how abruptly the mane ends on the legs. Inside the clear confines of every essential part thus formed an equally precise, sharp and abrupt modelling distinguishes forehead, cheeks and snout while the eyes, moustache, teeth and mane are articulated by minute and independent single shapes. Legs and paws show the leading features of this kind of sculpture in the most convincing way. Muscles and bones are firmly marked by high ridges and an interjacent channel, and each single tendon and joint of the toes is as boldly represented as the carving of the claws is minute. The effect of this plastic treatment is a vigorous naturalism which perceives the living form as strained by force and effort. No lassitude but also no softness is in these abrupt, strained and firm limbs.

Compared with these lions the animals of the plinth are tame and gentle beasts whose trot is full of swiftness and lyrical tenderness. Yet their modelling is carefully articulated with regard to joints and muscles although it is obvious that the fleshy part is no longer hard and strained, but has that healthy roundness which betrays life at ease. The outlines of these animals in relief though characterising every smallest peculiarity, are as a whole continuous so that they can be followed by our eyes in one uninterrupted gliding movement. If now it has to be decided whether the structure of the entire capital follows the artistic principle as incorporated in the lions on the top or that which acts in the animals of the plinth, the answer can be readily given. For one uninterrupted line glides over the angular profile of each lion and links it with the curvature of the chest bedecked with mane, and curves from there in negative way along legs and pauses in order to embrace in a mighty bow the angle built by the plinth. From there the complete succession of curves is repeated all over the floral capital in a more compressed and more emphasised manner. Thus it is established that the structural conception of the capital coincides in its continuous rounded outline with the plastic treatment of the animals on the plinth—while that of the lions in its abrupt tension stands apart though it is included in the general scheme.

Keeping in mind that this capital belongs to a pillar set up by emperor Asoka and thus represents an official work of art or a work of court-artists, we shall analyse the contemporary sculpture which has a more intimate character. The well known early figure of a Yaksha shall be the starting point. The minute analysis of these early Indian works may seem tiresome yet in this way only exact knowledge can be gained once for ever whether, how far and in what respect Mauryan art and henceforth the whole of ancient Indian creation was indebted to or dependent upon Persian form. No inscription and no written record can fully reveal this connection. The monuments themselves have to be consulted and they unravel their secrets to the observing eye. The animal representations on the top of the columns excepted we do not hitherto know of any other contemporary sculptured animals for comparison. But this is irrelevant for we are not concerned with the subject represented, but with the way of plastic treatment. Any contemporary sculpture whatever be its subject will throw full light on the actual situation.

The Yaksha figure shows a fully developed modelling in the round. Is it the same as that of the lion capital from Sarnath ? Head and arms and legs obviously are isolated from one another by sharp accents. Necklace and belt are treated as independent plastic bands laid over the modelled body. In so far the two sculptures under consideration fully agree. The naturalism also of the Yaksha figure is not less conspicuous than that of the lions. And yet the effect of the whole figure is entirely different, for every detail of it is shaped by a new kind of life. The treatment of the legs for instance, makes them appear smooth and rounded. Neither the knees nor the ankles are accentuated but one organic movement in the round moulds them into shape. The plastic details on the other hand as for instance ribbons and ornaments are, inspite of being well marked within their confines, subordinated to the main modelling of the body which they accompany and emphasize. They have no value of their own and if taken from the body their curves would lose all sense for they do not belong to them but reflect those of the body. The curves of the lion's mane on the other hand even if imagined apart from the lion retain their significance for they have a plastic volume and movement of their own. The main difference in the artistic treatment of the two sculptures amounts to an abrupt, isolated and strained modelling on the one hand and a flowing and therefore connecting and relaxed modelling on the other. Either of them however goes in the round with the difference that within the style of the lion-treatment every part whether important or subordinate is treated equally as fully three-dimensional volume while within the style of the Yaksha figure only those parts deserve a modelling in the round towards which chief attention has to be directed. In this way the subordinate parts emphasise those of greatest importance and this principle of subordinating extends equally over accessories as for example hair, dress and ornaments, and the sides from which the figure has to be seen. Thus front and side view give an impression of bulky roundness while—in the case of this Yaksha figure—the back view appears flat. This peculiarity however cannot be generalised into a statement that Indian art within its own resources is unacquainted with sculpture in the round and treats its statue as a kind of two-sided relief. Other early Indian statues, the Yakshini from Patna for sample, exhibit a view as fully rounded as the corresponding front view. In fact hair, back, scarf and *sari* display a plastic animation which by its assymetrical arrangement has more charm than the symmetrical rigidity of the front view. Moreover the slight bend forwards of the back view from the hips onwards suggests the alert movement of a youthful walking body while the front view merely stands in solemn symmetry. In every other respect however the Yakshini figure belong to the same conception of form as that of the Yaksha. The difference between the artistic treatment of those two figures shrinks down to almost naught if the cubic form peculiar to the lion capital is compared with.

Derived from the same source of plastic form are some of Yakshini figures from Barhut. There however they are made to recline against the octagonal post so that only the front view is visible. But even then the plastic treatment remains that of a sculpture in the round.

In sharp contrast to this Yakshini figure stand those of other Yakshas and Yakshinis, Nagas and Naginis from Barhut. The relief pannel representing Kuvera, one of the most accomplished pieces of Barhut sculpture, is governed by that smooth flatness of the modelled form which remains a leading feature of Indian sculpture up to the Gupta age. Still the treatment of the Kuvera figure from Barhut in all its novelty is implicite contained in the Yaksha figure from Parkham and the other statues belonging to that class. The relation of the accessories to the bare body has remained unchanged while the flowing modelling has become emphasized. But now indeed the whole figure appears as if compressed between two plates of glass and that this flattening is achieved with full artistic consciousness is proved by the violent, and from a naturalistic point of view distorting turn, given to the hands joined in adoration and to the right foot turned outwards in the knee, like that of an expert dancer.

The informations with which these early Indian sculptures furnish us are of greatest importance. We learn that Indian art in the moment when we make its first acquaintance passed through an artistic crisis. It had reached the height of one artistic evolution and was just on the way to evolve a new trend.

The old tradition is represented in its best in the Yakshini figure from the Patna museum ; the new trend has found pure expression in the Kuvera figure from Barhut. This critical age through which Indian art passed extends over the rule of the Maurya and Sunga Dynasties. It was the natural evolution of a strong and mature art which changed its form according to the prevalent mood of new generations. But without going into hazy interpretations, so much can be said that approximately one century brought about an evolution from the full, heavy and stabilised form modelled in the round, to the flattened, supple and flowing plastic. In either of them however continuity of an unbroken outline was the predominant feature.

In this critical moment and just at its opening another mode of artistic expression sets in. Its best representative is the lion capital from Sarnath. There we find a strained and stagnant cubic form as peculiar to the treatment of the lion quartette, while the plastic treatment of the animal frieze in the plinth, though it shares the vigorous tension with the lion capital, yet has become subordinated to a flowing and continuous outline, just as the structure of the whole capital is obedient to that flowing line. The only discordant feature therefore is the abrupt and vigorous modelling of the lions which stands in strong contrast to the smooth and flowing treatment of all other forms whether fully modelled in the round as in the earlier examples or flattened as in the later type, which may be called the Barhut style. This fundamental difference testifies two different kinds of nervous energy of the artist's hand. It also denotes a different attitude towards the outside world; it signifies an altogether different perception of nature. The one, that of the lions is bold and energetic and laden with physical strength; and accordingly those aspects of the visible world attract its greatest interest which are full of nervous vigour, bold, strong and commanding. The other treatment of the following modelling is melodious and without effort and those attitudes and forms of nature therefore are dear to it which suggest a harmonious play of forms at ease. The one means strain and the other repose, the one emphasises flesh and bones and the other suppresses either. The one sees and creates the living form as compressed into the forceful tension of one second of strained energy, the other feels and shapes the living force as state of an all-pervading movement which is at rest within its own activity. What lies at the root of this difference?

It is conspicuous that the animal figures which crown the various capitals of Asokan age are treated more or less in the same way. It further deserves notice that where similar animals are introduced in the gateways of the railing at Barhut or at Sanchi they have lost the vigour of brutal bestiality and have turned tame and gentle though clumsy animals. In no other connection however do we meet with this kind of artistic treatment while that of the liquid modelling abounds in all works of this and of the successive periods of Indian art. The Yaksha-treatment thus is entitled to be called purely Indian while the origin of the lion-treatment has its parallels and ancestors in Mesopotamia, and this connection apart from being obvious through the similarity of form of ancient Assyrian sculpture, is also testified by history. The hunting scenes for instance, the animals from the palace of Persepolis exhibit a muscular strength, a tremendous vital vigour in movement even when at rest. The gulf which separates the early Assyrian prototypes from Asokan art in India is bridged over by Asoka's rock inscription which were inspired by Achæmenian rock inscriptions as found in Bahistan and elsewhere. The sculpture therefore of the Asokan pillars is indebted to Mesopotamian art. These pillars however are works of Court art and this being dependant largely on the will of one person, are freed from the necessity of creative form, as peculiar to national genius. For in this case it is not the subconscious and therefore inevitable intuition of the artist who is brought up in the tradition of his country which is at work but the artist has become a tool in the hands of a potentate who imposes his will on his employee. And it also may be that he calls foreign artists into his country to work according to his wish. The question however as to the nationality of the artists who carved Asoka's pillars and capitals must be answered thus. Design and outline that is to say the structure of the capitals are Indian. With regard to the plinth of the Sarnath capital it appears that an Indian hand endeavoured to work à la Persian, though more or less freely, while the crowning part, the lions either represent a careful attempt of Indian artists to work in the desired fashion or else they are the work of Persian craftsmen called to India specially for this purpose. The Persian influence therefore in Asokan art is restricted to the capitals of the columns. Forms of art however carry some germs of contagion with them, and so capitals which pretend to be more or less after the court fashion, occur in Barhut and Sanchi in a somewhat childish and clumsy translation while the various winged monsters and combined animals which assemble so joyfully round sacred altars appear as Indian children of Mesopotamian or more likely Pan-Asiatic parentage. The Persian element in Asokan art thus is born in and vanishes with Asoka's court. This is the only trace of foreign devices in Indian art of that age and inspite of Alexander's conquest of Bactria, no trace of Greek art whatsoever can be discovered in pre-Christian time.

The Persian way of modelling disappeared quickly. The succeeding attempt of Hellenistic provincial art to intrude India did not meet with more success. Gandhara as a province of art represents a local centre, a melting pot so to say of Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian forms, and the question is whether and how far the Hellenistic element entered the stock of Indian form. We must however assume two entrances for the import of Roman Hellenistic forms. The one from the North-west frontier and from there it reached as far as Muttra. The other on the sea way from the South-west where the port of Barukacha was a trading centre with the

Roman empire. From there Greco-Roman forms reached most probably Amaravati (on the Kistna).

The import of Roman arms was caused by reasons other than those which brought Achæmenian forms. The Greco-Roman forms came along with traffic and commerce and so they were spread over distant monuments. But their effect on Indian art was as ephemeral as that of the Mesopotamian devices in Mauryan art. No praise has to be squandered on the magnificent Akanthos ornaments of Amaravati. The fact that they are of Greek extraction is denoted by the name but their vitality is as Indian as that of any lotus flower. Apart from the Akanthos device no pattern bears any resemblance with Greek form and the so-called honey-suckle is neither an Assyrian palmette nor a Greek floral motive. It is one of those uncounted Indian devices which have not yet received a name from students of Indian art. The modelling of the human body on the other hand derived relatively stronger impetus from the treatment as practised by Greco-Roman artist. But here it is almost edifying to watch how the conventional dullness of the Gandhara academy becomes quivering with the delight of youth and suppleness. The Mathura school of sculpture which is remarkable for its triviality of vision and for its lack of originality is satisfied with and concentrates on the sensuous charm of forms of this world, and so naturally forms of the Greek type had an allurement for this indigenous school. The early work from Mathura stands stilistically in one line with Barhut, with the difference that it consciously exhibits the forms of the human body while in the Barhut School they are accepted as a matter of fact and do not receive special emphasis. Thus the Greek sensitiveness to the softness of skin and elasticity of the flesh were welcome to the school of Mathura which embodies Indian plus Greek sensualism. The proportions of the figures however with long waist and short legs are decidedly non-Greek, and the *softness* of this naturalistic modelling is also a contribution from the Indian side. The Mathura school was a second-rate branch of Indian art; but not because it admitted Hellenistic connections into its own repertory of form; it did so because it had not a self-reliant imagination.

The whole atmosphere however is changed in Amaravati. There the pliable and intensely moved modelling is Indian, though some faint flavour of Greece might be tasted. The school of Mathura thus stands for a compromise of Hellenistic and Indian form on the basis of an uninspired sensualism, while Amraoti in the 2nd century A. D. by digesting the imported Greek stuff achieves a perfection of its own which may be seen in Indian purity at the early parts of the railing. With these two schools Hellenism in Indian art disappears as thoroughly as did the Persian element in post-Asokan art.

These two factors, the Persian and European, make their appearance once more at the time of the Moghuls. It is however worthwhile noticing that artistic traditions of no other country had any contact with Indian art in India. Egypt is out of question, but China which must have reached its artistic height and stood at this time in close commercial and religious relations with India left no trace in Indian art in early medieval times. For just at that period India was the giving part and was so full in its wealth that no room was left for any for intrusion. The situation changes only from the 16th century onwards when the Moghul rulers desired to establish an international court art. For almost two thousand years Indian art thus maintained its integrity. At the beginning and at the end of that period the admission of foreign forms was due to the desire of the rulers with regard to the Persian element while Western features entered Indian art almost at the same time in the earlier case uninvited yet called for by the Moghuls. The Moghul art painting is an official affair just as were the capitals of Asoka's columns. That sometimes idioms of Moghul painting also occur in Rajput pictures is no wonder as the two schools were so near in time and space.

In order however to realise to what extent and in which combination the Indian, Persian and European tradition of painting got fused in India it will be necessary to define the leading features of the three components. The Chinese factor has to be left aside, for although several Moghul paintings are not only influenced but practically painted à la Chinese and although even Rajput art, for instance the frescoes from Bikhaner, exhibit Chinese elements it was not the Chinese method of painting which was accepted but Chinese motives entered the confines of Indian art and were rendered there in the Indian way. Moghul art on the other hand is conspicuous by the versatility of pictorial methods employed. The European, the Indian and the Persian principles of painting intermingled in the brush of the Moghul Court artist.

Contemporary and pure Indian painting as represented by the various Rajput schools has to be examined first. It relies on the effective contrast of coloured surfaces which are made distinct in bold outlines. Pavilion and men, sky and interior of the houses, action, movements and architecture are laid into one severely observed plan and the eyes of all the figures have to obey the same rule. Colours and outlines are the only means utilized in this kind of painting. The colours are bold in their contrast, the outlines are extremely simple and yet significant and what in the first moment appears to be stiffness reveals itself on closer observation as the unavoidable round lines of Indian painting, which get full scope in the sitting figures while the standing ladies have to match the elongated niches of the pavilion into which they are placed. The thinness of the pavilion moreover is due to its Islamic design. This work of popular art illustrates the tendency of the painter to tell in a clear and dignified way about the subject which he represents, and his simple language is satisfied with a pictorial world which is not more than a surface deep, for all surroundings cease to exist in the presence of the chief actors. This way of surface decoration is Indian but it is moreover popular Indian. The horizonless field of the picture which is filled by the surface of one vision we meet throughout the world in village art and children's designs. The early Rajput pictures thus represent people's art in India of the 16th century which gets its distinguishing mark by the curved outline of the figures, not to speak of course of costume, features, architecture and the like. A later Rajput painting—and the difference of schools is here where the main features in common to all Rajput painting are concerned out of consideration—though far more elaborate and complex in design relies in its essential effect on the same requisites as the earlier example. Again colour surfaces within minutely defined outlines which embrace with delight the animated figures of the painting. But the plan of action has grown in width and the slanting surfaces of walls and floor surround the actors, while at the back on top of the gate a strap of landscape is inserted, where broad banana leaves and distant hills with shrubs are laid in one plan and form a pattern which repeats in its rounded outline the curves of all the pots which serve Radhika for cooking. Again as in the previous picture the architecture and the arch represented are Moghul, but the way of representation is Indian, that is to say Rajput.

The difference between Moghul and Rajput becomes apparent when similar compositions are compared. Again the story is told in an open courtyard with architecture on the sides. The slanting surfaces have become less slanting and the surfaces less of surfaces but looking more like illusions of real walls which mark the front of the house and you can go up the stairs and enter the hall and sit on one of the benches or look out of the window or you may go to the second story and join the peacocks or leave them and go further on through the long corridor which leads you right into the inner apartments. But it will be best if you imagine yourself sitting next to the two gentlemen, for there is room enough for you in the spacious hall or else if you do not wish to disturb them, just take your seat on the broad brim of the wall or walk up and down the courtyard. This is what the picture wishes you to do or at least to imagine that you were doing, for otherwise for whom except the spectator would the whole illusion be got up. There was however no room for you in Radhika's little courtyard nor was there room for any house except for the one window from where Krishna's passionate glance was sent forth and cut off by its direction the outside world and kept Radhika enclosed within his longing and her garden and you the spectator through the painter's vision could steal a glance of their feelings and doings. The space therefore in which and the composition with the help of which the Rajput scene takes place are concluded within themselves. They represent an objectified intuition. The Moghul space and composition on the contrary include you, the third person in their scheme and in order to make you feel at home with what they represent, they must give you as complete an illusion of the actuality of the scene as possible. The figures represented in either of these paintings are treated accordingly. Radha and her companion live one sort of life and the rhythm of their action and the beat of their heart is ruled by one fate. The two men of the Moghul picture however show their widely different characters by physiognomy and expression and their dress underlines and actually visualises their different personalities. The figures of Rajput art breathe in the thin and clear atmosphere of lines and only the face has a conventional and faint modelling while Moghul figures create the impression of living bodies dressed in the folds of costly materials.

This fundamental difference of the Moghul and Rajput way of painting is not due to Persian influence on the Moghul side. In fact history alone is not to be held responsible for the obvious distance between the two treatments, and it is wrong to conclude that because the Moghul rulers came to India from Persia and also brought Persian artists with them, the foreign element in Moghul art must be first of all Persian. The Persian influence was no doubt mighty at the beginning of Moghul art and paintings like that of the Hamzah nameh for instance are truly Indo-Persian art. Later however the Persian element becomes less and less conspicuous in Indian art and it is the European treatment of landscape and architecture, of man and space which prevails. Whether this European style was fostered to a greater extent in India itself or whether it came to India under the cloak of Persian paintings is difficult to decide. In any case is the European element in Persia for instance in the work of Riza Abbasi not so widely used as it is in Moghul court art. We must therefore first extract that what is European in Moghul art in order to find the proportion of Indian and Persian conventions as contained in the rest. We have already seen that the illusion of spacious places, ample halls, massive walls and full round bodies is one distinct feature. Another is the treatment of landscape. If we recall the early Rajput representation, some plain dark blue colour meant landscape, night and vastness and timeless atmosphere of the picture. The latter showed more detailed features of nature as a banana garden and distant hills with shrubs and a pale sky on top. But trees, hills and sky were simply names and design within one surface as calm and broad as that of the blue of the earlier picture. No distance had removed man from nature and all of them shared one plan of existence and so it remained wherever Rajput art was untouched by foreign influences. But we must be aware that Rajput painting is not to be identified with Indian painting as a whole. It is nothing more but also nothing less than popular art, and uses the simplest means possible. The cubistic as well as the way of foreshortening achieved by Ajanta are completely forgotten. Rajput painting is just a vernacular, expression narrow in its expressions but nevertheless deep. The landscape of a Moghul painting on the other hand is something quite new to India. There an attempt is made actually to surround the human figure so that it can move about and look around, and chains of hills beset with trees denote the distance from the main figure. The trees in fact are made into landmarks denoting distance. The smaller they are made, the greater a distance do they denote and their endeavour is just as absurd as that of their Dutch or Italian prototypes which had not yet solved the problem of perspective and overshot their new awakened observation of nature which taught them that the greater the distance the smaller the objects appear. They made therefore trees or building of minute size as if far away, while the hill which supported them appeared to be quite near. This incongruity of vision and knowledge peculiar to Dutch painting of the late 14th and early 15th century was taken up by Italian painting where it is still to be seen in Raphael's early work and the Indian artists, if their distance is considered, are not to be blamed for keeping up the same treatment for one or two more centuries. This failure in an attempted illusionism with regard to landscape was brought to India from Europe; in the field of architecture however Western perspective and the Indian conception of space were fused on the spot. Thus the illusionism of Moghul painting whatever be its source was inconsistent *a priori* and remained so to the end and the only escape from a complete artistic fiasco was either personal genius of an artist or else utmost possible Indianisation.

The illusionism suggesting the material out of which our surroundings are built makes Moghul painting heavy and earthbound. It subdues the frail charm of the Persian form just as much as it hampers the melodious flow of the Indian tradition. The treatment of trees illustrates best the interference of Western with Eastern principles. The Ragini for instance stands on a Persian lawn surrounded by flowers Persian in arrangement and conception, under the shade of a tree of Indian art origin, facing a group of smaller trees of the same artistic family while the top of the hills in further distance is crowned by small specimens of trees of European art extraction. The Persian way of treating plants is to show stems and branches, thin and frail, spread out in a motionless atmosphere and leaves and flowers appear as so many gems and precious stones, cut into minute shapes and stuck on to the branches where they fit in best. The trees of Indian painting simply grow. The sap which circulates through the tree and links its top with the earth is visualised by a solid round stem from which the top branches off in a few but vigorous twigs. They are bent with vigour and elasticity of growth and with the burden of a large and abundant foliage. The European trees at least at a distance wear a top summarised in one outline, as one whole in light and shade. This Ragini picture is a museum of various specimens of art trees. All of them are acclimatised to the atmosphere of eclectic court art and have lost much of their original freshness yet retained enough to denote their origin. The varieties however gained by cross breed are large in number. Persian trees for instance either remain intact in their fragile aloofness or else and next to it they suddenly grow fat and round with European modelling or at last they incorporate the beauty of Persian leaves and flowers and the European substantiality of the wood in the Indian vigour of growing life which makes the branches turn and twist in elastic curves. A painting where all the three factors are assembled to equal parts, sets groups of men and animals in a rocky landscape where tents and trees stand in the Indian convention of space, where rocks derived from Persia are invaded by European mass and Indian agitation and where the single groups remind as much of Rogier van der Weiden's emotionalism as they stand near the scenes of village life familiar to Rajput painting. But apart from that quaint mixture not much is achieved in an artistic respect, for the decorative, that is to say Persian display of European trees obstructs the construction of the landscape and the agitated story could be told with less expense and in a simpler way.

The only rescue for Moghul painting therefore is the genius of an artist who as in the case of the "Dying Man" achieved a masterwork international in its artistic language and universal in its expressiveness. There all reminiscences are merged into one personal and subtle vision. The other way out of the whirl of imported conventions was Indianisation. A night scene for instance speaks of the intercourse Indian art had with Europe and yet no sound will be heard in the silence of worship and night. Though the form is mixed, the inner experience visualised is one and its nature is Indian. But Moghul painting was spoiled from the beginning. Its combination was artificial and therefore ephemeral. Unless a unique genius found a solution of his own quite personal mode of sentiment the Indian artist even where his vision was Indian could not but translate it into the international court language of Moghul art. It was only outside the circle of Court art that Indian form was found for Indian contents and there even where European allusions—and scarcely any of Persian origin occur—they stand in the background and though they appear as additions they are neither offensive nor of much consequence. The episode of Moghul painting closes and with it the import of Persian and European forms. After centuries, that is, at the present moment Indian art for the third time opens its gates, wider than before, for East and West have come nearer and it means much for modern Indian art to have realised the crisis and knowing all forms by which it is surrounded to go on the eternal path of art in its own way.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II; CHAPTER XV

THE INVITATION

Jasubha was sitting at his ease in his tent, an electric fan was put upon a table near him. He was sipping his tea and Ranubha was seated at another table writing some letters. Raghubhai came in and after obeisance stood meekly aside.

"Well, Raghubhai!" drawled Jasubha without even looking up, "So this district has been thoroughly inspected? Let us get away now."

"Yes, Your Highness, it has been inspected. We can start the moment Your Highness desires."

"Now then, Ranu, why are you still insisting upon going on to Varat? But Raghubhai,' asked the Prince, raising himself up a little, "have you really inspected the affairs of Varat?"

"Yes, sir. Everything is quite in order."

"Oh, well, quite so," said Jasubha a little impatient, "I am not asking about that." Jasubha could not talk of one subject for any appreciable length of time. The conversation had to follow his shifting capricious mind. He took a long sip of tea, whilst Raghubhai waited patiently.

"Have you seen this book?" asked Jasubha, picking up a book, "What excellent printing! We do not get such printing even in our capital."

"Your Highness, I have also heard that some things are done there very well indeed."

"Who is responsible for all this?"

"I do not know," replied Raghubhai, striving to hide the truth. Jasubha looked at Raghubhai through his half-closed eyelids. With his innate cunning he was able to sense some new and deep game going on around himself. The nearer he had come to Varat the greater were the proof he had seen of the fame of Varat, of its arts and of the power of its Master. He could easily see the wonderful influence that Varat exercised upon all the surrounding country. A small town of two thousand souls had, in the course of less than a decade, become a flourishing city with a population of nine thousand. Jasubha, tired of his own indolent life and fed up with the petty palace quarrels, had agreed upon this tour merely to please Champa and Ranubha. For some unknown reason Raghubhai had opposed this tour. Now he was opposed to the visit to Varat, and under the mask of sweet reasonableness lay concealed his inordinate ambition. Nothing of all this was outside the knowledge of the Prince, all the resulting struggles amused him. He found great pleasure in watching Champa and Ranubha striving to corner Raghubhai and also the tug-of-war between Revashankar and Raghubhai. And he behaved like a mere neutral spectator and his chief amusement was to disappoint each in turn. He knew very well that it was now Raghubhai's turn at the game, but he did not trouble himself to find out what the game really was.

"And who is this Swami?"

"Who, Your Highness? That fellow at Varat? Oh, he is a clever ascetic, who is messing up things over there. Besides he is very overbearing. He does not leave any state officer in peace."

"Why?"

"I don't know."

"But some one was telling me that Varat is worth a visit. How far is it from here?"

"Thirteen miles. But there is really nothing to be seen there," said Raghubhai at last laying bare his game.

"Oh, I see!" said Jasubha finishing his cup and lighting his cigar. "Have you been there?"

"No, sir. But people say so."

"Then Ranu," asked Jasubha turning to him, "why this useless insistence?"

Ranubha turned round in his chair, "Sir, if you are not going, pray give me a day's leave, I will go there with Champa."

"Yes, sir; it will be too much trouble for you. Besides, the road is very bad," added Raghubhai for himself.

"But I have heard that the road there is first rate," said Ranubha.

"Oh no, sir. Varat had asked for permission but Revashankar never allowed a proper road to be constructed."

"Well, then, Raghubhai, you do not advise us to go, do you? Now let it stand at that," said Jasubha, wishing to disappoint Champa and Ranubha and thus teasing them.

"As Your Highness pleases."

"Now go, and arrange as you please. We have seen so many cities and Varat does not deserve this honour. Let us return," declared Jasubha, stretching his legs. His fear of the inconveniences of travelling was much greater than his desire to see Varat.

After such announcement Raghubhai was not the person to miss his chance. He bowed low and went out in search of Chhotu Nayak. Within five minutes the Swami had heard of the Prince's resolve.

"You scoundrel," muttered Jasubha under his breath, "you do not wish me to see the place and so you are inventing all sorts of excuses." "Ranubha," he added loudly, "you will have all to retire from the state."

"Why?"

"Because *he* will not allow you to stay a moment there."

"Who is 'he'?"

"Raghubhai. Just let him become the Divan."

By reason of his age and his close friendship, Ranubha was often allowed greater liberty with the Prince. He winked and said: "Let him count his chickens after they are hatched."

(*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT

A one-sided view in regard to Railway management may obscure the fundamental issues. Whether a Railway is satisfactorily and economically managed by the State or by a Company, irrespective of the question of the ownership, it is necessary for the public to determine whether controlled private management is better than uncontrolled or irresponsible State management. I characterise State management as "uncontrolled," because there is no higher controlling authority. With Company management under proper control, is better, for, the public can have their interests safeguarded by the State. In uncontrolled State management, the public should first of all determine its relationship with the State before it can hope to have its grievances remedied or its will asserted. Apart from the question of the form of the State it may be observed that the relation between the public and the State is remote and nebulous. I take "public" in the sense of "the major portion of the people"; so that there is room for difference of opinion with the State. This difference makes the argument strong in favour of Company management, since in democracy there is little cause for difference (1) amongst the people themselves and (2) with the State for any default by a company which forms a part of the public in management. Thus no difficulty in State administration arises meaning much confusion in the creation of party politics favouring one type of management and disfavouring another. India is a country of mixed races, classes and interests; the less the growth of and encouragement to party politics, the better for India and its future. There is enough of it already in the State administration of India: it is sapping the foundation of the economic structure of the country; its dominance would stagnate the economic life of its citizens.

The people demand State management because they want to secure to the country the surplus profits enjoyed by the Company management, by diverting them to the State coffer. But they forget that the State is hardly economical in respect of management, and the surplus profits may prove to be a gradually vanishing quantity.

The State purchase of Indian coal at pit's mouth is one of the points which can be put forward against State management. The North Western Railway was paying Rs. 3·83 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 3·67 per ton, in 1917-18, Rs. 4·32 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 5·25 per ton in 1919-20, Rs. 5·29 per ton in 1920-21; the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway, Rs. 3·09, Rs. 2·97, Rs. 3·83, Rs. 4·72, Rs. 4·80 per ton for those years; the Eastern Bengal Railway, Rs. 3·18, Rs. 2·92, Rs. 4·03, Rs. 4·31, Rs. 4·21 per ton for the similar corresponding years; and on the 3′ 3⅜″ gauge, the Eastern Bengal Railway quoted Rs. 2·84 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 2·73 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 3·86 in 1918-19, Rs. 4·00 in 1919-20, Rs. 4·21 in 1920-21; on the 2′ 6″ gauge, the Eastern Bengal Railway pays Rs. 4·03 per ton, Rs. 4·31 per ton, Rs. 4·22 per ton for the years 1918-19, 1919-20, and 1920-21; the North Western Railway through Kalka Simla Railway paid Rs. 3·83 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 3·67 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 4·32 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 5·25 per ton 1919-20, Rs. 5·29 per ton in 1920-21; through Trans-Indus (Kalabagh-Bannu) and Kohat-Thal and Nowsera-Durgai, the same for the above years; on the 2′ 0″ gauge, the Jorhat (Provincial) pays Rs. 9·81 per ton in 1916-17, Rs. 10·65 per ton in 1917-18, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1918-19, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1919-20, Rs. 12·36 per ton in 1920-21.

The figures are significant.

It is rather remarkable that the quotations for 5′6″ and 3′3⅜″ gauges of the Eastern Bengal Railway for different years should vary. The difference for 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19 and 1919-20 are Rs. 34 per ton, Rs. 0·19 per ton, Rs. 0·17 per ton and Rs. 0·31 per ton respectively. The reasons, if there be any, are obvious. The 5′6″ gauge lines are paying higher rates than the 3′ 3⅜″ lines, although both the systems are managed by the same agency, *viz.*, the State. If it be argued that the 5′6″ gauge lines use engines which require coal of higher steam value than for the engines in the 3′ 3⅜″, the 2′6″ gauge line engines cannot be said to justify using coal that is generally consumed by the 5′6″ gauge line and to pay higher prices than those of the 3′ 3⅜″ gauge lines of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Now the difference in steam coal quotation on the Eastern Bengal Railway raises the question—what standard of coal should be used for the 5′6″ and 3′ 3⅜″ gauges? The use of the standard of coal for 5′6″ on the 2′6″ gauge lines cannot settle the final question of standard. The consumption of inferior coal on the 3′ 3⅜″ lines is false economy since the engines are subject to inferior steam value and other consequential defects. But the consumption in pounds per engine mile on the 3′ 3⅜″ lines is less than on the 5′6″ lines; although it is alleged that the former line uses inferior quality of coal. Again, the 2′6″ line, paying the same rate as the 5′6″ line, consumes less quantity of coal per engine mile. If we consider the consumption value as the basis to determine the standard of coal already in use on the Eastern Bengal Railway the best quality is that which is being consumed by the 3′6″ line. Then the next best quality is the one used on the 3′ 3⅜″ lines; and the last comes the 5′6″ line in respect of coal consumption quality. So that it is not unfair to point out that the 5′6″ lines are quoting higher rates than what we could possibly think of, considering the low value of consumption per train mile. The anomaly unfortunately lies in the *game* of prices irrespective of the quality of coal consumed by the Eastern Bengal Railway system. As to consumption in pounds per engine mile the following table clearly shows the relative strength of coal on the different lines:—

	5′6″	3′ 3⅜″	2′6″
1916-17 ...	66·57	52·32	...
1917-18 ...	64·92	49·99	...
1918-19 ...	67·00	53·27	22·19
1919-20 ...	67·74	53·00	30·98
1920-21 ...	70·93	52·80	30·50

Thus the argument that the difference is due to quality falls to the ground. So far about the anomaly in the standard of quality and prices in *one* State-managed Railway. A comparison with the other State-managed Railways would indicate a larger anomaly in the standard. I am not very sure if this anomaly can be effectively and finally removed from the State-managed Railways on the North-Western Railway. I find that the rates for all the gauges are the same, though the rates are higher than those of the Eastern Bengal Railway system. On both the 5′6″ and 2′6″ gauges the N.-W. Railway paid Rs. 0·65, Rs. 0·75, Rs. 0·29, Rs. 0·94 and Rs. 1·08 per ton more than the E. B. Railway, for the years 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20 and 1920-21 respectively. It may be noted in this connection that, the comparison of E. B. Railway 2′6″ gauge line with that of the N. W. Railway, holds good only from the year 1918-19. It has been argued by some that because the North-Western Railway requires special steam value of coal, it has to pay high rates. But the consumption value per engine mile shows that the 5′6″ line of the N. W. Railway, uses more coal than the E. B. Railway ; similarly in regard to the 2′6″ line. There is, again, a remarkable difference in the consumption of coal on the Kalka-Simla Railway, Jacobabad-Kashmor, Kohat-Thal and Nowshera-Dargai Railway, and Trans-Indus (Kalabagh-Bannu) Railway per engine mile. It may be argued that the difference is due to gradients. But the consumption value per engine mile has been determined by the total mileage run under 5′6″ and 2′6″ gauges of both the N. W. and E. B. Railway systems and special considerations do not apply. So the conclusion is, that one State Railway is economical in the purchase of coal; another is extravagant. Again, it is interesting to note that when on the 5′6″ and 2′6″ lines the mileage open was 3,683·82 in the North Western Railway, the consumption value of coal remained 67·82 pounds per engine mile on the 5′3″ gauge whereas when the mileage open at the end of 1920-21, was 3,907·62, the engine mile consumption rose to 94·18 pounds, but under 2′6″ gauge the following discrepancies are not very easy to explain :—

		Mileage.	Consumption in pounds per engine mile.
(1) Jacobabad-Kashmor	(1) 1916-17	76·70	28·74
(2) Kohat-Thal and			
(3) Nowshera-Dargai	1920-21	76·70	46·53
(4) Kalka-Simla Railway	(2) 1916-17	61·75	28·74
(5) Trans-Indus (Kalabagh-Bannu)	1920-21	61·75	46·53
	(3) 1916-17	40·40	28·74
	1920-21	40·40	46·53
	(4) 1916-17	59·92	66·69
	1920-21	59·92	70·15
	(5) 1916-17	135·39	52·73
	1920-21	135·39	91·67

Under the 5′6″ gauge it is clear that, with the increase of mileage by 223·80 since 1916-17, the average calculation basis ought to have brought down the figure of consumption value of coal purchased by the North Western Railway system. The rise almost phenomenal—indicates that there is hardly any economy, or efficiency in the administration. The situation is accentuated by the decision of the State to purchase for this railway Welsh coal which is the best of all types. The statistics indicate that Indian coal which is being consumed by this system is hardly satisfactory, although a very high price was paid for it, at any rate higher than what the E. B.

Railway (another State-managed concern), paid for it. These details, unfortunately escape the attention of the public.

Under the 2′6″ line it is impossible that with the mileage remaining constant there should have been any difference in the consumption value since 1916-17. Here also the rise is unintelligible. With the same engines, the same gradients, the same distance covered since 1916-17, the rise is the result of either inferior coal or wonderful machinery of State administration. Is this efficiency? or, is this economy? The coal is certainly poor in quality, as is quite evident from its consumption value, but why such a coal is accepted and at a higher rate than that of the E. B. Railway, is more than what one can easily determine from the distant workings of the State Railway Department. I should consider this to be a grave defect in the State Railway Administration.

Again, as we calculate the total coal consumed under 5′6″ and 2′6″ gauges in the years 1916-17 and 1920-21 with the total train mileage for those years, we are compelled to look with disfavour on State Administration. When the train mileage is higher, the consumption of coal is greater; so that the quantities must be larger, if the standard of quality remains unchanged. But unfortunately the case is different. When the train mileage was higher in 1916-17, the coal purchase was smaller in quantity than in 1920-21. This discrepancy is also noticeable in the E. B. Railway System. The N. W. Railway figures are shown below:—

	Total Train Mileage (in thousands of miles).	Total Coal Consumption (India) Tons per engine mile.
1916-17	22,235	798,669
1920-21	19,676	1,032,075

Now take the case of the O. and R. Railway coal purchase figures. The price does not vary much from that of the E. B. Railway, though it is quite marked as compared with that of the N. W. Railway. The consumption value is also not highly variable with the E. B. Railway though it is at great variance with the N. W. Railway, since 1919-20. Why it is so, is left for the public to judge and to form their conclusions on the efficiency of State management.

The following tables clearly show the essential difference between the consumptive value of coal as consumed by the N. W. Railway, E. B. Railway, and the O. and R. Railway, on the 5′6″ gauge lines:—

		Consumption in pounds per engine mile.
N. W. Railway ...	1916-17	67·82
	1917-18	73·15
	1918-19	76·95
	1919-20	81·60
	1920-21	94·18
E. B. Railway ...	1916-17	66·57
	1917-18	64·92
	1918-19	67·00
	1919-20	67·74
	1920-21	70·93
O. and R. Railway ...	1916-17	67·38
	1917-18	75·36
	1918-19	76·30
	1919-20	76·82
	1920-21	73·80

The differences in the consumption-value, the price and standard quality of coal for State Railways cannot be explained, since all purchases are made by one expert officer, *viz.*, Mining Engineer to the Railway Board, and not by the Railways direct.

So long I was trying to point out the anomalies that exist within the administration of State-managed Railways and it is now clear that the financial transactions in regard to coal State Railways are not governed by a uniform principle.

This consideration, alone, seriously questions the capacity of the State to manage economically and profitably even under the existing system of company management. It is presumed that pure company management, without Government management may show better results.

Let me now discuss if the Company Railways are economical on coal purchase. But before I do so, I should not omit to mention that the pit's mouth quotation of the company-managed Assam Bengal Railway does not appear in the statistics which raise a suspicion in the public mind as to the nature of the State control over that system.

In comparing with the coal rates, I am reluctant to do any injustice to the prospective improvement in the system of State management. First, with regard to the Company-managed Railways: The East Indian Railway paid Rs. 2·07 Rs. 2·33, Rs. 2·47, Rs. 2·71, Rs. 3·13 per ton at the pit's mouth for the years 1916-17, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20, 1920-21 respectively; the Bengal Nagpur Railway, Rs. 3·26, Rs. 3·30, Rs. 3·30, Rs. 3·36, Rs. 3·47 per ton for those years. A comparison of these figures with the Eastern Bengal Railway payments at the pits' mouth shows that there has been negligence on the part of the buying agent for the E. B. Railway, specially from the year 1918-19. I say, "specially" because with reference to the previous years (1916-17 and 1917-18) the differences in favour of the Companies are negligible. Further the E. B. Railway coal cannot be said to be superior to that of the E. I. Railway, when the latter system consumes 63·32 lbs. per engine mile and the former requires 70·93 lbs. per engine mile. The condition of B. N. Railway is rather unsatisfactory, since it requires 78·29 lbs. for an engine mile, *i.e.*, 7·36 lbs. more than that consumed by the E. B. Railway. But this is because the B. N. Railway consumes and pays for mostly second class coal, whereas those who argue that the E. B. Railway consumes better quality of coal will now be convinced of the hollowness of their argument. The E. I.

Railway pays least and consumes least,—which can only be attributed to efficient method.

Secondly, as regards Company Railways working at a considerable distance from the coalfields; it is not unfair to point out that they suffer much on coal account from the mischievous effects of combination amongst the merchants. This combination probably takes place for two reasons:—(1) Commercial and (2) Political. The commercial aspect is seen clearly where the merchants fear that payments by the Company Railways may be delayed; and the political aspect takes the shape of favouritism through special influence. With all these disadvantages, they manage to consume better coal at cheaper rates than the North-Western Railway. The whole point to be remembered in this connection is that there is a Mining Engineer to the Railway Board sitting at Calcutta to make purchases of coal for State Railways. The irony of the situation is that he has not been able to make purchases with an eye to economy.

If the people urge that the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway get their coal cheap because a lot of it comes from their own collieries at cost price, it merely shows that these two company lines had the foresight to acquire and develop collieries of their own, whereas the State lines did not have this foresight.

Then as to the working expenses per train mile the State Railways have proved themselves to be highly expensive. On the North-Western Railway (Commercial section) the expenditure in 1920-21 was Rs. 5·6978 per train mile in covering 15,736,000 miles, the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway spent Rs. 3·7146 per train mile for 5,228,000 miles in the year 1920-21; the Eastern Bengal Railway incurred the expenditure of Rs. 3·7911 per train for 1,197,000 miles; the G. I. P. Railway Rs. 4·5813 for 4,515,000 miles the same year: whereas the E. I. Railway spent Rs. 2·84555 per train mile for 26,930,000 miles; the B. N. Railway Rs. 3·5517 for 23,416,000 miles; the

Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, Rs. 4·3838 for 5,479,000 miles; the B. B. and C. I. Railway Rs. 4·8636 for 8,486,000 miles. This is the result on the 5′6″ gauges; though I regret to point out that the statistics for the Commercial Section of the N.-W. Railway have included 374·16 miles of 2′6″ gauges; that 626·03 miles of 2′6″ are included in the figures of the B. N. Railway; that 359·12 miles of 2′6″ are included in those of the B. B. and C. I. Railway that 201·37 miles of 2′6″ and 12·61 miles of 2′0″ are included in those of the G. I. P. Railway and that 80·34 miles of 3′ 3⅜″ are included in those of the O. and R. Railway. The regrettable point is the lack of the total train mileage figures separately under these different gauges. But whatever the reason may be, the framer of the statistics apparently kept the gauges other than 5′6″ subordinate probably for their non-earning capacities. So on this principle of revenue-yielding importance the other gauges are merged into the broad gauge; and our general comparison of the working of State-managed train mile with the Company-managed one shows that the balance is clearly in favour of the latter. Even if the comparison is most *critically* pushed by the companies to defend against the attacks of the advocates of State-managed lines, there is no *justification for anybody* to ignore the claims of the B. N. Railway and the B. B. and C. I. Railway (whose train mileage statistics are recorded including the 2′6″ gauge branches) for favourable comparison with the N.-W. Railway (Commercial Section), for all of which statistics of train mileage including the 2′6″ gauge lines are shown in the Railway Administration Report. And what does the comparison reveal? The B. N. Railway works by about Rs. 2·2 per train mile, and the B. B. and C. I. Railway by Rs. 83 per train mile less than the State-managed North-Western Railway, even though the lengths of the former taken individually are not longer than the latter. It is again a great credit that the former have managed to evolve a better percentage of train mileage with their shorter lines than the latter. While the B. N. Railway manages to make the train mileage figure run up to 4,248, and the B. B. and C. I. to 5,340, the N.-W. Railway (Commercial Section) gives the low figure of 3,951 in one mile. The figure is based upon the reported activities of 1920-21. The past statistics tell the same tale; but I have given weight to the year 1920-21 because this is more normal than other years. The G. I. P. Railway can be said to bear comparison, since the distance of 12·61 miles under 2' gauge may be neglected. It works with Rs. 1·116 per train mile less than what the N.-W. Railway, although the latter fails to reach the train mileage figure of 7,021 (*i.e.*, 3,070 miles less) in one mile. So far as the O. and R. Railway is concerned, the train mileage figure is only 3,249 in one mile, though the working expense is Rs. 3·7 per train mile.

Then as to the comparison of State Railways under 3', 3⅜" gauges, it is interesting to note that the Assam Bengal Railway spends Rs. 3·5 per train mile, and the E. B. Railway, Rs. 3·6 per train mile whereas the Company-managed lines like the B. B. and C. I. Railway spend Rs. 3·1 per train mile, the M. and S. M. Railway, Rs. 2·7 per train mile and the S. I. Railway, Rs. 3·04 per train mile. Other Company-managed lines do not exceed the working cost of State-managed lines. In this connection, care has been taken to determine the peculiar circumstances arising out of the locations of the different Railways in bringing out the comparison very effectively. Thus the B. B. and C. I., the M. and S. M. and the S. I. Railways could have managed much better had they been situated nearer the coal fields. The E. B. Railway working cost per train mile has, therefore, been most unsatisfactory, even though its place of office is at Calcutta and its materials are purchased by one expert man with high professional skill and experience deriving all the benefits from the statistical information and business activities of the Company-managed lines nearer the coal lands.

The question of the purchase of stores is one of the most vexed problems in connection with Railways. People are under the impression that the Company-managed lines do not purchase indigeneous products largely nor do they like to encourage local industry. To determine the question it is essential at the outset to point out that there are certain necessary materials which are not available in this country. Of those that are produced or are available here, the G. I. P. Railway purchased in 1920-21 goods of indigenous origin to the extent of Rs. 2,45,35,000 and of imported stores Rs. 96,82,000 ; the E. I. Railway of indigenous origin, Rs. 1,29,91,600 of imported Stores Rs. 84,75,000; the B. N. Railway Rs. 13,02,000 and Rs. 58,73,000 respectively; the B. B. and C. I. Railway Rs. §8,46,000 and Rs. 80,99,000. In other words, the G. I. P. purchased about 47%, the E. I. Railway about 47%, the B. N. Railway about 38%, and the B. B. and C. I. Railway about 67% of their total estimated requirements for the year 1920-21, from India; whereas the State Railways like the N.-W. Railway and the E. B. Railway purchased 37% and 32% only from India to meet their requirements. In this connection, it will be necessary to remember the effects of the limitations imposed on the Company-managed lines when the State Railways begin their purchasing operations. Viewed in this light, the Companies have been found to be active in utilising the cheap sources for their own purposes. It is further necessary to note here that materials purchased in India do not include coal and coke, stone, bricks, lime, ballast, etc. I have already shown that the business activities of the Company lines in making purchases of coal are more satisfactory and economical than those of the State lines. I would have been glad to institute a comparison in regard to the purchase of Stores if the statistics of prices and quantities were available and to prove finally and conclusively that the State cannot manage an undertaking with economy. But so far I have, I hope, succeeded in showing (1) that the Companies are more economical in coal purchase than the State lines—(I use the word "State line" to mean the line worked by the State directly), (2) that the working expenses are heavier on State lines and (3) that the Companies do give sufficient encouragement to local industries in the purchase of Railway materials.

Now let me discuss the effect of the appointment of a European staff upon the profits in State and Company-managed lines. Good supervision is undoubtedly a great factor in yielding better revenue, irrespective of the peculiar conditions prevailing in a system. The regulation of the Coaching and goods traffic demands a very efficient and alert organisation to make a railway system a paying concern; and the disbursements of funds require a highly trained impartial staff, if waste and extravagance have to be avoided. The following table indicates how far the strength of Europeans is responsible for the earnings in State and Company managed rails :—

State Lines.	Length in miles.	No. of Europeans. (1920-21)	No. of Europeans in 100 miles.	Percentag of nett earnings on Capital outlay.	Company Lines.	Length in miles.	No. of Europeans (1920-21)	No. of Europeans in 100 miles.	Percentage of nett earnings on Capital outlay.
1 E. B. Railway. ...	1631·77	329	about 21	4·01	1 B. N Railway ...	2734·24	647	about 22	6·51
2. N. W. Railway ...	4281·78	1,124	„ 27	3·38	2 B. B. & C. I. Railway	1810·34		„ 17	6·02
3 O. R. Railway ...	1577·23	264	„ 17	5·54	3 E. I. Railway ...	2770·59	1,423	„ 51	7·57
					4 G. I. P. Raliway ...	3335·04	1,417	„ 42	3·54
					5 M. & S. M. Railway ...	1078·70	253	„ 23	5·84

While the E. I. Railway is handling 16,696,471 tons of staple commodities with only 1,423 Europeans, the N.-W. Railway requires 1,124 Europeans to deal with 6,735,536 tons only. It is further noticeable that the M. and S. M. Railway, require only 253 Europeans for the transmission of 3,579,981 tons of commodities. It is a Company-managed concern, and gives a fair percentage of nett earnings on Capital outlay. The

O. and R. Railway has got 264 Europeans for the carrying of 2,498,050 tons only. The manipulation of goods traffic requires great skill; and the average mileage figure per annum attained in state lines leaves room for evidence of that skill. The difference in the mileage figure run by each goods stock per annum on State lines themselves indicates that the figure is capable of improvement and depends much upon the number and quality of the staff (European). If the E. B. Railway can manage with their open lines of 615·45 miles only to total the average mileage run of 12,830, the O. and R. Railway gives the low figure of 11,737 with their open lines of 1,528·93 miles and the N. W. Railway the lowest figure of 11,070 with open lines of 3,907·62 miles—so far as the commercial section of the N. W. Railway is concerned. If we include the Military section of the open line, the figure of average mileage run by each goods stock per annum is ridiculously low. With long lines, it is easy to run up to a very high mileage figure, since one trip upwards or downwards would give a substantially high figure; with small distance lines, it would require special experience of running of goods vehicles to cover the high figure by more trips than one. Thus, from the figures of the State Railways it is manifest that the alleged efficiency of the European staff is not maintained and that their number is proportionately higher than in the Company lines.

Now as to the relative strength of *Indians* on State and Company lines the statistics of 1920-21 indicate the following figures on the basis of the mileage open:—

State Lines (Indians) per mile		Company Lines (Indians) per mile	
E. B. Railway ...	27	E. I. Railway	42
N. W. Railway ...	20	G. I. P. Railway	34
O. & R. Railway	16	M. & S. M. Railway	44

In calculating the figures I have treated the Railways as one system irrespective of their gauges. Consequently, one can see for themselves that the Companies possess greater appreciation of Indianisations than their State competitors. The statistics of previous years point to the same direction. Do not these figures set at rest the question that with the Companies the Indian public would receive greater consideration, support and sympathy in regard to Indianisation? Already good progress has been made in the upper grades during the past 2 or 3 years and more is expected when State interference is minimised. So long as the direct management by the State continues there is nothing to prevent the State from thrusting themselves upon and interfering with the system of Company recruitments of Indians in higher posts to save the faces of the Government from the public criticisms of India as to why there is less number in State-managed Railways. The Government of India is always anxious to avoid Indianisation of higher posts because they would not like to let the public know that they are under the absolute directions of the Secretary of State who is guided by considerations other than Indian. They fear also the demonstration of the British public against Indianisation lest it adversely affects the British Railway industry. The fear of the Government is more ridiculous than reasonable; and the fear of the Indian public in regard to Company management is more personal than well grounded. The tendency of the Company lines has been to develop the economic life of India; and from the business point of view, they would always try to economise their expenditure. If Indianisation is taken to mean an economy in cost, they would certainly welcome it. With the Government the case would be essentially different, since people might develop tendencies to combine against economy. Government cannot form any direct or indirect alliance with Companies to frustrate the public wishes for salaries which were drawn by the Europeans, since the legislature would determine the standard of pay in the Scheme of Indianisation.

I do not know why Indians should clamour for State management when it bungles in coal purchases, when it handles traffic unsatisfactorily, when it has a tendency to discourage Indian manufactures and goods available in India on stores account, when it appoints fewer Indian hands and lastly when its nett profit is at a discount as compared with Company management. Whatever little profit the State is making now it is due to the competition with Companies. But should the whole system of Indian Railways be nationalised (in the sense that they be taken over by the State for direct management) there would be all incentive to the State to manage the lines with economy, public convenience and profits will vanish. Even now while the Company-managed lines exist, the State lines ignore the claims of economy and public convenience and the situation will be aggravated if healthy competition is removed.

As regards the determination of the maxima and minima rates, the present policy is arbitrary, since Government fixes the standard on not very weighty considerations. The standard varies with time and circumstances; consequently what was once considered as the maximum is now regarded as the minimum by the Government. But the Government has been thoughtless about the possible effects of the standard upon Indian economic life. I do not know what the position of the Company management is in regard to the acceptance of the present enhanced rates. Whether the Companies have *been forced* to introduce the present rates or whether they have accepted the same freely for themselves, I am unable to discuss this point for want of adequate information. But it is quite conceivable that the State lines could have kept their rates down and shown the Indian public their genuine interest in the economic condition of the country. The B. and N. W. Railway has not increased their rates enormously, and it is a purely Company-managed railway having very little to do with the decisions of the Railway Board (Government of India). The position created by the B. and N. W. Railway, in respect of railway rates tends to confirm the view that the State has forced the Company-managed lines, like the E. I. R., B. N. R., G. I. P. Railway, B. B. and C. I. Railway, *and other 33 Railways which are owned by the State* to accept higher rates since the State-worked lines wanted an increase. If the B. and N. W. Railway, could manage their own matters without much increase in rates in spite of the all-round increase in the operating cost everywhere, the Government-managed lines ought to have rendered public service without much individual inconvenience, and allowing freer traffic in India. This they have failed to do in future in case there are no Company lines to do now; and this they will fail to show that they are charging less than what the Government lines do. So far as the question of low rates for *post*-traffic is concerned, the main idea is to keep the goods within the marketable price at the ports. The idea is not to increase the volume of traffic earnings alone, but to relieve the heavy congestion in lines which are favoured by traders for specially low rates. The congestion implies a loss of revenue to the Company; consequently, the proposition that the Companies would adopt low rates to bring about congestion in their own lines, is highly improbable. To divert traffic from one railway to another and to divert it from one post to another are sometimes necessary to relieve congestions in any one system. The principle of such diversions is to manipulate the goods traffic of all lines as one system for Railway economy and convenience and for creating less troubles for the State to invest larger Capital on the laying of lines for purposes of easy traffic. Then there is the problem of handling empty wagons to be well attended to for railway purposes in deciding against the question of "Diversion" in traffic.

Very unfortunate has been the tendency in public discussion of railway problems to emphasise the problem of rates to the exclusion of the problem of service. The fundamental point in the theory of rate regulation is that public service enterprises must charge "reasonable" rates. But no test of "reasonableness" has been prescribed by any Statute although a *standard* has been developed by the Railway Board in such a manner that a Company must, ordinarily, be allowed to charge sufficient rates to earn a "reasonable return," on the "fair value" of the property being used by it for the convenience of the public. There is, unfortunately, no definite standard of "fair value" for the purpose of rate-making. A valuation is generally based on a compromise of different possible tests. These tests are the original cost of construction, the amount expended on permanent improvements, the market value of the stocks, the probable earning capacity of the property under particular rates prescribed by law, and the sum required to meet operating expenses; these are all matters for consideration, and are given such weight as appears just and proper in each case. Consequently it is seen that the determination of the maxima and the minima standard is made in a vague fashion. While it may be necessary for the Government to fix a maximum standard for protecting the public from the effects of taxable rates, the minimum standard is unnecessary when Government has the best intentions towards the people. It is rather unfair to think that the Companies would introduce the non-paying rates into their systems for the satisfaction of guaranteed dividends alone. If they could get some surplus profits from their systems, they would be in a better position for developing Railway business, since the public treasury would be on a sound financial footing due to the profits earned by the State through the Railway managing agents. If, the intention of the Companies is ever to remain satisfied with guaranteed dividends only and to make the Railways suffer under non-paying rates, the fixation of the minimum rate standard contemplates that Government has taken a good care in including at least the item of guaranteed dividends amongst the various considerations of profits from the managing agents. While the Government minimum rate standard *cannot* fluctuate, the money market of Railway stocks and shares is apt to make phenomenal changes in favour of and against the Government due to the rise and fall of the earnings made by the managing agents. The latter has generally been the case and will remain so for the many loans already floated by the Government. Thus the question of minimum standard is unmeaning according to the conditions of the Railway money market, for the guaranteed dividends vary according to the nature of the general money market. The standard of minimum rate-making should change to create freely a happy balance in the Government Treasury for Railway investments, and not by forced circumstances as shown above.

I have already shown that it is not reasonable to expect much in the reduction of rates on State lines in future. Indians believe that they would be able to reduce the rates through the Indian parliament, the Assembly. Apart from the question of their power to do so, Indians cannot introduce non-paying rates lest they should be further taxed by the State in different departments to meet the demands of Indian railways. The standard which settles that this rate would be non-paying and the other a paying one, is not yet determined. It is such a relative affair that the State should adopt such policies whereby comparisons are made possible. The effects of direct State management would be not the reduction of rates, nor the discrimination thereof in the interest of a particular trade or a particular locality or a particular class, but the appropriation of a tax levied on the people under the disguise of " paying rates " whenever there would be any public opposition against the so-called " paying rates," to be more properly termed " extortionate rates," the Government would show that they are the irreducible minimum. Already there are signs to indicate that Railway Board are thinking of bringing the Indian rate level to something higher than what prevails at present. This they would easily achieve, should there be no Company-managed lines. The public voice will be hardly heard by the State, however vocal it may be, as it cannot think that the railway rate could be non-paying. But with the existence of some Company lines the ideal of rate policy cannot be absolute. It would bear a comparison. This is one great consideration why there should be Company lines for the economic growth of India. There may exist conflicts of interests, when different Companies worked Indian Railways, but the same might be *easily remedied*. There is *no remedy* however for absolutism in rate policy under State management. Which is preferable—the former or the latter?

S. P. MUKERJEA

TEACHING OF HYGIENE

The climate of Bengal is getting worse day by day and the number of epidemic and endemic diseases is increasing. Fifty years ago, Burdwan used to be the Madhupur of health-seekers and Krishnagar and Baraset were the seats of magisterial headquarters. Now these places have become almost pestilential. If we trace the career of malaria in Bengal, we find it starting in Jessore town in 1824 and spreading over the entire district by 1850,—the year in which railways were introduced into this country. In the fifties, it spread to the Nadiya district; in the sixties, to the 24-Parganas, Burdwan and Midnapur and, in the seventies, to Purnea, Dinajpur and Rangpur districts. This steady march of, and progressive conquest by, malaria is significant. The constitution of the people was rapidly breaking down before it. Whatever the causes of malaria, we are now concerned with its cure.

Malaria, cholera, phthisis, small-pox and dysentery are to-day the most prevalent diseases of Bengal and they are all preventable. " If preventable, why not prevented ?"

The answer to this pertinent query is not easily given. Nor is it easy to say, who should answer. If we look at the political arrangement, we find the people taxed by the Government in lieu of services rendered. But if we stop to take stock of services rendered by Government, we find more of talk and less of performance, we find more of expenses and less of achievements. Let us take up one by one the work done by the Government to the people in this direction.

Firstly, the Public Health Department. Till recently, this department was known as the Sanitary Commissioner's Department, and there used to be one Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam, who used to do office work as well as outdoor work. Now we have for pure Bengal, one Director of Public Health and three Deputy Directors, one Publicity Officer and two capable office managers. But what is the amount of work that has been done? The best answer will be furnished by the following solid facts :—

(1) *Small-pox* is yet very prevalent throughout Bengal and cyclically in Calcutta. *Phthisis* is on the increase.
(2) *Cholera* yet exacts its usual heavy death-toll.
(3) *Malaria* kills annually four lakhs and disables at least twelve lakhs of people.
(4) Good *drinking-water* is yet the rare commodity that it used to be.
(5) Jute-steeping, septic-tank effluent discharge and other kinds of *water-pollution* continue merrily as before.
(6) Villages remain literally riddled with *insanitary tanks* and *rank vegetation* threatens to choke each hamlet.
(7) Piles upon piles of health-literature, written mostly in milk-and-water Bengali, continue to groan on the tables of the department, instead of finding way into every hut and one single *publicity* officer is trusted to reach the ears of 47,592,462 people ! ! ! Could impudence go farther ?

Let us now turn to the other Governmental Department—that of the Sanitary Engineer. The public have little knowledge of the activities of this Department—at least none is apparent. Has not this Department any educative propaganda work to do?

The Surgeon-General, another high government officer, who presides over the medical education of the land, is content to sit in his water-tight compartment and let things have their course. He takes little active interest in professional medical education and has still less advice to offer to Government regarding general mass education in sanitation and anatomy and physiology.

Then comes the Calcutta University. It soars into high academic regions and has not much of interest in ordinary mortal affairs. Once, it allowed sanitary science a temporary place in the I.A. curriculum. Only recently, hygiene has been included in the Matriculation syllabus. But this time, the study of sanitary science has been hedged round with such strongly barbed-wire-fencing, that in two years, all Bengal can boast of only two schools having penetrated the preserve!

The Director of Public Instruction, who is immediately concerned with the lower forms of education, has very carefully preserved the sanitary science from oblivion, by just relegating it to the very lowest forms of education and that in a manner that is likely to secure the least attention from those who are intended to be benefited. In the lowest forms of primary and middle English schools, sanitation is supposed to be taught by men who are walking examples of insanitation, who never know of the subject in all their born days and who can but put all gall and no honey into the subject of their teaching. The Director has taken special care to exclude sanitary teaching from the High School curriculum, where alone it can be taught with some benefit.

Turning to municipalities and such-like bodies, we find a Health Officer and some sanitary assistants, in some of them —but that is about all that we find. Not only is it beyond the recognized official duty of the municipalities to undertake teaching of sanitary science, but even existing sanitary fittings, and apparatuses, existing sanitary performances, existing literature relating to sanitary matters, are not available for teaching purposes.

Such, then, is the attitude of the official world. They all sit in water-tight compartments. They all think their official routine the be-all and end-all of their official lives. They have no touch with the people and therefore they work as whims and fancies suggest.

Turning now to the people, what do we find? Those who are "educated," delight in and pride on, administering kicks at everything that *was* theirs. Those who are un-educated, delight in hugging closer everything that is theirs; ignorance, superstition, prejudices, the tyrannies of custom—all weigh the uneducated down and down into the festering pit of insanitation. Living in a pestilential miasma of false academical pride, our educated men allow themselves to be led by the nose by ignorant, advertising charlatans, all the same.

It is useless to recount these unsavoury details. Suffice it to say, that the greatest need to-day is that of arousing a Sanitary Conscience among the people and of co-ordinating all the Government departments. In every other country, where taxation and education are in the peoples' hands, we find all sanitary questions emanating from the people. Here, in India, we see a most unnatural spectacle. It is here that we find sanitary schemes hatched in the serene heights of the Himalayas, far, far away from all human habitation and mortal contact, to be shoved down and rammed into the throats of the people. In every other country, the natural order of things prevails. It is the man pinched by the shoe who alone knows where the shoe pinches him. It is for him to formulate his demands and it is for him to apply the remedies. But that does not suit the bureaucracy and hence it is to the best interests of the bureaucracy to give the people just only that much of smattering in sanitary science which will teach him nothing, but will rather scare him away from all talks of matters sanitary. An exhibition opened here, a lecture delivered there, will not teach the people. Nine days' wonders have never taught people; they might have cheaply advertised their bosses.

Just as politicians have been trying to secure political privileges, it behoves every citizen to secure for himself and for all he loves dearly, health. It is a priceless boon. *It is every man's birth-right to live and to be healthy.* What have we, people, done, are doing or are prepared to do—just only to be healthy? This burden is ours to bear and we must bear it. The country is ours and ours it is to make it fit to live in. What have we done to make it so?

I must answer in a sad tone, hanging down my head in shame, that we people have done nothing. And I very much doubt if even now we are prepared to make amends for our past neglect. For the last few years, I have been writing in the vernacular and English press too, but till now, I have failed to rouse the sanitary conscience in our people.

I have always held that sanitary schemes should, in the first instance, originate with the people, whom sanitation is supposed to benefit and who must ultimately bear their cost. The people can initiate schemes, only if they have a correct sanitary conscience. Sanitary conscience is partly intuitive and, in part, the result of education. So, from whichever way one looks at this matter, one is on all sides met with demand for systematic sanitary education. It is on behalf of this demand, that I beg to raise my feeble voice.

Any one who dispassionately looks into the matter, will be easily convinced of the wonderful and ingenious manner in which sanitary practices were interwoven into daily practices of the Hindus. In modern society out here in India, we recognize two classes of people—the educated and the non-educated. In ancient Hindu India, society recognized two important classes—the educated or the twice-born and the non-educated or servers. If we lay aside all discussions about the merits or demerits of the caste system, but simply look at Hindu society consisting of the very useful twice-born class and the less intellectual, though by no means less useful, servant-class, we can fit many of their practices into the present-day accepted canons of hygiene. In his daily prayers, the Hindu's first invocation is to Water; and his first prayer is that water, wherever existing on the face of this globe, should remain sweet and free from pollution. In the matter of his food, he has to first offer it to his Maker, before he can partake of it--thus ensuring its purity in every way. His mourning-rites are strictly in accordance with modern bacteriological knowledge. The lying-in nurse had a very high place in the Hindu household, thus ensuring desirable states of cleanliness in the labour room. He looked upon the cow as a goddess, thus ensuring his best services to her.

It is useless to multiply instances. If we had those practices, we have now forgotten them, and, what is more important to remember, we live under changed conditions. When I was a little boy and read the History of Rome, there was one passage which I read but never then understood. Now I understand it very well. When Julius Cæsar returned to Rome and narrated his conquest of Britain, he was asked what he had done to perpetuate Roman conquest of Britain. Julius Cæsar laconically answered—" I have established fifty *Roman* schools there." Indeed we have been so thoroughly anglicised that we have not only completely wiped out everything Indian but have also learnt unconsciously to despise everything Indian. And therein lies our inability to adopt as much as possible what we had in our social and religious practices. We must look facts in the face and adapt ourselves to the changed conditions.

The first thing necessary to-day is—education. Not that education alone which the University imparts, but also education in sanitary matters. This education and the call for it must come from the people. Every man who has received any kind of academic training and every qualified medical practitioner owes a duty in this respect to his country. He should not sit complacently in his office-chair and think of his *clintele* only. He must make the teaching of sanitation his religious duty. He must organize classes, he must co-ordinate the activities in this respect of every educated man in his sub-division. The medical man, the engineer, the school master in every village must all co-operate and not only carry on systematic educational propaganda, but also actually undertake sanitary works. Students of all classes must be taken on in hand and led through practical courses in gardening, levelling, mosquito-hunting and mosquito-identification, quinine distribution, guarding drinking tanks and wells, watching and nursing the sick, disinfecting contagious materials. These involve slight expense but are of immense educational value. We will go farther and suggest that models of insanitary tanks, of insanitary households and of insanitary practices, diagrams dealing with the same, may be made by local artisans and displayed in every village. The cost of these productions will be very insignificant and can be met by local subscriptions, if desired. It is in this way that we people should among ourselves—

(1) Create a Sanitary conscience;
(2) Prepare practical sanitarians;
(3) Educate school masters in sanitary matters.

When we have done this, we can compel the educational authorities to adapt themselves to our needs, instead of requiring ourselves to fit in with their caprices. We can then demand and demand very successfully,—

(1) Co-ordination of the five departments—sanitary, medical, educational, engineering and municipal;
(2) A systematic, sustained and compulsory teaching of anatomy, physiology and sanitation in all the classes of schools and colleges,—and not a flash-in-the-pan sort of teaching as is imparted to-day;
(3) Award of University diploma for students who show proficiency in any of the above subjects, including also—sick-nursing, first-aid, life-saving, invalid cooking; and—
(4) Recognition of a certain minimum amount of physical growth and development in each student as a condition preliminary to appearing at any University Examination.

I am afraid I have taken more space than I actually wished to. I find I have yet much to say, which I reserve for a future issue. I have much to say about diets and physical training and much more about school boys' health examination. But just at present I want to arouse in my countrymen—

A LIVING SANITARY CONSCIENCE.

RAMESCHANDRA RAY

LOVE'S OFFERING

I wove thee a wreath of song
Each note a fiery dart
Culled from the inmost flame
That burneth in my heart.

I threw it at thy feet
But it hath flown away,
And thou to grasp it, dost
Look round thee in dismay.

Go not where the roses bloom,
Thick-piled and scarlet-hued
They grow among rude thorns
My song's in love endued.

Seek not in the mountain-rill
The songful silver string
For it dries in summer's arms—
My song, 'twill ever ring.

O look to the stars aloft
That shine eternally
There gleams the wreath of song
I wove and gave to thee.

V. B.

THE BLUE-EYED STRANGER

In the tents of Osman the Brave there was weeping and wailing. And Osman was a mighty Sheik. Famous throughout the whole of Arabia for the valorous deeds performed—in the perpetual state of warfare wherein he passed his entire existence. Also one-third of the Great Desert belonged to him. Moreover still more famous was he for the possession of a steed—the like of which was not to be matched in all the land for strength and swiftness—and that could carry three men as easily as any other would carry one. 'Twas on the broad back of this charger Osman was wont to be borne into the thick of battle, wherein he and his steed fought together as one man—but now Osman beat his manly breast—rent his garments, and wept aloud. Till in the midst of his lamentations the Chief of the Captains came running and announced the advent of a tribe similar to their own, who walked in procession towards them—lamenting, even as they did. Barely had he finished speaking when there swept up to the entrance Mustapha the Gay,—brother in arms to Osman. Scarcely had the two Sheiks caught sight of each other, then they were straightway locked in one another's arms where they continued their lamentations in unison. For Mustapha the Gay was a mighty Sheik—renowned throughout the whole of Arabia for the length and magnificence of his banquets—for the perpetual state of feasting wherein he passed his entire existence. Sometimes also did men call him—Great—for he was broader and bulkier than other men, in consequence of his measuring many many feet around the middle—also one-third of the Great Desert was his alone. But above all was Mustapha renowned for the possession of a certain slave—his Persian Cook—for in all the country there was not such another—Kings and Princes of rank and power coming from afar to taste of the cunning of his hand. But now, his jovial master, clasped in the arms of Osman the Brave raised up his voice and wept. Till in the midst of their sorrow came the Chief of the Captains running, to announce the advent of a tribe like unto their own, who walked in procession towards them, lamenting, even as they did. Barely had he finished speaking when there swept into the Great tent Yakub the Beautiful—and Yakub was a mighty Sheik. For no sooner did the other two catch sight of him then they hailed him as brother, and the three locked in one another's arms raised up their eyes and wept, in unison. Throughout the length and breadth of Arabia was Yakub noted for the melancholy splendour of his large dark eyes—the poetic charm of his flowery speech—the perpetual state of colourful tuneful scentful ease wherein he passed his entire existence—also one-third of the Great Desert was his alone. But over and above all was he famous for the possession of a fair Circassian—whose very finger-nails were rosier than all the roses of Persia—and the beauty and length of whose eye-lashes all the poets of Arabia had striven to describe—and entirely failed to do justice to. But now her enviable master wrung his exquisite pale hands and wept. Till in the midst of the hullabaloo, Osman finally collected his wits sufficiently to speak as follows:—

"I will recount my woes to you, Oh my brothers," he said. "And do you do likewise—but not until I have finished—for when the heart is full, it is well to unburden it." And the others answered, "Aye, we will do as you say."

"As you know then," began Osman, "in this region of the Desert there was none so honoured as I—for my soul loved War—and I revelled therein. Men sang throughout this Desert of ours of my valorous deeds—and I was thrice blessed. Till one day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as a turquoise of the Mountains. A blue-eyed stranger who told of strange lands, and stranger customs. And when I asked of the land of his birth, he spoke of a place called New York—and of a marvellous building therein known as Sing-Sing which hath walls of impregnable thickness and chambers untold which he said were easier of entrance than exit, wherein he had spent many years of his life. And I thinking he was one of Royal birth gave him shelter. And he in turn beguiled me with tales, and taught to me a game—wonderful—with cards—such a one as only infidels play. For the sake of it did I forget all things—the sound of arms—and the very food I ate. Moreover in a boastful hour did I vow I was the better player. We played. The stakes rose higher—and in a foolish moment I staked my Arab Mare. Alack! he won—and riding his prize long ere rise of sun the following day—had vanished. Ah woe is me—for weak is a warrior without his charger. Alas! my swift Arabian steed—for I shall never fight again."

But Mustapha the Gay wailed aloud, and said, "My woes are greater. Listen O my brothers while I tell you—. As you know within my boundaries there was none so famous as I for the excellence of my feasts and the sweet spiced meats therein, also for the rank and power of my noble guests. Mine was a mirthful life—and I was thrice blessed. Till one day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as the sea in summer. A blue-eyed stranger who had a merry wit—and told of strange countries and stranger customs. And when I asked of him the land of his birth—he spoke, as of a Peri's Paradise of a place called Coney Isle describing the wonders thereof—in manner humorous and mirthful. And I thinking him a jovial comrade, gave to him shelter. And in return he sang me the songs of his country—those which he called rag-time—and we were as brothers, until—he taught me a game—marvellous—such a one surely as only mad men play—for in the end of a surety I lost my senses—and even the pleasure of feasting; for the various foods had for me, no longer, any savour. Nought did I do, the livelong day, but shuffle and cut. Till at last, in a boastful hour I swore I was the better player. We played; and ever the stakes rose higher—till in a moment of madness I staked my Persian slave—rarest of all my possessions. Allah! I lost—and ere dawn of the following day my famous of cooks—my falsest of friends, together had vanished. Oh! what is a feast prepared without skill—and is not the art of a cinnamon stew a secret of Persia? Alas! my lost Iranian cook—Ah woe is me—for I shall never feast again."

But Yakub the Beautiful wrung his hands and said, "My woes are greater—listen O my brothers while I tell you—. As you know within my boundaries there was none so renowned as I for my supreme taste in all matters pertaining to the beautiful. Unsurpassed throughout the whole land was I for the shade and softness of my silks, the magnificence of my jewels, and sweetness of my perfumes. But over and above all men envied me for having amongst my slaves a lady—of peerless beauty. In all the land of Arabia there was not another like her. In her did my eyes behold the perfection of all earthly loveliness—therefore was I thrice blessed. Till on a fateful day there came to the doors of my tents a stranger with eyes blue—as the sky in spring. A blue-eyed stranger who told of strange countries and stranger customs. And when I enquired of him the land of his birth—he spake as of the regions of the Blest of a place called—the Bowery.[1] And I marking only the azure clearness of his gaze—that was as a babe's, new born—gave him shelter. And in return he sang me the love songs of his country—also he taught to me a game—wonderful—such a one as only could have been invented by a *jinn*—and with it was I bewitched—forgetting all things from the incense in my censers—to the colour of my garments; even the smiles of the fair Circassian, whom I left to languish alone. Nor any longer did I care to sit gazing for hours as was my wont upon her pearl-framed painted portrait—that I wear ever around my neck—but desired rather that my hand might hold perpetually a card whereon was portrayed the hideous features of a devil—whom the stranger called the joker. Till one day in a boastful hour, I vowed I was the better player. We played—setting the stakes, ever, higher—till in a rash moment I staked—the peerless lady. Alack! he won. And long ere break of day—taking the girl had vanished. Alas! in all Arabia there was not another half so fair. Oh woe is me—my sweet Circassian slave—for I shall never love again."

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[1] Slum head-quarters of pick-pockets, swindlers, burglars, etc., etc.

And Osman the Brave—

And Mustapha the Gay—

And Yakub the Beautiful—raised up their voices and wept—and rent their garments and said (all together in a chorus).

"Oh why did we ever play Poker—play poker" —.

M. Khundkar

TAGORE

Bards have I known full many in their prime,
Touched with orient light and western glow,
Bards of Ancient Ind and Persian clime,
Whose numbers translucent and stream-wise flow.

Bards whose seraphic voice bestirs the soul,
With music-gushes flooding our heart;
Whose harmonies as mighty billows roll,
Whose fancies like the wingèd arrows dart.

Bards who commune with Heaven day and night;
Bards who tear the mysterious veil of life;
And pour forth a flood of peaceful light,
Calming the stormy seas of mortal strife.

Ne'er one was known like unto thee,
With genius above all rivalry.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Like most of its institutions the American university has developed as a compromise between a European tradition and the needs of everyday life. Its earliest college was founded only seventeen years after the first pilgrims came to the inhospitable coast of New England; for the very essence of the spirit of Puritan Protestantism demanded an educated clergy and laity. New England was to be an experiment, on an increasingly larger scale, of a spiritual and temporal democracy; and if the experiment was to justify the ardent hope of these early doctrinaires, there must be ample provision made for liberal education.

There is something heroic in this early act of the colonists. Their very life on the narrow fringe of coast between savage wilderness and savage sea was to them a daily miracle, a daily manifestation of the favor of the Deity to whose service the colony was dedicated. Their creed was an intellectual creed, the child of the freed reason of the Renaissance. To safeguard, this creed, to safeguard the new democracy which was the natural corollary of this creed, it was necessary that education should likewise be within the reach of each and all in the new country. American colleges then, even at the beginning, were not only devoted to the traditional liberal culture, but to the ideal of making that culture prevail in the new democracy. And these two fundamental purposes, the one a borrowed tradition, the other the new idea of a new country, have for better and worse guided the development of American higher education from the very beginning.

It is a curious comment on the history of education in America, that during those years when the genius of the country was most engaged in subduing the wilderness, in conquering the continent, in bridging mighty rivers and crossing almost impassible mountains,—during this very time the colleges of America were devoting their energies, not to the training of engineers and soldiers and the other experts necessary for this task, but to the classics, the litterae, humaniores, the traditional means of culture for the established nations of Europe.

But America did not begin by establishing large universities in the metropolitan centres of population. Rather her frequent colleges with their small faculties and handful of students, were the far-flung line of her advance against the wilderness. During the seventeenth century it was Harvard in the suburbs of Boston, in the eighteenth century the colleges were already pressing toward the headwaters of the Ohio, toward Canada and the southern Blue Ridge. In the early years of the nineteenth century nearly every territory that is now a state had its college and its faculty the Liberal Arts. It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that serious efforts were made to expand the facilities of the college and thus to create the university.

More than this, all, or nearly all, of these scattered colleges, with charters from the colonial assemblies or later from the newly created states, permitting the granting of independent degrees, were the result of private endowments. The state as government had as yet not fully awakened to the needs of state interest in education. The theory of Thomas Jefferson was still the orthodox theory of government, namely that state was best governed where the machinery of government was least visible; and that, where public and private affairs could be undertaken without state supervision or aid, it was best to leave them to private initiative. At least in the province of education this theory has borne good fruit. Long before the day when education became a direct matter of state interest these private endowments had taught our people the enormous significance of education, and especially of higher education, for a democracy. As a result to-day it is not an uncommon thing for a state to spend more on education than on any of its other activities.

Under the circumstances it was natural that each of these colleges should develop the tradition of local autonomy; connections between them were difficult to maintain, each was chartered by a separate act of the legislature, each had its own community that it served, and as the years passed each had its body of graduates who served on boards of trustees and watched jealously over the growth of the college. It was natural that there should be large differences between institutions thus loosely organized. One wonders that the differences were not greater. There would be differences in standards—I am writing of the colleges seventy-five or a hundred years ago,—there would be wide differences in policy, there would be differences in the course of study, though it is remarkable as one reads the catalogues of these institutions how in them all there were more points of resemblance than points of difference. The course of study in the main was Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, History, Metaphysics, Mathematics, and perhaps a course in Law. Nearly all maintained as high traditions of scholarship as were practicable. Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and some other colleges that had a longer history served as models to the others that with poorer endowments were struggling to keep alight the torch of learning in the less populous communities. The wonder is that under such necessarily loose conditions the American college and the American degree deserved as well of the world of scholarship as it did.

About seventy-five years ago the states awoke to the fact that not only was elementary and secondary education a matter of supreme importance to the community as a whole, but that if social and industrial progress were to be maintained, the state government must be generous to the institutions to higher education. As a result the state universities were opened. The endowed institutions were not aided nor were they taken over by the state. Nearly all of these were denominational in character, and in any case would have preferred to maintain their independent existence. The new universities were supported by taxes voted directly by the representative bodies of the states and by income from lands that were set apart for public use.

The plan that was originally adopted for these universities has been followed in the main since. They are residence universities, each with a central College of Liberal Arts and with a number of professional colleges, Medicine, Agriculture, Law, Engineering. The faculties of each are separate in theory, but in practice overlap as one college calls for the facilities of another. For example, the department of Mathematics, usually under the administration of the College of Liberal Arts, serves nearly all of the professional colleges. The result is a saving of duplication of departments and of faculties, and an economy of administration.

There is a remarkable similarity in the administration of these state universities. Their organization is provided by the constitution of organic law of the state. New colleges are created by legislative enactment. They are governed by a board of trustees or regents elected by the people of the state. As no remuneration attaches to this office only public-minded persons can be attracted to the task, which is also one of great responsibility. They are responsible to the people of the state for the efficient and economical administration of the affairs of the university. Their function is precisely parallel to that of the school board or board of education, which each municipal community elects to administer the affairs of the local elementary and secondary school.

The regents elect the Chancellor or President of the University, who is the administrative head of the institution and responsible for its academic and financial welfare. He is a full-time officer, and is always a man who has distinguished himself in the scholarly world as well as a man of administrative abilities. All details of administration before they are approved, must pass through his office. Under the

Chancellor or President are the deans or administrative chiefs of the various faculties, Liberal Arts, Law, Medicine, etc. The departmental faculties, such as Mathematics, Modern Languages, Physics, are organized under chairmen whose duties are more or less administrative.

Many of the endowed colleges in the meanwhile outgrew the college state, and added professional departments, received new charters, and organized as universities. In general, these institutions in their organization differ only slightly from the state universities. For regents elected by the voters of the state that contributes to their support, these universities have trustees or overseers elected by the graduates or have a self-perpetuating board. In any case the graduates of the university have much to say about its policy; and in this insistance upon being represented on the governing board they are largely justified, for it has long been customary to call upon these graduates for support whenever the university is in need of funds.

The tradition in all American colleges has been to allow the largest possible freedom to the academic faculties. Even in the largest of the state or endowed universities the faculties have complete control of all purely educational matters of policy. They vote degrees, decide on courses of study, through committees have a voice in the administration, and even in places have representatives who meet with administrative boards. The college professor is a peculiarly sensitive person, in America at least, and the greater the freedom that can be given to him in the working of his profession, the better is the result for all concerned. He is a better teacher if he can have a large voice in the management of the administrative machinery; and as a result, there have been few cases of friction between governing boards, administrative officials, and professors.

There is one thing that I feel ought to be emphasized in this connection—the value to the university of pure research.

The ultimate value to the community of the subjects under investigation may be quite negligible, the publication of a discovery in science or linguistics, or history, may not even bring credit to the institution, but the effect upon the scholarship and enthusiasm of the professor is a thing that no community can disregard. The best teaching universities have always been those in which the spirit of independent investigation has been allowed fullest opportunity. There will be a better spirit in the student body, a better spirit of unselfish endeavor in the faculty, less desire to find fault or complain about adverse conditions, hard times, low salaries, and all the thousand and one things that go to make a professor's life miserable, if all can feel that creative scholarship is encouraged, that a professor's worth is measured by other than mere class-room, record-book, and examination standards. A Princeton professor has been at work for years to discover the secret of the glow in the glow-worm; he has not yet discovered it, probably never will; but Princeton University is the better for his vain effort. It is the habit of independent investigation that such efforts foster, and this independence is the soul of the university. If economies are to be practised, let the blue pencil look elsewhere, for the spirit of research is a rare flower, long years are necessary to prepare soil for its bloom, and a breath may cause it to wither. American universities are slowly taking this truth to heart and are teaching it to their committees.

There is not much difference in work between the state and the endowed university. Standards are about the same and the requirements for graduation are similar. A little nearer the people, the state universities must naturally feel a bit more closely the demands of the people, and try so far as may be practicable to meet them. In consequence their technical colleges reflect the needs of the community; local as they are in their support, they must meet, so far as is possible, local needs. Thus the large universities in the middle west have done all in their power to investigate the problems of agriculture and teach the latest devices in scientific farming. They maintain also extensive agricultural experiment stations and model farms, engage in dairying and poultry raising, test various models of tractors, in short, spare no possible pains to improve the quantity and quality of the agricultural resources of the state. And these extensive investigations have been of direct benefit to the university itself. So soon as the people of the state feel that the university is their affair and contributes directly to the wealth and well-being of the state in a material way, there will be an aroused interest in the more intangible benefit of the academic work. It may be a bit difficult in the first place to justify to the hard-handed and hard-headed farmer on an outlying farm his annual tax to support a department of Greek, but when he sees that the same university that supports a department of Greek also makes experiments in poultry husbandry that bring an increase of millions to the wealth of the state, he will have at least a spirit of toleration to the professor of Greek.

The secret of the large grants that state legislatures have made of late years to the state universities, literally millions of dollars a year, is found in the generally recognised fact that the universities are a direct benefit to the state, not alone in the field of scholarship and culture, but in the most vital and direct concerns of everyday life. And the foundations for academic traditions and scholarly ideals are laid and must be laid on a hearty popular interest and support.

The grants to the state universities have been large. Nearly all this income comes from direct taxation voted by the state legislatures. A trifle comes from the federal government at Washington in return for certain work in technical training and to help support military training. Fees are low. They would average less than a hundred rupees a year; while the cost for each student is considerably over seven hundred rupees. Naturally a large portion of the general budget of the university goes to the support of institutions like the model farms and experiment stations yet the annual bill for the upkeep of laboratories, libraries and plant amount to a very large sum. Even faculties, notwithstanding the cry of low salaries, are not negligible items when the administrative office makes out the details of annual expenditure. The student enrolment is very large. The larger state universities have anywhere from seven to twelve or more thousand students each in residence—a little city in itself. And these institutions in spite of ever stiffening standards are growing at the rate of nearly ten per cent. a year. As a result, the cost of running a university, with its large enrolment and its varied activities, is a large one. The annual budget of an institution with eight thousand students and a complete set of professional colleges, will not be far from three million dollars a year. The problem is going to be to find means for taking care of the ever-increasing numbers of students without asking for more than the state will be willing to grant.

The large endowed universities have also felt the need of finding resources which will enable them to maintain their positions in the face of the growing state universities. Recently all of them have had campaigns to increase their endowments. Harvard, Princeton, Yale, have asked for millions in subscriptions and their request have been honored. Higher salaries for instructors, better epuipment, new buildings, have all been provided for. But if young America continues to demand college education as an equipment for life, there is no telling to what farther efforts all universities will be put.

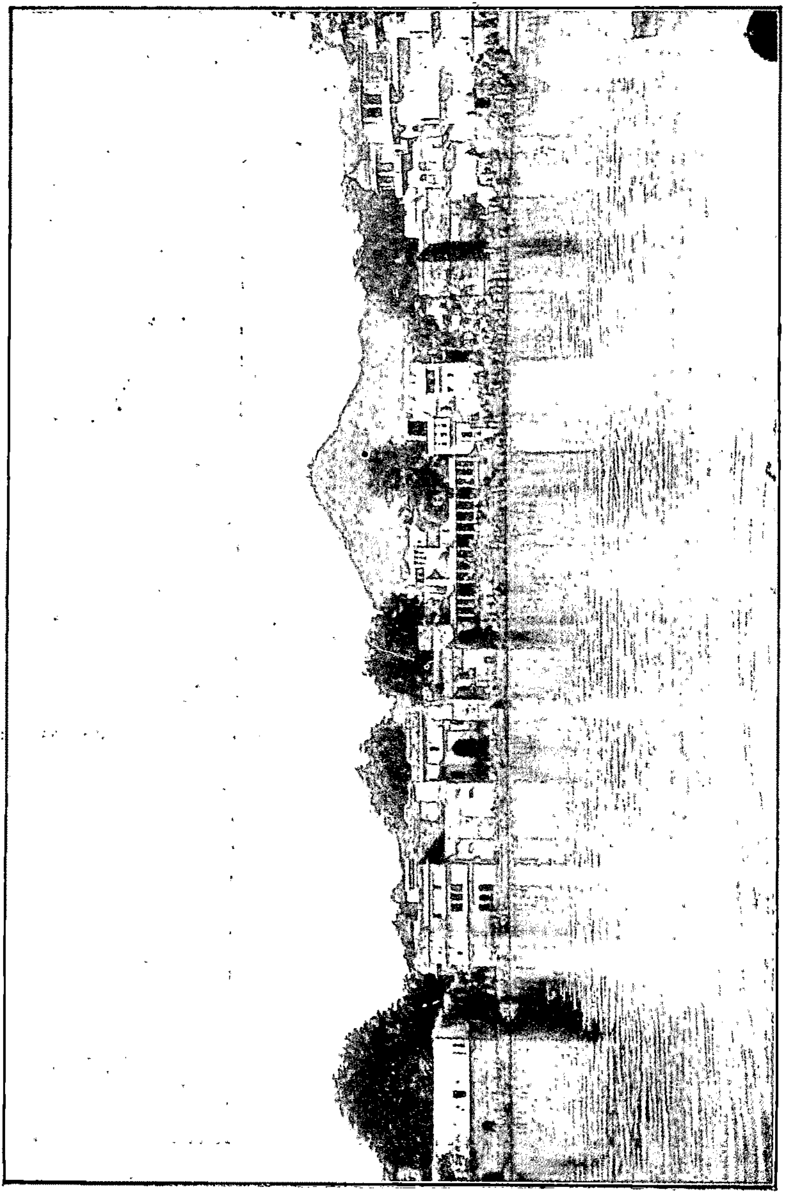
For the truth is America has about decided that a college education is a thing that can be rightly demanded by boy or girl, not as a stepping stone to some particular profession or job, but as a thing worth while in itself. The four years in academic halls he regards as a social and intellectual diversion which one cannot afford to miss; and the community pays the price.

But for this willingness to pay the price there exists a reason deeper than the fact that an education is a good thing in itself. If America's experiment in Democracy is ever to justify itself fully before the world and in its own conscience, it will be only when all the citizens have been educated to a high degree of independent judgment and strength of character. If the university means anything it should aim at this double result. In these days of social and mental unrest, in these days when standards and traditions are being questioned as never before in the world's history, America needs, indeed the world needs, the steadying influence of disinterested universities.

P. M. Buck

(Transcript of a Lecture given to Calcutta University, Feb., 18, 1923.)

IN AND AROUND AJMERE [1]



The Pushkar Lake.

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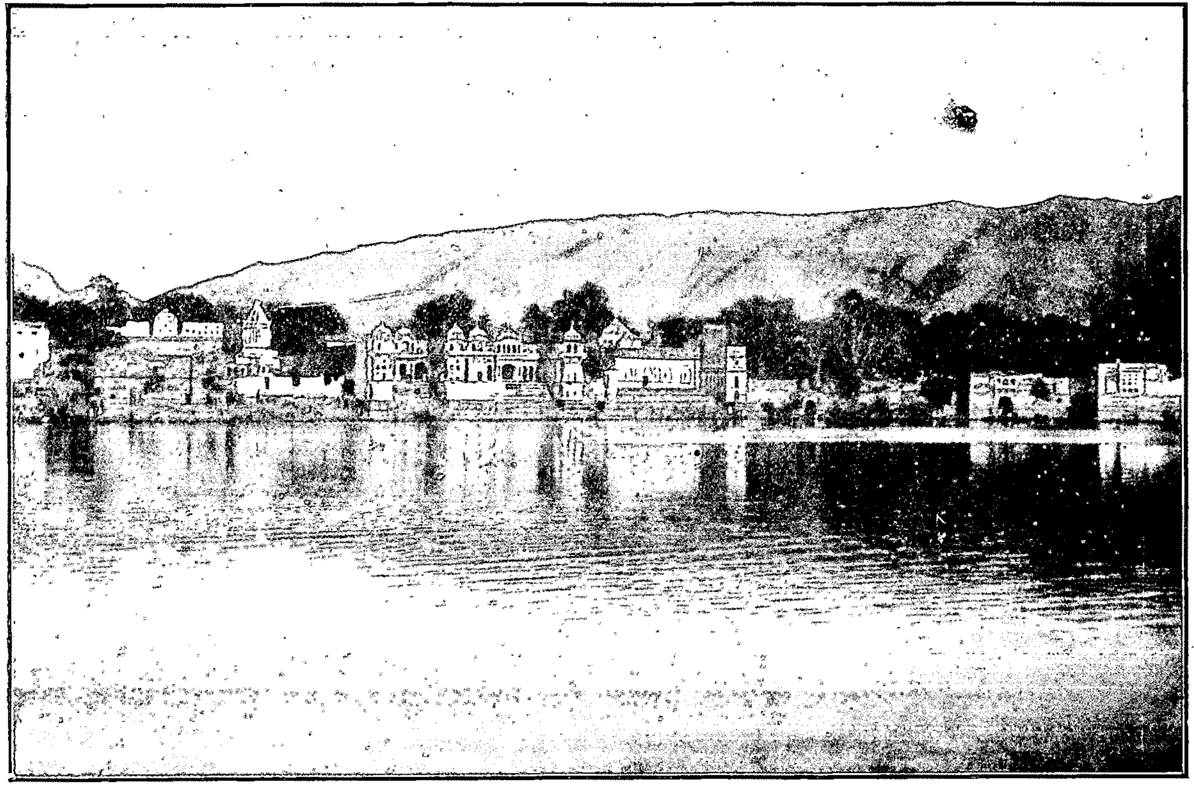
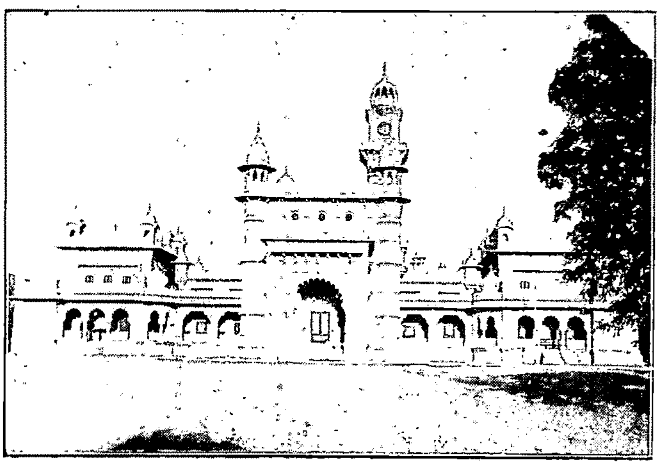
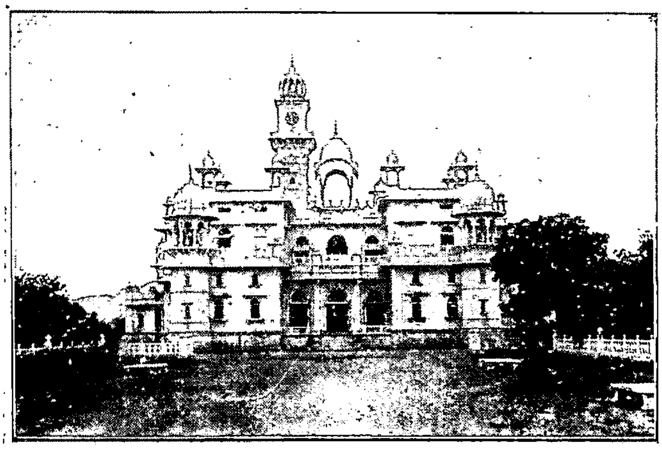
[1] By courtesy of the *Bharati.*



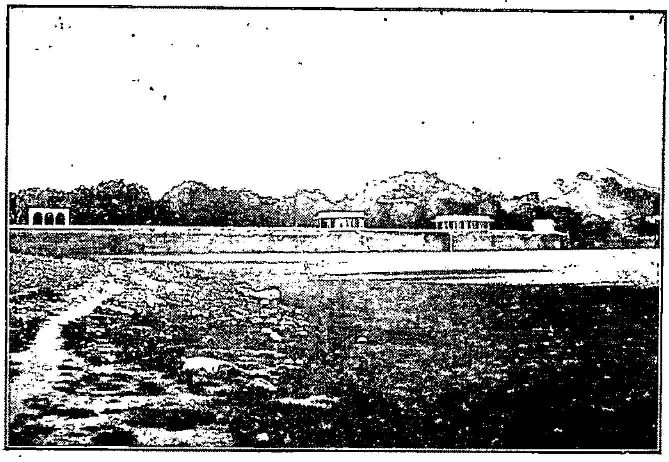
The Pushkar Lake (another view).



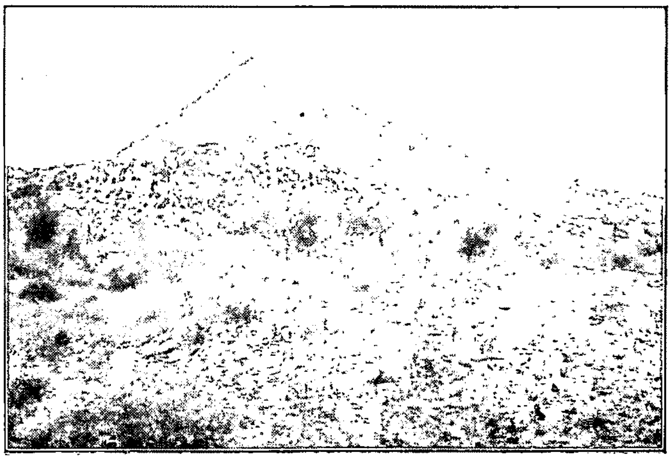
The Mayo College.



The Mayo College (School Department).

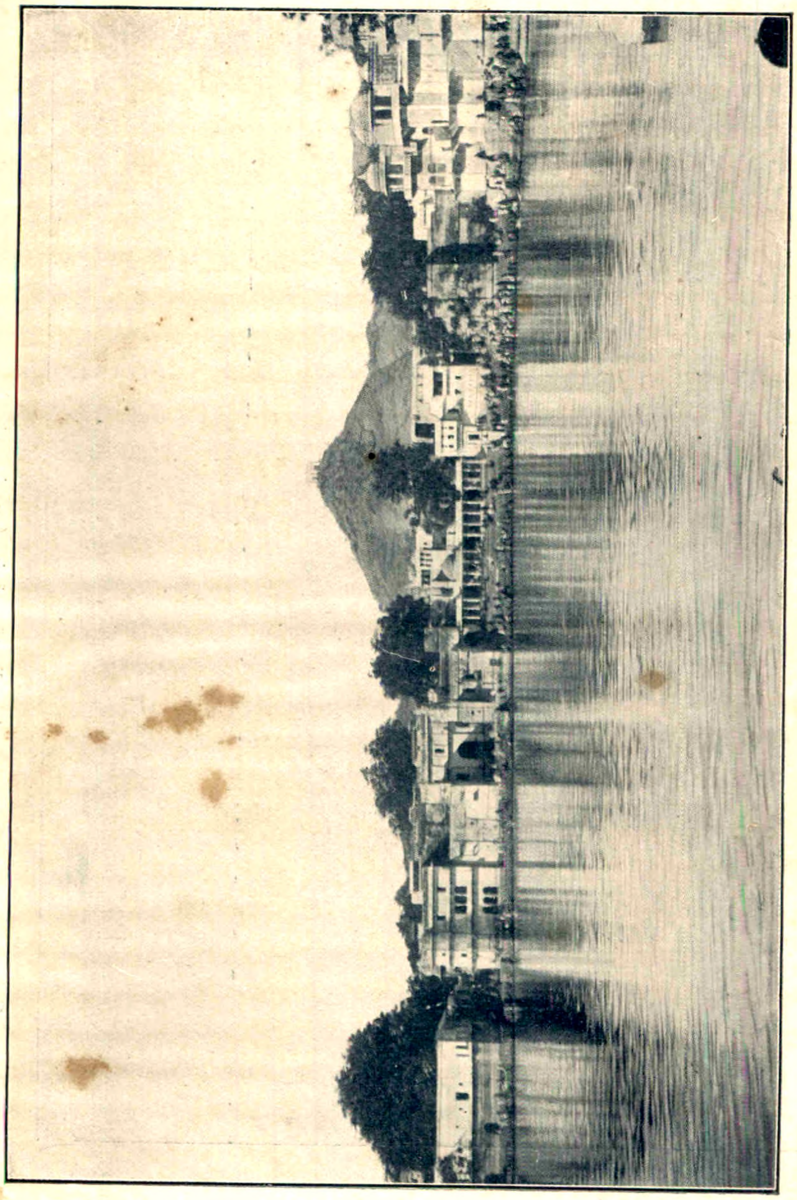


Ana Sagar.



The Savitri Hill.

IN AND AROUND AJMERE [1]



The Pushkar Lake.

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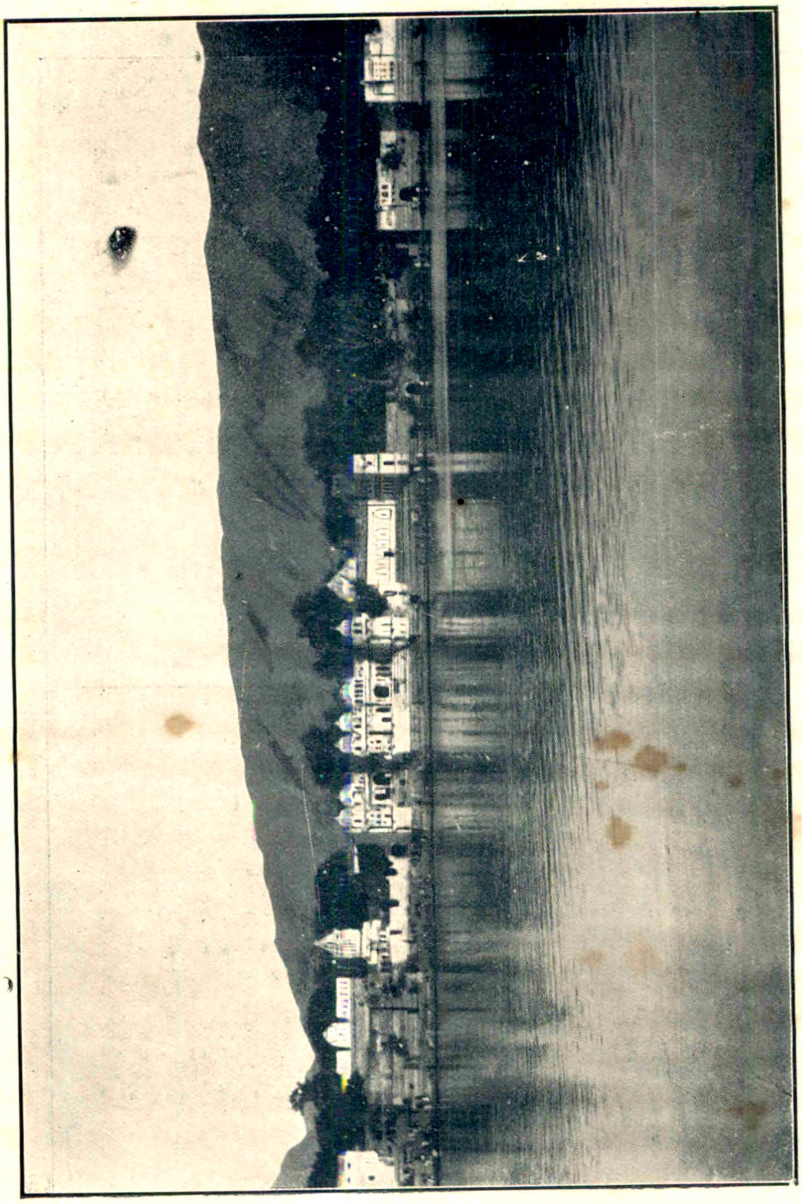
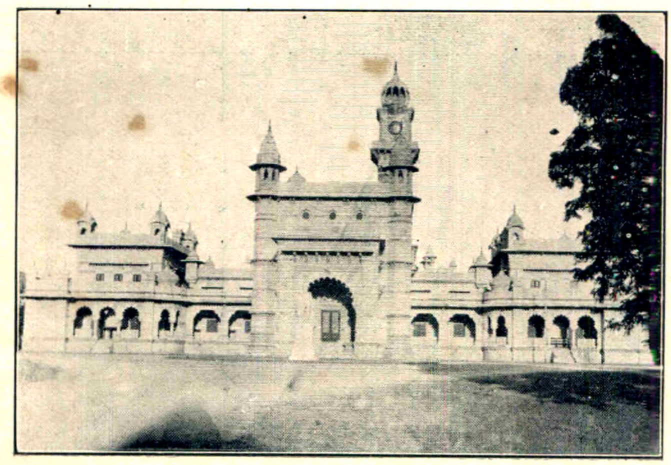
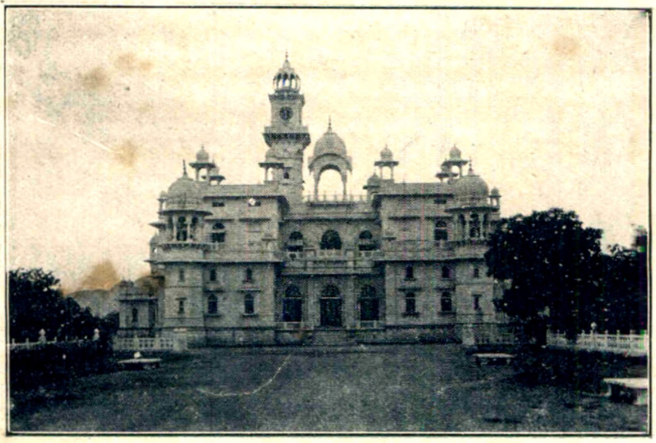
[1] By courtesy of the *Bharati*.



The Pushkar Lake (another view).



The Mayo College.



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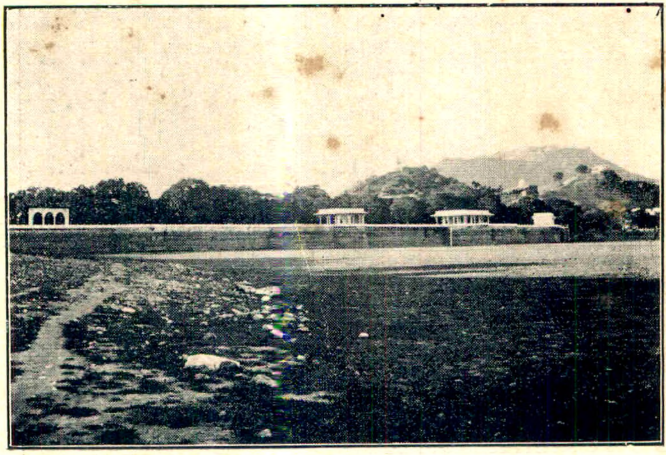

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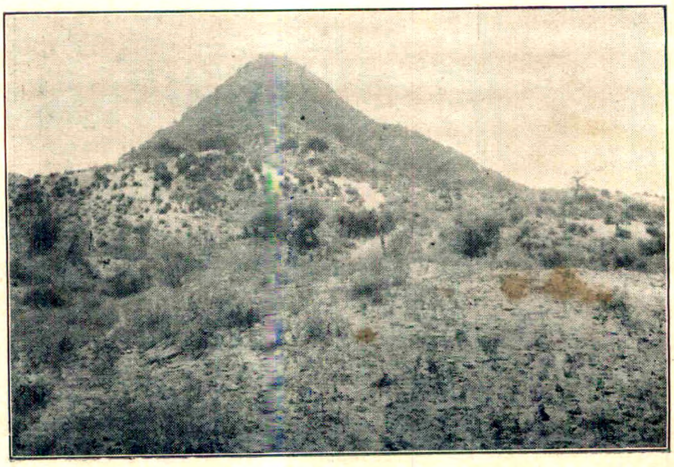

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Reviews

THE ARAB KINGDOM AND ITS FALL

Calcutta University will shortly publish an English translation of Wellhausen's *Arabische Reich und Sein Sturz,* by Mrs. Margaret Graham Weir. Mrs. Weir is to be congratulated on her choice and her excellent rendering of the German text. She could not have selected a more scholarly or a more widely-needed book for her literary efforts; and her translation is undoubtedly a work of high literary order. Wellhausen is a far-famed scholar, and his works on Islam mark an epoch in the history of Oriental Learning in Europe. They are characterised by profound research, rare critical powers, judicial impartiality and keen insight. His book on *Arab Paganism* is a finished piece of historical erudition. It set and accomplished the task of exploring the uncharted sea of Pre-Islamite Arabia. It is a mine of valuable information, and reconstructs for us Arabia before the Prophet, with its quaint fetishism, its strange ways, its strikingly singular customs, its uncanny traditions, its curious social mechanism, and, if we may say so, its extraordinary political constitution. Caussin De Perceval and Wellhausen are the two pioneers in that realm: Caussin, with his easy, graceful, light touch, and Wellhausen with his solid, searching criticism. Next to the *Reste* comes his book *Der Islam*—a model of patient enquiry. There, in those pages, unrolls before the reader the entire panorama of the rise, development and extension of Islam and the Islamic Empire. He has delved deep into original authorities, and has brought western methods to bear upon rich oriental materials that lay to his hand. Not a single text—printed or in manuscript—has escaped his unwearied diligence and not a single modern writer his all-embracing study. We trust, in not too remote a future, we shall have an English translation of this book too; for I consider that simply essential to the study and the understanding of early Islam.

The book lying before us is, indeed, a monument of learning.

I confess to a strange predilection for the Omayyads. True—tinged with paganism, unorthodox, fond of pleasure, lovers of wine, women and sports, full of life and fun—they sought to live up to the gay old traditions of Arab Heathenism, untrammelled by religion, undeterred by threats of hell. All this and more, if you please. And yet—was not their Empire the pure, unalloyed Arab Empire, strong with the strength of Arab nationalism, and animated with the dignity of Arab pride—uplifting, inflexible, preferring death to dishonour, ready to face and conquer the world? Was it not under them that Muslim rule extended to the farthest regions of the Earth, and Muslim power stood four square to all the winds that blew? Was it not under them that the finest collection of Arab poetry was made, and put in an enduring shape? Was it not their Government which held out to the world the noblest example of toleration, fair play, justice to those of other religions than Islam? Was it not they who laid the foundation of a world-embracing Muslim Polity? What ruler of the Middle Ages—Muslim or non-Muslim—can be compared to the stern Abdul Malik, or the God-fearing Omar Ibn Abdul Aziz? What statesman can be placed by the side of Ziyad or Hajjaj? The Omayyads stood for purity of race and nobility of descent. They resisted foreign influence with its debasing tendencies. They were the upholders of Arab Tradition, and theirs, in the true sense of the expression, was Arab Rule. The fleeting splendour of the Abbasids merely veiled for a time the seeds of incurable decline and decay. It is the history of this dynasty that we read in this learned book. Immense has been the service done by Wellhausen to the Omayyads; for they have never had their just due from the historians who flourished under the Abbasids. Political partisanship; fear of offending the ruling dynasty; prospect of gain; deliberate perversion and distortion of facts—all these have stood in the way of the luckless House of Omayya.

Wellhausen holds the scales even. He seeks and finds the truth. He avails himself of two schools: the school of Kufa and that of Medina. Nor does he lose sight of a third one which stands midway between the two—the school represented by Madaini. This school takes up altogether the Abbasid standpoint, and from it describes the fall of the Omayyads and the rise of the Abbasids.

Abu Mikhnaf, the oldest Arab prose writer, is the main source of Tabari for the old traditions of the times of the Omayyads. He belonged to the Azd of Kufa, and was of a distinguished lineage. We do not know the date of his birth, but at the time of the rising of Ibn Ashath (A. H. 82) he had apparently attained manhood. A friend of Mohamed b. Said Al-Kalbi—Abu Mikhnaf's writings and traditions have been handed down to us by his friend's famous son, Al-Kalbi. Abu Mikhnaf lived to see the fall of the Caliphate of Damascus. His last statements in Tabari refer to the year 132 A. H.

Abu Mikhnaf has not ignored other traditionists, older than or contemporary with himself. We find him, for instance, making use of such authorities as Amir-al-Shabi; Rasibi; Mugalid b. Said; Mohamed b. Said Al-Kalbi. But these do not exhaust his sources. He makes independent enquiries; collects his facts; seeks first-hand information; and presents all with an abundance of detail and fulness of narrative. He is strikingly frank and arresting. The charm of his narrative is considerably heightened by the form which he adopts for it. It is all dialogue and staging. Deep is the debt which the student of Islamic history owes to him. His narrative—and this is another special feature of Abu Mikhnaf—teems with songs and verses in illustration of his point. His greatest service lies in collecting a host of variants of the same thing from reports of different origin, so that we can compare them, and judge what is sure or uncertain in them. The side-issues are kept in their proper places; while the main question is never lost sight of. In important points there are no serious contradictions. The work suggests choice and selection. Throughout, we observe a scheme. Notwithstanding all this—he is deficient in sustained chronology. He mentions few dates, and frequently nothing but the day of the week, without month or year. His events are not harmoniously woven together, but are stated without connection or coherence. There are some characteristics of Abu Mikhnaf, however, which we must not fail to mention. Unlike Arab historians of later times, Abu Mikhnaf does not begin from the beginning of Islam, or from the creation of the world. He starts with the conquests, and deals with the period which he knows best—from the Battle of Siffin onwards. Moreover, he confines himself to the place where he himself lived—Iraq, and its capital Kufa. Beyond these limits of time and place he is neither altogether safe nor particularly good. Iraq was the centre of opposition to the Imperial Government; and the themes, therefore, which he pursues with greatest relish and eagerness are the risings of the Kharijites and Shiites, and the rising of the Iraqis under Ibn Ashath. He is the custodian of the tradition of Kufa, and his sympathies are on the side of Iraq against Syria; for Ali against the Omayyads.

And yet, to Abu Mikhnaf's credit, we must add that we find, in his recitals, no trace of falsification of facts nor any indication of blind or unreasonable partiality. On one and one occasion only he lapses from his high ideal, and suppresses what does not suit his purpose; namely, that Aqil at Siffin fought against his brother Ali. Thus Abu Mikhnaf is a useful, nay, an invaluable, guide for the history of the opposition parties of ancient Islam, and Wellhausen has made full and free use of him. Important as Abu Mikhnaf is, his light is but feeble and fitful for the period under consideration compared with that thrown on it by the school of Medina. It is not, therefore, upon the school of Kufa, but upon that of Medina, that Wellhausen places his main reliance. Of older date than the school of Kufa the authorities of that school nevertheless come in point of time much later than Abu Mikhnaf. They date from the days when literary scholarship began to migrate from Medina to Baghdad. Foremost in the rank of this band of historians, stand Ibn Ishaq, a freedman; Abu Ma'ashar, likewise a freedman; and Waqidi. They are not seekers of untrodden paths. It is not the first-hand information that they strive for or secure. They have their materials by them. They sift, edit, blend them together. They weave a continuous story out of disconnected, disjointed narratives. Ibn Ishaq must be set down as its founder. In him and his successors we have the *Annals*—then in fashion.

"Chronology," says Wellhausen, "presupposes scientific research and comparison. In these the Medina scholars were not found wanting, and produced results which stand examination remarkably well" "* * * we can trace the progress of the attempt to capture events in the net of time. In completeness of chronology Ibn Ishaq is surpassed by his successors. Abu Ma'ashar seems to have had a mind for nothing but dates, and even with Waqidi this interest obtrudes itself."

The importance of Medina can scarcely be exaggerated. It is inextricably interwoven with the life of the Prophet and the rise of Islam. It was the seat and centre of Islamic fervour and faith—the home and hearth of its imperishable memories. Among the cities of Islam it held an incomparable position—the refuge of the fugitive Prophet; the theatre of his religious and political activities; the dearly-beloved scene of his growing, ripening, fulfilling hopes; his last and eternal resting-place. Could any other city emulate, or outshine its splendour or its renown? The chief theme of this school was the *sira*, with the *maghazi*, *i.e.*, the life of Mohamad and the foundation of his community through him, and the foundation of the kingdom through him and his Caliphs in the period of the conquest. And to these Ibn Ishaq seems to have mainly confined himself. So impregnable was the position of Medina, so potent its sway, that even during the Omayyad rule, with Damascus as the capital, Medina retained its importance, not only as the seat of the most important Arabian society, but also as the spiritual centre of Islam. Not until the rise of Baghdad and the fall of the Arab Empire did the Sun of Medina set.

The school of Medina—though neither in sympathy nor in co-operation with the secular rule of the Caliphs—did not ignore its existence. It was, however, far more concerned about Syria than about Iraq, or even Khorasan. Certain official statements are regularly repeated in Abu Ma'ashar and Waqidi. These are the accession and death of the rulers; the appointment and deposition of governors in the most important Provinces; the names of the leaders of the annual pilgrimage, and the summer campaigns against the Romans. These statements form the framework of the Medina Annals. Details are rare, except in connection with important crises or important turning-points. Social, political, and economic conditions are excluded from consideration, and are never so much as even hinted at. We are left entirely in the dark as to the relations subsisting between the rulers and the subject races. Nor is any light thrown on those questions which would reveal the inner life and conditions of the times.

Among the Syrian Arabs, a tradition there undoubtedly was. We get glimpses of it in Beladhuri, and also in the Kalbite Awana, who lived in Kufa but through his tribe was connected with Syria. He is often quoted in Tabari as the reporter of Syrian matters, generally according to Ibn Kalbi. For the Syrian tradition, however, we must go to Christian sources—particularly to the *Continaatio* of *Isidore of Seville.* There, the Omayyads appear in a far more favourable light than they do in the purely Arab authorities.

Varied are the sources from which Wellhausen has drawn his facts. But the historian of the Omayyad period suffers from a two-fold difficulty: paucity of materials and hostile bias of the historians. Weil, in his *Islamitische Völker,* has pointed out that, under the Abbasids, history did not attempt to speak the truth, but sought only to support the ruling dynasty at the expense of the fallen Omayyads. History, like Law, was then the thrall and page of despotism.

But neither suppression nor perversion of facts has altogether succeeded. Truth has fought its way, and now reigns triumphant. Justice, long deferred and denied, has at last been meted out to the Omayyads. And we see them, no longer through the eyes of biassed partisans, but through those of History, which inculcates, upholds, proclaims truth and justice. Literature supplements History, and in the prose and poetry of the times. we have materials, ample and abundant, for many generations of historians to explore and exploit. Von Kremer and Wellhausen have laid literature under contribution and have shown excellent results. The field is still virgin, and calls for the patient student's unwearied care and diligence.

Will the East surrender its inheritance to the West? Will it not respond to the call of honour and the voice of duty?

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

"**A Kipling Anthology**;" (Prose), Dominions Edition, Macmillan & Co., 1922.

This is a neat and handy book, with fine print and nice get-up, of short extracts from some of Kipling's well-known prose works judiciously selected representing particularly his power of vivid realistic description.[1] It must be said, however, that Kipling cannot be enjoyed or appreciated in such an anthology. Yet if we must have such a little volume of nice bits from a voluminous writer, not quite easily accessible to all persons, this particular edition may well have preference.

J. G. B.

"**The Poor Man**;" by Stella Benson (Macmillan's Empire Library, 6*s.* net):—

Miss Benson is a very clever writer full of wit, epigrammatic, racy in her style and quite charming in her bits of nature delineation appropriately introduced into the narrative portion of the story. There is just a little of "phrase-making" and straining at effect as, for instance, in Chapters II and III, especially in her observations on "posing" and "lying." Yankee slang also comes in here and there. In Chapter V we have too realistic a picture of the city of Calistoga with Miss Weber as a queer personage of strange manners and the writer significantly remarks about Miss Weber's diction that "the American of the Weber type chooses many of his words for their potential catch in the throat."

Edward—"Our Hero"—is *the poor man* or, better still, in the words of Tam (a more interesting character) "a poor thing"—one of "the poor things that can never be happy. Sorrow gravitates to people like him."

Miss Benson is rich in humour and she makes this hero's experiences as a teacher or as a salesman of *Milton for Boys* highly comic.

Some of the verses introduced as a commentary on the story or the characters are very beautiful and suggestive.

J. G. B.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 19-20, 35-36, 36-37, 57-59, 76-77 and 89-90 particularly.

"**The Enchanted April**;" (Macmillan's Empire Library No. 676):—

The governing idea of this beautitul fiction is Shelleyan—Lotty's impetuously becoming a saint through perfect happiness "that asks for nothing, that just accepts, just breathes, just is" and through unconventional freedom that does not require one to slowly struggle along a steep path to goodness. Shelleyan too is the suggestion of "lots of love" as the one thing needful to ameliorate the world. The author utilizes also the force of the "unconscious" in shaping life in opposition to the power of conventional morality or carefully cultivated orthodox religion. The too-much "seeing" and too much kissing, impetuous, Mrs. Wilkins (*alias* "Lotty") stands in sharp contrast to Mrs. Arbuthnot obsessed by the fear of the Task-master's eye ever upon her and who makes philanthropy a substitute for conjugal love and whose conscience becomes "supersensitive by years of pampering."

In the first four chapters we get under way towards landing the quartette of ladies—Mrs. Wilkins, Mrs. Arbuthnot (*alias* "Rose"), Mrs. Fisher and Lady Caroline (*alias* "Scrap")—at San Salvatore in Italy with the first of April immediately before them. A fifth—Kate Lumley—is simply held in reserve.

In this ideal Earthly Paradise of complete beauty and perfect happiness "all things are crowded into one month (April) which in England are spread penuriously over six"—or, if we are allowed to have *our say*, which in the work-a-day world scarcely meet together even in six-hundred! San Salvatore in April is the author's fairyland of unconventionality into which the London "conventionals" are driven for beauty and rest cure.

The subtle charm of Mrs. Wilkins's expansive but long pent-up soul at once begins to work wonders—for our author knows that the age of miracles is not past—only miracles to-day happen in the daily life of men and women.

The orthodox style of character development is here replaced by the "loosening and disintegration" in character effected by interplay of one upon another of principally four different types of womanhood thrown exclusively into each others' society "for the whole day for a whole month" in beautiful natural surroundings in the sunny South perfectly insulated from artificial interference.

Here is an experiment successfully carried out on the human mind and heart in nature's laboratory. The key-note is furnished by Chapter XVI where we learn that "scared away love, precious love except which nothing else matters in life, could come back, could be restored in the beauty, in the atmosphere of happiness Lotty and San Salvatore seemed between them to spread around like some divine infection." As, again, in Shelley's ideal world, here too "Beauty made you love, and love made you beautyful" (p. 346).

Even Mrs. Fisher—conventional respectability incarnate in a widow—inspite of her cast-iron rigidity of routine softens and confesses to the "ridiculous feeling that she were presently going to burgeon." Mrs. Fisher with her distinguished "familiars" at her Prince of Wales Terrace residence such as Ruskin, Arnold, Tennyson and Browning reminds us of Mrs. James T. Field of Charles Street, Boston.

The aristocratic Lady Caroline, an angelic beauty of twenty-eight, sick of the inanities of high life and tired to death of men's love-making which in her disgust she calls "grabbing" born of man's habit of looking at beautiful women from the "predatory angle," is agreeably surprised at the behaviour of Mr. Arbuthnot whose "grabbing" days are evidently done. She vainly tries "to protect herself from the eternities"—from "the sudden onrush of enormous feelings—of heart-cleaving longing" and seized by compunction, she feels "impulsive gratitude" to Mr. Briggs, the owner of San Salvatore, who, like Mr. Arbuthnot (*alias* Fredrick Arundel), pays an unexpected visit on his way to Rome. Lady Caroline's gratitude ripens into love inspite of the comic solicitude of Mr. Wilkins bent upon paying the rôle of the solid and pertinacious London solicitor even at San Salvatore and eager to save this daughter of the great Droitwiches from encouraging Mr. Briggs too far.

The other two ladies—Mrs. Wilkins and Mrs. Arbuthnot—who had been temporarily alienated from their husbands after a brief spell of happy love immediately after their wedding are also reunited with their husbands, thus proving that the age of miracles is not gone.

The style of the book is charmingly simple and a delicate humour runs through the whole of it. There is a delicious bit of it in the description of woman's freedom as enjoyed by Mrs. Wilkins when "once now for five whole years" she had the privilege of not sharing her bed with her husband and had the courage to audaciously pull at the blankets or touch the pillows to make them comfortable! Romantic situations are introduced in plenty and deep-seated tendencies in human nature are beautifully brought out by the writer's subtle method of character delineation.

J. G. B.

Theosophy and Christian Thought; by W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt. (James Clarke & Co. Ltd., London).

Dr. Urquhart has done real good service to both Christianity and to Theosophy by writing this fine book. So far this has been the fairest criticism of the beliefs and the practises of those who call themselves "Theosophists" made by an outsider. The author has tried to be as impartial as possible and according to his lights he certainly has succeeded remarkably well. Theosophists would certainly not like some of the remarks made against themselves, but it does one good to see himself with the eyes of another. Dr. Urquhart in that sensee is a sincere friend and well-wisher of Theosophy. The pity, however, is that Dr. Urquhart has not read enough of the Theosophical literature, as in some cases his doubts would have been cleared if he had read other books. In the bibliography he gives at the end one is struck by the scantiness of the "Theosophical" literature therein referred to. One is surprised to see only two books under the name of Leadbeater (and one of them a wrong entry too). His "*Christian Creed*," a most important work from their standpoint of the work under review, has not even been mentioned. So also one feels the absence of G. R. S. Mead and of his books, of Williamson's *Great Law*, of Whyte's *Is Theosophy Anti-Christian?* and a dozen other well-known works. But of course one cannot expect Dr. Urquhart to have waded through the whole mass of Theosophical literature which refers to Christianity and to Christian belief. And of the material he has actually read he seems to have made good use, and he has tried conscientiously to be fair. As a Christian and as a clergyman he believes that the Christian Gospel is the highest revelation of God made to man; but seems to think that this point should be as plain to non-Christians as to himself. This is exactly where the Theosophist differs from him. A Theosophist shows deep veneration for the Christ as a Master of Wisdom and Compassion, as a Superman, but he thinks of the Christ as *one* of many, not the only one. This fundamental difference runs, though subconsciously, throughout the whole book. Dr. Urquhart, naturally, cannot comprehend why the Theosophist should regard the Christ and the Buddha and Krishna as equals. This fundamental difference it is not possible to eradicate.

Dr. Urquhart mentions several faults to be found among Theosophists but from that he *nearly* makes the sweeping generalisation that Theosophy *leads* to these faults. His keen intellect has clearly seen wherein fault takes root; but as surely this same intellect should have made it clear to him that the fault lies in the *Theosophist*, not in the doctrine preached to him. Theosophists often forget they are human beings and try to behave as if they were all but divine. Naturally they fall into excesses. Often a particular passage in some work (say of Mrs. Besant) fires all the devotion in an individual and he becomes a blind bigoted follower of that particular teaching. But is that the fault of the teaching? Would it be right to trace the excesses of all individual Christians to the teachings of Jesus? Dr. Urquhart would have done well to have remembered that it is the *Theosophist* who goes wrong, not Theosophy. But when we have criticism from an outsider one must expect this sort of confusion to be made. Theosophists particularly have been subject to such criticism. One Theosophist is cranky, *ergo* the whole of the theosophical teaching is cranky. Dr. Urquhart is too good and too generous to say anything like this, but in places he has come perilously near saying so.

As a Theosophist, who has been brought up from childhood in a theosophical home, I feel deeply grateful to Dr. Urquhart for laying his finger on our weakest parts. I can certainly cite cases to illustrate almost every one of the weaknesses he has mentioned, but let us remember they are *individual* cases, not a general rule. Let us also remember that in most cases, even with the " cranky " ones, Theosophy has brought light and inner peace. I am sure Dr. Urquhart fully grants this statement. He has rendered distinct service to Theosophist, by telling them of their shortcomings; and he has done more than that, he has, like a true friend, told them exactly where these lie and has shown them the way to avoid them. For this he deserves their gratitude.

I. J. S. T.

The Scourge of Christ; by Paul Richard (Ganesh & Co.)

" God created man in his own image, and man returned the compliment."

It is this man-made God, full of human limitations, that man has set up for worship.

This is what is wrong with our religious men. This is why science says that God was a king deified.

But prophets have broken the man-made fence round the man-made idol termed " God."

Hence the prophet has been called insane, has been vilified, has been crucified.

And after the crucifixion an image of the prophet has been set up by the side of the man-made God and within the man-made fence these two idols are worshipped—as God and the Interpreter of God.

. . .

God gave eyes to man that he may look upward; but how few do so,

Break the man-made fence, break the man-made idols, look upward into the infinite and find the true God.

Revert to the God in whose image you are created.

A Brief Sketch of Bengali Phonetics: By Sunitikumar Chatterjee, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London). Obtainable from the Secretaries of the International Phonetic Association : Paul Passy, Liefra, p. Fontette, Aube, France; Daniel Jones, University College, London, W.C.I. Price 3*s*, 1921.

The author himself has given an idea of the scope of this booklet of 25 pages thus: "The present sketch is an attempt to record as accurately as possible the speech-sounds of the Bengali language as spoken by the educated classes, with a view to help foreigners to acquire a correct pronunciation of these speech-sounds by visualizing them, as well as to provide additional material in the study of general phonetics."

The author, who is a past master of the subject he deals with, has very thoroughly examined every vowel and consonant sounds, euphonic changes due to stress and slurring of unstressed syllables in Bengali. The treatment is very instructive, not only to the foreigners but also to those whose mother language is Bengali, for many of us speak Bengali without paying proper attention to the phonetic peculiarities of the language. I trust that this will be a great help to the students of Bengali phonetics, as there are very few books on the subject.

CHARU BANDYOPADHYAY

Money and Foreign Exchange after 1914; by Gustav Cassel (pp. 282, Constable & Co., Ltd).

The years which have elapsed since the declaration of the world war will rightly be regarded as constituting an eventful period to the students of monetary science. To one forgotten period of the financial history of England the recent currency history of Europe bears indeed a close and interesting analogy. Yet the very magnitude of the problems of to-day and the momentous character of the social and economic issues that depend upon a proper solution of those problems give them an importance peculiarly their own. The suspension of the cash payments by the Bank of England that resulted from a war finance based on unlimited bank advances to the government produced consequences which at that time puzzled the government and businessmen of the day, and aggravated the misery of a population already suffering from the effects of a war with France. The same methods of reckless war finance adopted on a magnified scale all over Europe during the late war have to-day produced consequences a hundred times more mischievous. While the governments of Europe were indulging in a reckless policy of inflation they did not take into serious consideration the ruin and disaster that would inevitably follow in the wake of such a process. It is the old and familiar story of "summon the ghosts I can but send them away I cannot." But however much one may feel tempted to say to the Governments of Europe "It serves you right: you have made your bed and on it you must lie" there still remains in the minds of most people a passionate desire to help them out of the rut into which they have fallen. The book under review offers a few suggestions which will prove helpful to all European countries aiming at the stabilisation of their exchanges.

Prof. Cassel had already diagnosed the malady and suggested remedies in his two Memoranda, one of which he submitted before the International Financial Conference at Brussels. These two documents written for a narrow circle of experts secured for the learned professor a distinguished place amongst the world's economists of the day. By the publication of the volume before us in which he has elaborated his previous arguments he has laid under a deep debt of obligation not only the students of monetary science but also that increasingly wider circle of readers who feel attracted at the present day to the fascinating problems of currency, and exchange.

The outstanding feature of the currency situation of the present day may be described as an artificial creation of purchasing power in the erstwhile belligerent as well as in the neutral countries without any real increase of savings or any corresponding increase in the productive power of nations. It is true as the author suggests that effective warfare under really serious conditions is impossible without inflation. But no justification seems to have existed for the new inflation which took place during 1919 and which in a way went even further than that during the war. This process of watering the currency has led to the abandonment of the gold standard with the result that there no longer exists any fixed relation between the currencies of different countries. It has also brought in its train a serious depreciation in the value of gold the full significance of which has often been ignored. Even the Cunliffe Committee and the Brussels Conference did not examine how far in view of this depreciation a reduction in the general price level would be necessary for the restoration of the gold standard.

Prof. Cassel blames the discount policy of the Central Banks for the post-war inflation. The Banks of England and of Norway, the Swedish Riksbank and even the U. S. A. Federal Reserve Banks did not come to realise the necessity of raising the discount rates until the mischief had been completed. " If ever the raising of the Bank rate was called for, it was certainly so in the spring of 1919, when under such conditions as then prevailed clear signs of a fresh expansion of credit began to appear " (p. 194).

He is equally severe against the policy of deflation which was pursued during 1920 by the U. S. A. a country whose currency was already on a par with gold. This deflation aggravated the difficulties of the stabilisation of the dollar exchange in Europe. The author urges the creation of what he describes as the " centre of stability " in the U. S. A. " As circumstances now are it is a matter of the highest international importance that the monetary unit of the U. S. A. should have a fixed value." The European countries should on their part aim at giving a stable internal value to their currency. This would mean the stabilisation of exchange rates between Europe and America. There is no doubt that some of the European countries whose currencies have suffered the greatest depreciation will have to lower the old parity. But much as we may deplore the abandonment of the old and familiar landmarks there is no help for it. In the works of the author used in another connection " we are confronted here with the unusually graphic example of the tragedy of mankind never being able to make good the evil they have committed."

JITENDRA PROSAD NIYOGI

" **Peace** " and the " **Journey of life** "—are two booklets by Babu Harimohan Banerjee, President of the Arya Mission Institution, containing instruction intended " primarily for the Christian World."

In the first the author draws attention to the fact that peace is more subjective than objective. That true peace is to be attained by moral discipline raising one's self above his senses which will lead to the conquest of the senses, and a calm resignation in the Almighty, rather than by an eternal effort, an eternal struggle for the satisfaction of the hankerings of the senses.

In the other booklet which is a sequel to the first the author describes the human life as an eternal struggle raging between the senses of man and his real self. Man in course of his journey forgets his self and is influenced by hih materialistic element and his senses lead him to destruction. His salvation his in lies freeing his own self from the influence of matter and his faith in the Almighty who is ever ready to open the gate " whenever any one knocks at the gate."

Both the books are full of quotations from the Bible and show the author's clear grasp of the subject of his thesis. They show a good deal of original thought.

N. C. B.

STATE *VERSUS* COMAPNY MANAGEMENT OF INDIAN RAILWAYS AND RAILWAY EXPENDITURE

This question is of vital importance to the economic and industrial development of trade, commerce and industries of the country, and State Railways are eventually meant to exist for the benefit of the country and not for its exploitation. The Government of India, the old lessee companies, the European merchants and a very small number of Indians from Bengal stood in favour of Company Management, whereas the bulk of Indian opinion asked for State Management, and the Assembly have done right in supporting the latter opinion. One of the Directors of the Railway affected, the Agent of the Bengal Nagpur Railway, the Chairman of the Railway Gazette of London, were all very active in India, and Sir Campbell Rhodes of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce was their principal support in the Assembly to advocate the cause of Company Management. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary and a few of his friends, who are none of them business men, or had anything to do with the railways except during travelling, developed into great railway economists and entered into academic discussions and asked for Company Management, and it is particularly to be regretted that in making a comparison between Sir R. N. Mukherjee and the Hon'ble Mr. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, a writer from Bengal who had suddenly developed into "A Railway Man" said that it was the former alone who was wholly a businessman and could talk on railway matters and that the latter had more things of politics in him than commerce. For the information of such persons it may be mentioned that Mr. Purshottamdas, besides being the senior partner of a very important firm of 53 years' standing in Bombay who deal in cotton and cotton ginning and pressing factories in India and East Africa, is the Chairman and Director of the Bombay Cotton Exchange, Vice-Chairman and Director of Bombay Cotton Trade Association, and has been twice President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau; moreover he is a Director of the Imperial Bank and of forty other leading commercial companies in Bombay which include railways, Iron and Steel and milling companies.

The Indian businessmen such as the men in the coal trade of Bengal and Behar or the Indian merchants and mill-owners of Bombay are competent bodies amongst Indians, who can talk authoritatively on railway management in India and their effects on trade, commerce, and industries, carried on by those who are indigenous people of the country. Both the Indian Mining Federation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay substantiated cases of undue preference before the Railway Committee in favour of European interests in the past and the Railway Committee had to acknowledge in a footnote in the record of evidences that the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber sent voluminous papers concerning cases of undue preference in favour of Europeans, but unfortunately this correspondence was not made public. There was, a few years ago, a case, which was investigated by Sir T. R. Wynne, when President of the Railway Board, personally at Cawnpur on the strong representation of the Bombay Indian Mercantile community, and it had to be admitted by the Government that there were special allotments of wagons by the G. I. P. Railway to Ralli Brothers and this had to be cancelled as the results of the enquiry. The important sections of Indian commercial bodies such as the Indian Chamber of Bombay, the Indian Mining Federation, the Indian Chambers of Cawnpur, Madras, etc., can say what they know about Indian railways and they have all condemned company management. The writings of one of the very recent and hitherto unknown railway expert bear very close resemblance to the views expressed, only a few weeks ago, by Col. Munshill of the Railway Gazette, London, who stated his view in a discussion with a well-known Indian who was on the Railways of India. It is perhaps a case of great minds thinking alike. Now to come to the points that are of vital importance to the country. In India, we have State ownership of railways, but the management of railways had hitherto been that of persons, who had a very small stake in the undertakings, and their interests were in most cases not identical with the interests of the owners. And another great disadvantage has been that even the State managed state railways were worked the same as Company worked state lines.

A few points have been raised by the new railway economists. One of them is that there should be private management of state railways, irrespective of ownership because private management is controlled—a principle almost unheard of, *i.e.*, management without ownership. Such management has been called controlled as contrasted to uncontrolled State management. It is very curious that while one set of men condemns Indian railway State management as disastrous because there would be too much control from the Assembly, there is another set who in advocating the cause of Company management say that State management is uncontrolled.

Those, who are saying that there are the possibilities of state railways being exploited to the detriment of the interests of the country, ought to look to the past history of German and Belgian railways, prior to the war, and they will find that even Mr. Lloyd George of England had to admit plainly those two countries were made industrially great mainly through the medium of their State railways and that this was proved by investigations made in Germany and in Belgium, on behalf of the British Houses of Parliament. And the German railways were great financial assets to that country's Government before the war, although the railways were worked mainly in the interests of the economic, commercial and industrial development of that country, and as a protection against foreign goods competing with German goods. Of course, today things may be different in the matter of railway finance in Germany, for a country, which is so badly hit by war of its own creation and is bankrupt in all respects cannot be expected that to be solvent in its State railways, but this is certainly not the fault of the State management of the German railways. There have been invidious comparisons drawn between the present Company managed railways of India, without taking into account the real causes. The readers will find the real facts and causes fully detailed in pages 138 to 139, and pages 158 to 162 of the *Calcutta Review* of January, 1923, and in pages 61 to 70 of part I of Indian Railway Economic lectures printed and published by the University of Calcutta.

The real cause of the Western Railways of India (not excluding the G. I. P. Railway and B. B. & C. I. Railway Company lines) having to buy Welsh coal was mainly the failure of the coal carrying company worked railways to carry coal from Bengal. Moreover, it is well known that the sellers of coal accept a lower price when they get quick wagon supply and the coal gets through to destination quick, and these are principal factors which enabled the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway to get coal at a cheaper price, and these railways were on the spot and the coal merchants have to deal with them in their business every moment. All these factors must count. The working expenses of the G. I. P. Railway Company were very high and so were those of the N. W. State Railway for various special reasons. On the other hand, the results of the O. R. State Railway were exceptionally good during 1920-21.

The figures of cost of working of State railways and of the Company lines vary according to traffic and other conditions, and there is as much difference between two Company-managed railways as between two State-managed railways.

For instance; those, who are practical Indian railway men, know that the higher cost per train mileage on the E. B. State Railway is entirely due to the very light load of jute, which is its main traffic. A very large number of wagons and trains have to be run for the same weight of traffic in jute as compared with the number of wagons and trains required for identical weight of traffic when it is coal or grain ; most of this jute is sent in drums (or unpressed and merely rolled like drums).

When people talk of cost of construction being less on Company lines of India they seem to exhibit utter ignorance as it is well known that the cost of railway construction in India had been exceptionally high simply owing to extravagance of the original companies. And this is very plainly stated in the Imperial Gazetteers of India (Indian Empire Series).

The charging of high fares by the railways, not excluding the E. I Railway Company, and the high cost of construction of Company lines were the main causes why the State thought of construction of railways in India through direct state agencies. Pages 20 to 22 and pages 5 to 6 of Railway Board's Monograph of Indian Railway rates will shew that great pressure had to be brought on the Indian railways to reduce rates and fares.

The East Indian Railway was the railway that had to be compelled by the Government to reduce fares for third class passengers *vide* page 23 of the said monograph. And it was also this railway that had persistently objected to the entrance of the Bengal Nagpur Railway into the Bengal coalfields, and this was very clearly proved at a conference held between the Government officials and the Calcutta European merchants in Simla some 22 years ago. The report of this conference was published in a blue book called "the Entrance of the B. N. Railway into the Jheria coal field."

The good results of the E. I. Railway were not due so much to its managers, as to its extensive traffic and geographical position, also pointed out by the Government in the Imperial Gazetteer (Indian Empire Series). The Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company's results should be seen by those who are very much against the North Western State Railway results. The G. I. P. Railway Company was worked for nearly 50 years at a loss to the Government, and the Government had also to suffer loss through the Madras and the B. B. & C. I. Railways during the managements of the original companies, and even to-day the G. I. P. Railway working expenses are very very high.

And those who have said that the fixing of minimum rates and fares is arbitrary would do well to read pages 261 to 272 of Railway Board's Monograph on Indian Railway Rates which will shew what would have been the loss in revenue in India had railways like the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway been allowed lower and preferential minimum rates and fares as was asked for. It was the E. I. Railway contract that was responsible for through sliding scales of rates not being given to the Indian public over two or more railways although it was admitted that such an action would be justifiable in public interests and would mean no loss to the Government, the owner of all railwaws, as the rates would be paying in the aggregate, *vide* page 36 of the Monograph on Indian Railway Rates.

Some have even gone so far as to point out that the B. & N. W. Railway Company's line as an ideal one. Such persons are recommended to travel on this line, and to find out from the East Indian Railway Company what are the causes of congestions at Mokameh Ghat. There are failures on the part of the B. & N. W. Railway in supplying wagons, inspite of the fact that the State, *viz.*, the Government of India, has kept a large number of wagons on the E. B. Railway metre gauge, which helps the B. & N. W. Railway Company's line and thus reduces their capital outlay on wagons. A very full investigation on this point would be useful and it is necessary to find out whether the B. & N. W. Railway Company are not profiting at the expense of the State by not spending capital on further wagons, and whether or not the supply of wagons by the E. B. S. Railway practically amounts to subsidizing the B. & N. W. Railway Company; an account may be taken as to how many the E. B. S. Railway metre gauge wagons were in use on the B. & N. W. Railway Company during the last four years.

Moreover there is another serious factor, which will show how the E. I. Railway Company and the B. N. Railway Company have in the past profited at the expense of other railways and all other parts of India: *vide* pages 85, 86, 87, & 88 of part II of Indian Railway Economics (Transport Series), published by the Calcutta University, extracts from which are given below :—

"It will be seen that, excepting in the case of the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railway, more traffic was cleared by other railways before general pooling of wagons."

"Comparing the results of 1920-21 with those of 1916-17 the E. I. R. and B. N. R. between them carried an excess traffic of fifteen lacs of tons, and it is remarkable that each railway accounted for an equal quantity to make up fifteen lacs, *viz.*, 7½ lacs of tons each. At first sight, one would be inclined to think that this increase was mostly accounted for by coal traffic, but this does not appear to be so. Whereas the total excess traffic of the E. I. R. in 1920-21 (compared with 1916-17) was 7½ lacs of tons, coal only accounted for an increase of 1,73,000 tons (less than two lacs) and, in the case of the B. N. Railway out of 7½ lacs of tons the increase in coal was but 96,000 tons (or less than one lac)."

"The figures show that while the railways like G. I. P., B. B. C. I., O. & R. or the N. W. Railway carried less traffic than before pooling the E. I. Railway and B. N. Railway carried much more general merchandise traffic, or in other words, restricted general merchandise traffic was carried on railways, other than the E I. Railway and the B. N. Railway, with a view to give assistance to the two latter railways in the matter of general merchandise traffic by such other railways sending their wagons to the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway. But this points to the fact that such wagons were not used for the purpose intended, *i.e.*, they were mostly used by the two latter lines much more for general merchandise traffic than for coal traffic. This being the position a very important question arises here. In the first place, it is to be asked whether all the railways have realised this position. Then the next issue is whether it is right that the traders and other people on railways other than the E. I. R. and the B. N. R., trading and interested in commodities other than coal, should be compelled to restrict their business largely in order that the similar traders and industries on the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railway should benefit by these two latter railways having freer supply of wagons *at the expense of traffic and business on other railways*, which have to spare their wagons for the E. I. R. and the B. N. Railways."

The railway expenditure in India has been extravagant:

(1) Firstly, due to original companies spending money extravagantly on construction.

(2) Secondly, due to payment of guaranteed rate of interest, which admittedly took away from the companies all the incentive to economise.

(3) Thirdly, owing to reckless competition carried on by companies between themselves as they knew that if there were losses they were protected by the guaranteed dividend by the Government, which the Indian tax-payers paid for many years. The Government of India had to interfere on many occasions to stop wasteful competition as admitted in Railway Boards Monograph on Indian Railway Rates.

(4) Fourthly, owing to payment of surplus profits to companies before sufficient money was provided out of revenue for heavy repairs, renewals, etc.

(5) Fifthly, owing to monopoly of higher appointments both in the superior and the upper subordinate grades by Europeans. State railways had at one time started Indianization. Lord Lawrence's Government asked for State Railways in order to give India cheaply made railways, for instance, the R. M. Railway reduced rates and fairs and Indian and less costly management but Lord Ripon's Government and subsequent Governments upset this.

(6) State railway officers were originally paid lower salaries for equal and better qualification but as Company line men were paid higher salaries the State railways had to pay more. State railway officials in the junior grades were taken on Company lines and given comparatively higher salaries and made Agents, Chief Engineers from the ranks of State railway Executive Engineers. It must be regretted that Lord Inchcape Committee omitted this point, which was fully discussed on pages 142 to 144 of the Calcutta Review of January, 1923. On the other hand, Lord Inchcape Committee has recommended higher salaries for General Managers of Indian railways. But the members of the Assembly will do well to remember the following points in this connection :—

(*a*) The Indian railways do not deal with the same amount of concentrated traffic as the English railways or the American railways. Nowhere in India there are even $\frac{1}{5}$th the number of trains dealt with at stations as for instance the trains at Liverpool Street, Waterloo, and Ruston.

(*b*) The Indian railway conditions are wholly different and the training of Indian officers had better be in India. In this connection it may be interesting to note that

" The railway engineers, the railway traffic officers, railway auditors need not be imported railway men at all. The best Traffic Managers of India had been men who never received any training on any railway but the Indian railways, such as Mr. Muirhead, Col. Huddleston, Sir William Dring, Mr. Rumboll and others, and all of them rose to the top of their profession, *viz.*, to the posts of Agents. Similarly of the capable Engineers, educated and trained in India, there were men like Mr. Rala Ram, Mr. Hogan, and also many others more or equally capable, and, the Indian Finance Department Accounts officers can hold their own with any one trained in railway or other accounts outside India. Therefore, if the desire really is for the Indian railways to be run economically they should be really indianised, which can be done—there is no need to import men from England or to compare salaries of English railway men with the Indian railway men. Col. Huddleston remarked in writing a few years ago, that so far as traffic training was concerned there was absolutely no need to train men in England and Col. Huddleston ought to know what he says. He was the General Traffic Manager on the E. I. Railway for years and also acted as Agent of that line. It is also to be particularly noted that men, who made their name in railway transportation during the last great war, and were on the top jobs, were men like Sir Eric Geddes, Sir Phillip Nash, Sir V. Murray, Sir H. Freelane, Mr. Colvin, Mr. Sheridan, and others—all Indian railway men and most of them had their training in India. Therefore Indianisation in the higher grades and the fixing of salaries at Indian scales is most essential and the Assembly ought to take these facts seriously into consideration in voting on the Railway Budget and in considering Lord Inchcape's recommendations for high salaries for Indian Railway Managers.

(*c*) Japan is near America and Japan has its railways, but because Japan has accepted western methods of transportation it has not adopted the exorbitant scales of salaries paid to railway men in America and this fact must be truly and particularly observed in India, especially when it is admitted by the Lord Inchcape Committee that Indian railways cannot bear high railway expenses. European staff on Indian railways not only mean very high expenditure in salaries but additional and much higher expenditure in providing costly and luxurious settlements for them. Places like Sealdah, Lillooah, Bamangachi, Asansol, Dhanbaid, Kharagpur, Adra, Chakradharpur, Madhupore, Dinapur, Allahabad, and very many other places would give ample evidence of what enormous sums had to be spent in providing quarters, institutes, etc., for Europeans. Even in the grades of upper subordinates there is monopoly of appointments by Europeans, such as in the grades of inspectors, and while Indians are deliberately kept out of these appointments it is advanced as an argument that suitable Indians are not found. For instance take the case of "the permanent-way inspectors on Indian Railways, especially on Company-managed State Railways. They are practically all non-Indians. For the salaries that these men are paid (without having any engineering qualifications to speak of) qualified Indian assistant engineers, who find it difficult to get employments, could be had. The salaries paid to the permanent-way inspectors, say on the East Indian Railway are said to be as follows :—

Number.		Salary.	
8	in the grade of	Rs. 525 to 600	per mensem.
61	,, ,,	,, 325 ,, 500	,, ,,
19	,, ,,	,, 160 ,, 300	,, ,,

There is not a single-Indian in these appointments. They are not employed because these posts are reserved for Europeans and Eurasians. Qualification becomes disqualification for Indians. Indians, who have passed out as overseers or even as assistant engineers, from the Indian Engineering Colleges are debarred from getting these appointments because of their nationality."

In the Carriage and Wagon Department of some Railways for the same kind of work and training the

European and Anglo Indian Mechanics get ...	...	Rs. 160 to 400
Indian Mechanics get	...	,, 50 ,, 205

European and Anglo-Indian apprentices get ...	... Rs.	45	to	75
Indian apprentices get	... ,,	8	,,	38

The figures speak for themselves. Such instances could be multiplied.

It may be argued that the proportion of Indians to Europeans is very large. But this is merely an eye wash. Indians are very large in number because they form the masses in the cooly, menial, and the lower clerical grades, *i.e.*, appointments which the Europeans and East Indians will not take. It is very true that although even on State-managed State Railways the percentage of Indians to the number of Europeans as officers and upper Subordinates is small but yet there have been in the past Indian Deputy Traffic Managers and even one Indian Chief Engineer. There are some Executive Engineers and District Traffic Superintendents on State-managed Railways who are Indians, but none yet on Company-worked State Railways in these capacities. We know the case of Bengal Jute Mills owned by Companies of Indian domicile and with sixty per cent. of Indian capital where there are no Indians in responsible positions. The process of Indianisation can only come in with State management and with the strong and persistent attitude of the Assembly, and it is only right that Indians should take a larger share in the responsibility of the management of their railways. In the Establishment Rolls of some of the most important trunk railways the Indian station masters, Indian Ticket collectors are clearly shown on lesser salaries.

Lastly, in the matter of passenger rolling stock it is most essential that the railways instead of spending money in luxurious type of first and second class carriages, tourists' cars and restaurant cars, provide English food, should look to the comfort of third class passengers, which can only be done, in the first place, by providing more accommodation. It is, therefore, essential that the Assembly should call upon the Government to render an account, showing what money has been spent during the last three years, and is going to be spent during the next two or three years, on the upper and lower classes of rolling stock separately as also of the money spent on Railway officers' saloons (such as those in use of the Agents and other high officials on Indian railways and on tourist and Restaurant cars). It is well known that the third class comprises by far the largest majorities of the Indian railway passenger traffic. Horace Bell in his book on railway policy in India remarked it would be profitable for the Indian railways to pay premiums to the upper class passengers and ask them to stay away, so that accommodation on trains could be more advantageously used for paying third class passengers. Even during 1920-21 the third class passengers traffic on the E. I. R., B. B. &. C. I., B. N. R., G. I. P. railways accounted for more than 90% of the total passenger traffic.

The Assembly should at least ask the Railway Board to show what amounts are going to be spent during 1922-23 and 1923-24 on the East Indian, the G. I. P., B. B. and C. I., the B. N. and some other railways (and also spent during 1920-21, 1921-22) for renewing :—

(*a*) coaching bogies (first and second and tourist and Restaurant cars)
(*b*) coaching bogies (intermediate)
(*c*) coaching bogies (third)
(*d*) covered wagons and open wagons
(*e*) Engines

and how much of the amounts under each head are to be and were debited to "Revenue" and how much to capital and on what basis. These figures must be available from railways.

Finally, it is very interesting to note that so great a railway authority of the world as Sir Henry Thornton, K.B.E.

late General Manager, Great Eastern Railway Company of England and the present Chairman of the Canadian National Railways, in expressing his opinion on the recent grouping of English railways, just before his ship sailed for Canada, said that if the grouping of railways in England failed the only alternative would be to have recourse to complete nationalisation of English railways.

S. C. GHOSE

Ourselves

ORIENTAL RESEARCH

At the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society held on the 7th February, 1923, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered an interesting Presidential Address which we reproduce here. We trust that the Members of the Post-Graduate Department will not be slow to take the hint conveyed in the last but one paragraph of the Address.

"It has been my privilege to address the Society at its Annual gathering, so often during the last seventeen years, that my silence on the present occasion would not have been liable to be misinterpreted as disrespect to our distinguished members. I felt, however, that if the term of office of the President were brought to a close without an address, however brief, it might create an unwelcome precedent. I shall consequently ask your indulgence while I refer to one or two subjects of interest to all well-wishers of the Society and supporters of its activities.

It is a matter of congratulation that notwithstanding the stress of economic conditions, our material prosperity has remained unabated during the last twelve months. There is no visible diminution in the number of our members, nor has there been a fall in the quantity, and, let me add without hesitation, the quality of the communications accepted by us for publication. To our keen disappointment, however, our building scheme has been held up, by reason of financial difficulties, just at the stage when we hoped that they had been successfully overcome, and it is now fairly clear that the matter requires to be explored further. In connection with this project for the erection of a handsome building on this site, a gentleman, who may well claim to be a man of culture but who has not yet joined the Society, has seriously put to me the question, whether the Society which has now existed for 140 years and has occupied these premises erected more than a century ago, is likely to last during the normal lifetime of a new habitation. I assured him, with my usual optimism, that the work of the Society would never come to an end, for had not our illustrious Founder, with the boldness which characterised all his conceptions, defined the bounds of our investigation to be the geographical limits of Asia and included within the scope of our enquiries whatever is performed by man or produced by Nature. It is, I venture to think, not generally realised, even by well-educated people, that problems of scholarship, both literary and scientific, which still await solution, are so numerous and so fascinating that a Society like this can never languish. It is of the problems in one of these fields alone that I shall venture to address you this evening—I mean the achievement of scholars of different nationalities in the domain of Indology.

The greatest work in this department, which is also the greatest event of the year just closed, is the publication of the first volume of the long projected and keenly expected Cambridge History of India, the first of a series of six, setting forth the history of ancient India from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century of the Christian Era. A glance at this work suggests many ideas for our reflection. In 1839, when Mount Stuart Elphinstone first attempted a comprehensive History of India, he remarked: "No date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander, and no connected relation of the national transactions until after the Mahomedan conquest." The first part of this statement is still true, if it is strictly taken to mean that no date of an historical event anterior to the invasion of Alexander can be determined with absolute precision. But the second part of his observation has lost all point in the light of the wealth of materials now available for the reconstruction of the ancient history of this country; and even in respect of the pre-Alexandrian period, " connected relation " is possible and has been established in the case of at least the social and religious history of India.

But what is this wealth of materials accessible to us, you will perhaps ask, which have made the reconstruction of our past history possible ? Briefly, they are the literary compositions and the archaeological monuments. So far as the first of these sources goes, there can be no doubt that we have made much headway in the publication of the literary compositions of ancient India. Thanks chiefly to the industry and devotion of European scholars, almost the whole of Vedic literature is now before us for study and utilisation for historical purposes. All the important works of Pali Buddhism are now accessible to us for the same purpose, principally through the unflagging and disinterested efforts of the late Professor Rhys Davids, who has just passed away, to the extreme grief of scholars in all countries. In regard to later periods, the publications brought out in such series as the Bibliotheca Indica of our society, the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit series, the Kavyamala, the Vizianagram series, the Benares Sanskrit series, the Chaukhamba series, the Trivandrum Sanskrit series, the Harvard Oriental series and the like have placed before us much material which can be easily utilised in the exploration of the ancient history of India. I do not for a moment intend to imply that no further work remains to be done in the matter of such publication; all that I intend to emphasise is that much progress has been achieved in this direction. Such is not, however, the case with the collection and study of archaeological monuments, which, as I have already told you, is another important source of our past history. These fall into four broad divisions, (1) Epigraphy, (2) Numismatics, (3) Iconography and (4) Art and Architecture. Notable advance has doubtless been made in the study of these sources during the last half a century, as I attempted to show in my Address to the Second Oriental Conference held last year in this city under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. But it must be conceded that much still remains to be accomplished in this direction. Even in the sphere of Epigraphy, which may create the impression that the field has been thoroughly exploited, if we look into the Government Epigraphist's list of inscriptions discovered in the Madras Presidency alone, we are constrained to admit that numbers of them still await to be deciphered and made accessible for the purposes of history. The same remark may be applied with even greater emphasis to each of the other branches of Indian Archaeology.

The materials which have been critically handled by different scholars and archaeologists are now within the reach of the historian. He has but to digest and collate them, to requisition them into the service of History. It is an elementary truism that the life of a nation is faithfully protrayed in the monuments of its literature; here, as elsewhere among all civilised people, it is indisputable that our literary compositions illuminate many a dark and obscure corner in our past history, and their importance can scarcely be over-rated specially for our earliest period. The history of the pre-Asokan times in all its aspects still rests practically on literary evidence. It is true that the bulk of this literary source is preponderantly religious. But we have such secular works as the Puranas and the Epics which have helped to preserve the historic tradition. The results obtained by a scrutiny of this tradition, specially when compared and contrasted with those reached by a study of Vedic literature, throw unexpected yet welcome light on the political history of that period. The fruit of such a critical inquiry is now before us in the shape of a book entitled "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" brought out by Mr. F. E. Pargiter whose name occupies an honoured place in the long roll of Presidents of this Society.

The idea of such a work had been conceived by him thirty years ago, when he was engaged on the translation of the Markandeya Purana, undertaken by him for this society. It is also extremely gratifying to note that a work of exactly the same nature was submitted in 1921 by Mr. Sitanath Pradhan, Lecturer on Physics in the Murarichand College, Sylhet, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, although he himself was presumably a votary not of philosophy, but of science. The thesis has been pronounced by experts to be of much excellence and has been accepted by the University for immediate publication. A comparison of the divergent results obtained by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Pradhan cannot but prove useful for the reconstruction of the political history of the pre-Mauryan period. It cannot thus be questioned that the Vedic and Post-Vedic literature, inclusive of the Pali Buddhist Canon, contain valuable materials for the investigation of the social, economic and religious history of that period; this, indeed, is now admitted on all hands and calls for no detailed comments. Such then is the value of the literary source, specially for the pre-Mauryan period, where archaeological monuments cannot come to our aid, though no doubt, when the latter become accessible, our knowledge attains further precision and becomes better connected. But even these records, though they have been judiciously handled by archaeologists, stand in need of examination also by the artist and the historian before they can be made to yield the ancient history of India. Take for instance the field of numismatics. So many different coins of different periods have been found, classified and catalogued by expert numismatists that many might labour under the impression that whatever was possible had been achieved. But the moment the records are studied and handled from the historian's point of view, they yield many interesting results. I need make only a passing reference to the ancient history of coinage, such as we have seen already narrated in the lectures delivered in 1921 by the Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta

University. Take, again, the ancient art and architecture of India. Vincent Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon and Fergusson's History of Indian Architecture are still looked upon as the standard works on the subjects. The authors of these publications, however, never prefessed to give exhaustive descriptions of all the types of Indian Art and Architecture; these treasures are indeed inexhaustible, and new specimens are brought to light year after year, thanks to the energy of members of the great archaeological survey, as also to the enthusiasm of private citizens. It is not for this reason that these pioneer works were considered to be the standard authorities, but rather because they were taken to have expounded the grounds and principles of Indian Art and Architecture. We are indebted, however, to the striking efforts made by Mr. Havell, that we are now able to approach the subject from an entirely new angle of vision; the consequence is that the works of Fergusson and Vincent Smith are criticised as dominated by the erroneous idea that the Art and Architecture of Ancient India qua art has very little to teach the world. It is refreshing to find that the workers of this generation have now commenced studying the problems of Indian Art and Architecture from this new point of view, which is not that of the archaeologist, but of the artist. It was only the other day that Dr. Stella Kramrisch delivered two courses of lectures before the Calcutta University, setting forth some of the results reached by her in this field. Mr. Manomohan Ganguli, author of Orissa and its Remains, is also delivering a series of lectures, under the auspices of the University, on the architecture of ancient India from this view-point; while Mr. Jaminikanta Sen in his brilliant work Art-o-Ahitagni has expounded an attractive theory. No impartial critic can, for a moment, lay down that this new method of treatment is wholly correct—I am not pledged to accept either the old or the new; indeed, to my mind, both the old and the new contain elements of truth, and unless the partisans of both thresh out the subject thoroughly, we cannot hope to reach the unalloyed truth.

It will thus be admitted that the labours of scholars working in various fields have brought to light a vast mass of material since the time when Elphinstone first attempted to write a history of India, as will be apparent from even a cursory glance at the pages of the first volume of the Cambridge History. We must not overlook, however, that the magnitude of the task is so great that a work of this character could have been rendered feasible, only by the co-operation of a band of scholars who are researchers and experts in the different branches of Indology. It is only by this co-operative method that it is possible to compose a work which can be treated as an authority on the history of ancient India. If we wish to realise how progress has been made by immense strides in quite recent years, we need only recall the history of ancient India by Vincent Smith, which was rightly acclaimed on its first appearance as a distinct step forward, though scholars were not slow to recognise its obvious imperfections and inevitable limitations. It was, however, readily acknowledged as a helpful advance over what had preceded it, and was in fact entitled to unreserved credit as the first systematic attempt to compress a bewildering mass of materials of the most diverse character into a fairly well-connected narration.

I have hitherto referred specifically only to such materials, literary and archaeological, as have been discovered within the geographical limits of India. But it is manifest that one cannot ignore the wealth of materials which abound in what was in ancient times rightly regarded as a greater India. It would be folly to overlook the remains of Indian Civilisation in the world around India and the ineffaceable traces of her vitalising intercourse in ancient times with her neighbours, such as, Persia, Central Asia, China, Tibet and Indo-China. No student of Ancient Indian History and Culture can ignore, for instance, the materials brought to light by that intrepid explorer Sir Aurel Stein, whose latest work Ser India has added notably to his many triumphs as a pathfinder in trackless regions where Indian Culture flourished in ages gone by. This manifestly adds to the immensity of the work which lies before the investigator of this generation. In this connection, we cannot afford to ignore the fundamental position that the history of a nation is not merely a chronicle of its political events, but comprehends equally every important development in the domain of religious, social and economic life. It is no reproach to the Cambridge History that from this standpoint it has not realised our highest conception of historical work. One of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century was the application of scientific methods to historical studies, so that History may be regarded as teaching a continuous sequence, an inflexible order, an eternal law of progress. This indeed is expressly recognised by the projectors of the Cambridge History. " It is precisely to the last quarter of the eighteenth century," they say, "that we may trace the growth of the modern scientific spirit of investigation, which may be defined as a recognition of the fact that no object and no idea stands alone by itself as an isolated phenomenon. All objects and all ideas form links in a series, and therefore it follows that nowhere, whether in the realm of nature or in the sphere of human activity, can the present be understood without reference to the past." In the evolution of the race, there are no sudden starts, no absolute beginnings. History is thus like a continuous flow of the Ganges, out of the dark and mysterious heights of hoary antiquity which emerging flows unceasingly into eternity. The time, however, has not yet arrived for undertaking a history of ancient Indian History and Culture from the standpoint of the philosophical student of History. Notwithstanding the labours of generations of assiduous scholars in many lands, we are still on the threshold. We are still engaged in discovering, sifting, appraising, evaluating and classifying our material. If at this stage, generalisations were boldly hazarded on the basis of incomplete and imperfect data, our theories might be upset by an unexpected discovery. We cannot consequently blame the contributors to the Cambridge History, many of them famous as profound investigators, merely because they have resisted the temptation to draw an idealistic picture of ancient India and her civilisation. We may feel disappointed that the Cambridge History, inspite of its many excellences, does not reach the ideal of a History of ancient India, which will portray the picture of each period as evolved out of the sum total of circumstances and activities characterising the preceding age. Such an ideal cannot be realised in a work, which, for the very reason that it is an epoch-making Encyclopaedia, composed by an army of experts, fails to furnish a continuous, an uninterrupted flow of historical stream. The synthesis of different chapters and different sections, which makes one period imperceptibly glide into another, can be accomplished by one master mind, like Grote or Mommsen, and not by a congeries of scholars. The day when India can have a Grote or a Mommsen to write her history, which far transcends that of Greece or Rome not only in the extent of area but also of age, may yet be far distant. Meanwhile, let us hope that some scholar will undertake to write a history which though not exhaustive, is yet a history in the modern scientific sense of the term ; and further let us hope that a teacher connected with an Indian University, shall we say the Calcutta University, may enable us to realise our cherished dream.

I trust I may be allowed to bring this address to a close with an offer of congratulation to the members of the Society for the happy choice they have made in the election of our new President. It would be inappropriate on my part to extol the eminence of Dr. Annandale in the branch of knowledge which he has made specially his own, but even a layman may be permitted to express the confident opinion that he will yield to none among his predecessors as a fearless and devoted guardian of the truest interests of the Society."

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

We are glad to announce that the University of Calcutta is now in a position to start excavations with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society on the first proximo. The site selected for this purpose is at Paharpur, three miles from the Railway station Jamalganj, in the Rajshahi District. Kumar Saratkumar Ray, M.A., to whose patriotism and generosity the Society owes its beautiful building of the archaic style has very liberally promised the University an annual sum of Rs. 2,500 for a period of five years. This sum for the current year has been supplemented by a further grant of Rs. 2,000; Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology, can never be sufficiently thanked for successfully prevailing upon the Government of India to sanction this amount in spite of financial stringency. It cannot for a moment be doubted that this was a wise and foresighted move on the part of the Director-General. The excavations at Paharpur could not have been undertaken, to begin with at any rate, with a sum of Rs. 2,500, Sir John Marshall successfully recommending a further grant of equal amount, has rendered possible an excavation which could not otherwise have been commenced. If Government and private individuals can thus co-operate, much can be accomplished even under the present financial conditions when neither by themselves can undertake it with any success. The Director-General of Archæology, again by assigning this excavation work to the University has by no means sacrificed the real interests of Archæology, for this work is to be carried out by no less a person than Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor, whose excavations in Central India, Rajputana and Sind, are too well-known to require any mention. Dr. Bhandarkar has been accompanied by three capable members of the Post-Graduate Department, Mr. Jitendranath Banerjee, Mr. Nanigopal Majumdar and Mr. Hemchandra Ray. Not the least interesting feature of the Paharpur excavation is the co-operation of Babu Akshoykumar Maitra, Director of the Varendra Research Society, whose unflagging and disinterested services to the cause of the Archæology of Bengal can scarcely be over-rated. It was at his suggestion that the present site of Paharpur was selected. What looks like a tower on this site will most probably turn out to be a Buddhist Stupa, and surrounding it will be found to be the remains of a Buddhist Monastery. It is premature yet to prognosticate with any degree of probability, because no archæological excavation is without its element of luck. The excavations at Paharpur will however be most eagerly watched, because in fact this will be the first excavation that will be scientifically carried out in Bengal.

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AGE RESTRICTION

The following extract from the *Englishman*, dated 23rd February, 1923, will be read with interest by members of the Senate who have agitated in vain for the reduction of the age limit from 16 years to 15 years during the last eight years:

"The Punjab University has decided to abolish the age-limit for the matriculation examination. Infant prodigies will now be able to become undergraduates when other infants are still in their cradles. They will then agitate for the abolition of the limit which still prevents their becoming B.A.'s before they reach their teens."

Luckily, the University of the Punjab is not faced with three private bills!

* * * *

RAJA PEARYMOHAN MOOKERJEE

The death of Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, full of years and honours, removes from the list of honorary Fellows one of the oldest and the most distinguished fellows of this University. Born in 1840, he devoted his life to the wellbeing of his fellow countrymen. The first M.A. in Science of this University, a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1879 and once more in 1906, a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council so far back as 1884, the Raja " won titles and degrees but he never forgot his duty to his country, and in his loyalty to government he always bore in mind that the best form of loyalty was the service to his own country." In his speech at the memorial meeting at the Dalhousie institute, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu pointed out that "his great and distinguishing feature was the simplicity and modesty of life—the modesty which would be surprising in these days when every pedlar has a sandwich board on his shoulder—the modesty which would not permit him to undertake work for which he did not feel himself fitted—the modesty which would not allow him to do away with the picturesque paraphernalia of the Band and the Bodyguard of His Excellency, the modesty which would not permit him to lay his hands on that hallowed structure of the University of Calcutta." Deep words of wisdom and truth!

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UNIVERSITY LEGISLATION

Rumour was rife for sometime past that the reformed Legislative Council of Bengal had set its heart on this reform of the Calcutta University. True to the affectionate regard in which some of the *alumni* of the University have held their *alma mater* two members of the Bengal Legislative Council—Messrs. Surendranath Mallick, M.L.C., and Jatindra Mohan Basu—have brought forward two bills for the purpose of widening the constitution of the University and for providing for an improvement of the financial administration of the University. Both the bills have obtained the sanction of the Government of Bengal and both have been introduced into the Bengal Legislative Council with due pomp and ceremony.

We understand our friend Mr. Rishindranath Sircar whose stirring August speech we remember so well, has not been lagging behind and has also framed a bill for the reform of an unreformed University. That bill, we are told, has not yet received blessing from above. The anxious solicitude evinced by three private members—all Calcutta lawyers and all having a surplusage of virgin mind to quote Sir Asutosh Chaudhury—has been fully shared and appreciated by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education who will also, it is understood, introduce a Government measure for the reform of the Calcutta University. Whether it is wise or even expedient to rush into the Legislative Council with reform bills when the Sadler Commission feared to tread is a matter on which opinions may possibly differ, but the question of questions is whether it would be possible for the Legislature, unless it has been converted into a registering automaton, to devote sufficient time for mature deliberation and anxious consideration to such epoch-making measures as the two University bills practically on the eve of its dissolution. Unless the Hon'ble Minister or the Hon'ble Members feel and are convinced that the electorate is with them in this matter, it would be straightforward and wise of them if they consult the wishes of their electorate in the next general election and then bring forward their measures for acceptance by the Legislature.

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TWO PRIVATE BILLS.

We reproduce the full text of the two bills of Messrs. Mullick and Basu :

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY BILL, 1923.

A

BILL

further to amend the Calcutta University Act, 1857, and the Indian Universities Act, 1904.

Preamble.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Calcutta University Act, 1857, and the Indian Universities Act, 1904, so far as the Calcutta University is concerned with a view to obtain a wider constitution for that University and to provide for an improvement in the financial administration of that University;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor-General has been obtained under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act:

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short Title.

1. This Act may be called the Calcutta University Act, 1923.

Amendment of Section 8 of Act II of 1857.

2. In section 8 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, after the word " Chancellor " in the two places where it occurs, the words "Rector who shall be the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education for the time being " shall be inserted.

Amendment of Section 15 of Act II of 1857.

3. In section 15 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, for the words "such fees" the words "all fees paid to the University and all income of the University subject to any trust" shall be substituted.

Insertion of New Section 15A.

4. After section 15 of the Calcutta University Act, 1857, the following shall be inserted, namely:—

Statutory Board of Accounts.

"15A. (1) There shall be appointed a Statutory Board of Accounts consisting of nine members, of whom three shall be nominated by the Local Government, three shall be elected by the University and three shall be elected by the Bengal Legislative Council.

(2) The functions of the said Board shall be—

(a) to appoint with the approval of the Local Government a treasurer to the University as well as his staff. The said treasurer shall be in charge of all monies belonging to the University and shall have the power to draw money on behalf of the University from Banks by means of cheques;

(b) to see that no money is paid which is not provided for in the budget;

(c) to compare once in every three months the actuals of the receipts and disbursements with those respectively provided for in the budget on that behalf and to report the result of such comparisons to the Local Government and the Senate;

(*d*) to prepare the draft budget at least three months before the beginning of the sessions in each year; and

(*e*) to exercise such other powers and duties as may be given to the Board by the Regulations framed under the Acts in force."

Amendment of Section 4 of Act VIII of 1904.

5. (1) In sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, after the brackets, letter and words "(*a*) the Chancellor," the brackets, letter and words "(*b*) in the case of the University of Calcutta, the Rector" shall be inserted.

(2) In sub-section (1) of the same section after clause (*e*) the following shall be inserted namely:—

"or in the case of the University of Calcutta, the Ordinary Fellows—

(*i*) elected by the registered graduates at least thirty in number in such proportion for representing the various professions as may be determined by the Regulations framed under the Act,

(*ii*) elected by the members of the Bengal Legislative Council, not necessarily from among themselves, at least twelve in number,

(*iii*) elected by the teachers and professors of affiliated colleges, at least twenty-five in number,

(*iv*) elected by the teachers and professors of colleges maintained by the University, at least ten in number, and

(*v*) nominated by the Government at least thirty-three in number of whom at least eleven are to be Muhammadans.

Such elections are to be held according to the Regulations that may be hereafter framed in that behalf under the Acts for the time being in force:

Provided that so far as the first election after this Act comes into force, is concerned, the same shall be held under rules to be framed by the Government for holding the said election which the Local Government is hereby authorised to frame.

Provided also that the Government, however, shall have the power to raise the total number of Ordinary Fellows to one hundred and fifty as the maximum but in doing the same they shall maintain the proportion stated above as far as the same may be practicable."

Insertion of New Section 4A.

6. After section 4 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following shall be inserted, namely:—

Vacation of seats by existing Fellows.

"4A. The Ordinary Fellows of the University of Calcutta shall vacate their seats within six months of the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, unless they are again elected or nominated under the said Act."

Amendment of Section 6.

7. In sub-section (1) of section 7 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the words "of Calcutta" shall be omitted.

Amendment of Section 25.

8. After section 25 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following be added, namely:—

"(3) The Government may after consulting the Senate modify the existing regulations or make new regulations consistent with the provisions of the Act of Incorporation as amended by the previous Acts and with this Act, to provide for all matters relating to the University of Calcutta other than those that are purely academic."

Insertion of New Section 26A.

9. After section 26 of the Indian Universities Act, 1904, the following shall be inserted, namely:—

Revised Regulations.

"26A. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 26 in the case of University of Calcutta, within three months after the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, or within such further period as the Government may fix in this behalf,—

(*a*) the Senate as constituted under that Act shall cause a revised body of regulations to be prepared and submitted for the sanction of the Local Government;

(*b*) this Government may sanction the proposed body of regulations or, if any additions to, or alterations in, the draft submitted appear to them to be necessary, the Government, after consulting the Senate, may sanction the proposed body of regulations with such additions and alterations as appear to the Government to be necessary.

(2) Where a draft body of regulations is not submitted by the Senate within the period of three months after the commencement of the Calcutta University Act, 1923, or within such further period as may be fixed under sub-section (1), the Government may, within three months after the expiry of such period or of such further period, make regulations which shall have the same force as if they had been prepared and sanctioned under sub-section (1)."

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

It appears from the Report of the Accountant-General (*vide* page 173 of Appendix No. 30 to the Report of the Government Grant Committee appointed by the Senate) that the deficit of the Calcutta University amounted to Rs. 38,000 in 1918-19, Rs. 1,77,000 in 1919-20 and Rs. 2,08,000 in 1920-21. The Report further says at page 171: "It may be noted here that the credit balance of Rs. 76,654 in favour of the post-graduate teaching fund, is the result of book adjustments whereby funds have been transferred from the fee fund to the post-graduate teaching fee fund, when there was no balance available from the fee fund. Ordinarily the fee fund should not show a debit balance, as transfers from that fund to other funds can only be permitted to the extent of the surplus available. The book adjustments that have been made in the accounts have the effect of giving an erroneous impression of the financial position of the two funds." This discloses a state of things regarding the administration of the University finances which can very well be characterized as lamentable. Then again, at any rate for the last few years, the University though a public body, totally disregarded the extremely salutary practice of preparing the annual Budget. The said Report of the Accountant-General says (at page 180) "In the case of all public bodies, such as Calcutta Corporation, Calcutta Port Trust, Calcutta Improvement Trust, it is the invariable standing practice to prepare a complete estimate of all classes of receipts and expenditure on different accounts and get it duly sanctioned by proper authority before the year, to which it appertains, commences. The authorities entrusted with the expenditure know fully well beforehand what grants are placed at their disposal, and regulate their expenditure accordingly. They also closely watch the receipts and advise their superiors to take early action if there is a falling off in them. The Calcutta University on the other hand allows the expenditure to go on for months against no grant sanctioned by the Senate, and does not prepare an estimate till the year sufficiently advances. Estimate for 1919-20 was passed by the Senate on 29th November, 1919, 1920-21 on 4th December, 1920, and 1921-22 on 4th March, 1922. Thus the expenditure up to those dates was incurred without any sanctioned grant." These and various other serious defects in the administration of the financial affairs of the University appear in the said Report of the Accountant-General. One of the objects of the Bill is to improve the financial administration of the Calcutta University.

The other object of this Bill is to introduce more of the elective element in the constitution of the Senate with due and proper regard to academic interests.

Some of the other amendments proposed in this Bill are more or less consequential.

Provision has been made to empower the Local Government to frame rules according to which only the first elections after this Act comes into force, have yet to be held.

SURENDRANATH MALLICK,
Member-in-charge.

C. TINDALL,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
and
Secretary to the Bengal Legislative Council.

CALCUTTA:
The 9th January, 1923.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA AMENDMENT BILL, 1923.

A

BILL

to amend the law relating to the University of Calcutta.

Whereas the University of Calcutta was established and incorporated by Act II of 1875;

And whereas by Act VIII of 1904 certain alterations were made in the constitution of the said University;

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to the University of Calcutta;

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor General has been obtained under sub-section (3) of section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act;

It is hereby enacted as follows :—

Short Title and Commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called the University of Calcutta Amendment Act, 1923; and

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Government of Bengal may fix in this behalf by notification in the Calcutta Gazette.

Act to be part of other Acts relating to the Calcutta University.

2. This Act shall be deemed to be part of the Acts by which the University of Calcutta was established and incorporated or by which the constitution thereof was altered.

Amendment of Section 4 of Act VIII of 1904.

3. (1) In sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Universities Act, 1904, after the words "the Chancellor" the brackets, letter and words "(*b*) The Rector (the Minister of Education for the time being *ex-officio* Rector)" shall be inserted.

(2) For clause (*e*) of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the same Act the following shall be substituted, namely :—

(*e*) "the Ordinary Fellows—
  (*i*) elected by registered graduates,
  (*ii*) elected by professors, lecturers and teachers of affiliated colleges,
  (*iii*) elected by Principals of Colleges affiliated for conferment of degrees,
  (*iv*) elected by University professors, lecturers and teachers,
  (*v*) elected by the governing bodies of colleges,
  (*vi*) elected by the Bengal Legislative Council,
  (*vii*) nominated by the Government of Bengal,
  (*viii*) nominated by Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and
  (*ix*) nominated by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

Amendment of Section 6 of Act VIII of 1904.

4. For section (1) of section 6 of the same Act, the following shall be substituted, namely—

"(1) In case of the University of Calcutta the number of Ordinary Fellows shall not be less than one hundred and thirty nor exceed one hundred and fifty, and of such number :—

(*a*) eighteen (of whom at least six shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the registered graduates other than graduates in law, medicine and engineering,

(*b*) twelve (of whom at least four shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by registered graduates in law,

(*c*) ten (of whom two at least shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by registered graduates in medicine,

(*d*) four shall be elected by registered graduates in engineering,

(*e*) twenty-five (of whom at least four shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the professors, teachers and lecturers of affiliated colleges,

(*f*) six shall be elected by the Principals of Colleges affiliated for teaching up to the degree standards from among themselves,

(*g*) five (of whom one at least shall be a Muhammadan) shall be elected from the governing bodies of affiliated colleges,

(*h*) ten (of whom two at least shall be Muhammadans) by the University Professors, lecturers and teachers,

(*i*) ten (of whom at least three shall be Muhammadans) shall be elected by the members of the Bengal Legislative Council,

(*j*) two shall be nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and

(*k*) two shall be nominated by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce."

Amendment of Section 7 of Act VIII of 1904.

5. In section 7 of the same Act—

(*i*) In sub-section (2) for that portion of the sub-section commencing with the words and brackets "(*b*) has graduated" to the end of that sub-section the following shall be substituted, namely :—

(*b*) "has graduated in any faculty not less than seven years before registration," and shall, subject to the payment of an initial fee of two rupees, be entitled to have his name entered in the register.

(*ii*) for sub-section (3) the following shall be substituted, namely :—

"(3) the name of any graduate entered on the register shall, subject to the payment of an annual fee of two rupees, be retained thereon : and in case of default shall be removed therefrom but shall at any time be re-entered upon payment of all arrears :

Provided that a graduate whose name has already been entered on the register may at any time compound for all subsequent payments of the annual fee by paying fifty rupees."

(*iii*) The following shall be added at the end of sub-section (4), namely :—

"and no person shall be qualified to vote for or be elected from more than one of the bodies mentioned in sub-section (1) of section 6."

Repeal of Sections 8 and 9 of Act VIII of 1904.

6. Sections 8 and 9 of the same Act are hereby repealed.

Insertion of New Section 30 in Act VIII of 1904.

7. After section 29 of the same Act, the following shall be inserted, namely—

New Regulations.

"30. All regulations of the University of Calcutta now in force shall cease to be operative on the 31st day of March, 1924 ; the Senate shall frame new regulations before the 31st day of December, 1923 ; in default of the Senate so framing the regulations the same shall be framed by the Government of Bengal."

Statement of Objects and Reasons.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed a Resolution in 1921 for rendering the constitution of the University of Calcutta more popular and for introducing a large elective element in the governing body. This Bill is intended to give effect to the desire embodied in the above Resolution.

JATINDRANATH BASU,
Member-in-charge.

CALCUTTA :
The 12th January, 1923.

C. TINDALL,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal
and
Secretary to the Bengal Legislative Council.

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THE SENATE AND THE BILLS

A committee of the Senate was appointed on the 10th February, 1923, last to consider the two bills and they presented an unanimous report on the 14th February, 1923; apparently the whole of the time and work of the members of the University have been absorbed in the useful occupation of writing reports in self-defence against the excessive zeal of our reformers: we make no apologies whatever, in publishing the report in full, as an appendix to this issue.

The report of the committee came up for consideration by the Senate on February, 1923, and the proceedings of the Senate may be read with interest by our readers.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri placed for consideration the Report of the University Legislation Committee on the two bills by Mr. Mallik and Mr. Bose.

He said that in his opinion they must congratulate themselves as they found people outside the Senate taking interest in University matters and who seemed to be impelled with the desire to strengthen and widen the basis of the University and to see that their finances improved. Mr. S. N. Mallik's bill was being introduced with the object of widening the constitution of the University and providing for an improvement in the financial administration of the University. This implied to his mind that there was some provision in the bill for improving the finances of the University, for there could be no financial administration without finance. But it was disappointing to find that there was nothing in the bill with regard to it. It was however a matter of congratulation that two gentlemen, skilled as practitioners in their profession, should have found time to apply their surplus mind to broader interests of the country. The Senators might not have agreed with the view the framers of the bills had put forward. But there was no doubt that they had felt actuated by the desire to do good to the University. In one of the earlier clauses a provision was made for the resurrection of the Rector. The Rector died a natural death in 1921 and in both these bills they found that there was an idea that this Rector should be exhumed and put on a pedestal. An ornamental position was to be occupied by him and there were dangers in a situation of that character. They had got a Chancellor who was also a Governor occupying a somewhat dubious and doubtful position. The Minister of Education who was *ex-officio* fellow was to be made Rector. He might be placed in the same doubtful and difficult position and in that position he might find it difficult to keep stable equilibrium. No case had been made out for resuscitating the Rector. So far as the nomination of fellows was concerned, the Chancellor, ever since the creation of the University had had the power of nominating the fellows. The bills sought to place that power with the Governor and with the Government of Bengal. It meant the Minister of Education. Because education was a transferred subject and Government meant practically, in matters of education, the Minister of Education. The Sadler Commission pointed out "it is the principal duty of the Chancellor to act as an impartial judge between the various interests and communities which must be represented in the University and to ensure that none of them has any reasonable ground of complaint." The Committee pointed out that there was obvious danger if they gave that power to the Minister of Education, because the Minister if anything was a political personage, he might be influenced by party or political considerations and to make over the power of nomination to him was perhaps not desirable. That was what the Committee had pointed out in the Report. Then there was the suggestion in the bill that the existing fellows should practically be expelled with the appointment of the New Senate. Lord Curzon who made drastic changes in the constitution of the University, did not think it necessary to legislate in the way that was sought to be done. The bill left out honorary fellows. They must all be prepared to go. He did not know how they thought about it. He did not think, how any recommendation of that character could be made. The bill completely rejected the recommendations of the Sadler Commission as to the most suitable constitution for the University. It was patent to them that the bill contemplated an enlargement of the Senate by the introduction of what was known the democratic principle which would include in it communal representation to a very large extent. Mr. Mallik in his bill had absolutely disregarded the recommendations of the Sadler Commission but he ought to be congratulated on his applying his surplus virgin mind to the question. The recommendations of the Sadler Commission with regard to the appointment of a Court and an Academic Council, should have received some sort of recognition. Mr. Mallik's bill also suggested the formation of a statutory Board of Accounts and this was a dangerous innovation. It was also inexplicable why the New Senate was not to be trusted and would be placed under its control. Though the bill was framed with the object of reforming the University as set forth in it, it had a distinctly political turn which should be avoided in educational matters. Two-thirds of members, as provided in the bill, were to be appointed by the Local Government and the Legislative Council. It was a dangerous innovation. The Senate could not be trusted to appoint the Treasurer. The Treasurer was to be appointed by the Local Government and he would be under the direction of the Government. The Sadler Commission recommended a Committee of Appointment. He feared that the bill as framed with the object of reforming the University savoured of politics. So far as politics was concerned, he did not know where they were going. A large number of people in the Legislative Council did not approve of the Reforms. People outside took a different view. He need not say anything very much about Mr. Bose's bill. It was less ambitious in character. But Mr. Bose was of opinion that there should be communal representation.

The speaker did not believe in communal representation. He did not like that the Senate should be composed of persons who might not be qualified to discuss educational matters. The Sadler Commission recommended the Court, which would be an academic body. But the bill recommended that the Senate should be composed of certain number of Mahomedans, Hindus, Christians, representing, not different aspects of education but probably religious bias. It was dangerous. Sir Asutosh then requested the Senate to accept the Report which has already been circulated.

Mr. M. N. Ray seconded the resolution.

Mr. K. K. Chanda said that in 1915, Sir Surendra, then Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for the transfer of control over the Calcutta University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal. At that time the representatives of Assam in the Council opposed the motion on the ground that Assam was subject to the Calcutta University. So long as the Governor-General was the Chancellor, the Government and people of Assam could approach him easily and place their grievances before him which they could not very well do if the Provincial Government of another Province was in charge of the University. Assam was at present under the Calcutta University and what was the position of Assam in this matter? The bill had no reference to it.

Sir A. Chaudhuri: Absolutely none.

Mr. Chanda continuing said that the framers of the bill forgot that Assam was under the Calcutta University at all. How did Assam stand with regard to election or nomination? He did not wish to say anything about communal representation. There was nothing in the bills about territorial administration. There was no chance of anyone of Assam getting elected. He endorsed everything that Sir A. Chaudhuri had said with reference to nomination. If the bill was passed into Law Assam had no chance of getting nomination in the

University. The bills illustrated the maxim "Charity begins at home." It was inevitable. As Assam was also under the Calcutta University why should it not be granted that privilege? What position would Government take up with regard to the matter? They were going to make the Minister of Education the Rector. Supposing they from Assam claimed a similar right that their Minister also should be made Rector. Could they resist it? The Governor of Assam, who was the most important personage, was nowhere. He might tell them that it was not in the power of the Bengal Legislative Council to legislate in the way as contemplated. In 1920 when Lord Chelmsford visited Surma Valley there was an agitation with regard to Bengal. A manifesto was issued which was signed largely by the people of Surma Valley including the present Minister of Education, the present President and the Deputy President of Assam Legislative Council requesting that Surma Valley might not be cut off from the Calcutta University. A Government communique was issued repudiating the suggestion that Assam would be cut off from the Calcutta University. Government of Bengal and the Bengal Legislative Council had not the power to cut off Assam from the Calcutta University. With these words Mr. Chanda supported the resolution.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose said that before the motion was put to the Senate he had to make a suggestion for the consideration of the meeting. Before he did so he should say that he did not subscribe to the observation that fell from the learned mover of the resolution, so far as the activities of men belonging to the profession of law outside the University taking interests in the affairs of the University were concerned. Did he mean that they should subscribe to his novel theory that any man who belonged to the profession of law had no interest in any matter except matters within the four walls of that profession?

Sir A. Chaudhuri :—I have not said that. That is exactly what I did not say.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose then proposed an amendment that the last sentence of the Report be deleted. It is as follows :—" It is a curious feature of these schemes for the reform of the University that they have found expression in the same or similar objectionable proposals; we need not speculate as to whether these attempts at emendation are due to accidental coincidence or are traceable to a common archetype."

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :—You cannot move an amendment as you have not given notice.

Dr. Bose said that the Committee had indulged in certain reflections which might be just or might not be just, but he submitted that such things should not find place in the report of an academic body like the Senate of the Calcutta University. He submitted for the consideration of the Senate that the inclusion of the sentence would not add anything to the value of the Report. On the other hand he thought that the incorporation of the passage in the Report would, to a great extent, lower the dignity of the Report. So he moved that the last sentence might be deleted.

Mr. J. R. Banerjea :—It is the last sentence that upholds rather than lowers the dignity.

Dr. Bose :—Do you think so ?

Mr. Banerjea in supporting the motion said that a certain poet, who was universally regarded as the representative of his age, said—we are wiser than our sires. In both of the bills there was a distinct departure from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. He believed that the tendency of the times was distinctly in the direction as indicated by the Poet. First of all, the framers of the bills ought to have experience in the matter of education. They had experience in particular spheres and it did not follow that they were competent to deal with another sphere. The Sadler Commission, which was appointed by Government, went minutely into every detail in connection with the affairs of the University and tried to place the University on a broader basis by certain clear-cut distinctions between the academic council and the University Court. Were they to think that the Sadler Commission in their attempt to reconstruct the University simply suggested a scheme which was altogether impracticable or absurd ? Were they to take it that the framers of the bills understood those things better ? Perhaps they thought that they understood better. But he did not think that they would carry the people with them. So far as the last sentence of the Report was concerned one of the speakers said that it was not consistent with the dignity of an academic body. But the speaker was of opinion that if anything was consistent it was the sentence that was referred to. The word " archetype " had its legitimate place there.

Dr. Bose:—That is the most objectionable word.

Continuing Mr. Banerjea said that he found it objectionable because he lost sight of the fact that underlay it. The speaker simply said this that he need not speculate as to the possible source of it. It might be due to the accidental coincidence or to a common archetype but as theorists they were bound to speculate. If they read between the lines of the two bills they would find a common archetype. It might be an accidental coincidence. Then there was another thing which was very significant. He had often thought of the psychology of matters and it was a remarkable psychological problem. What was behind the bills? One thing was clear and he hoped to get the support of the Rai Bahadur. He spoke from experience and he spoke with absolute confidence. It was simply this. The Calcutta University was a Government Institution. The Rai Bahadur would admit that it was a Semi-Government Institution. What was the psychology ? There were two private bills. If it is a Government

Institution, should not Government reconstruct it? Why should there be private bills? The same man, the Minister of Education, he would be omnipotent. On one occasion they found him as the Rector, in another part of the bill they found him as the Local Government. In another part he appeared as Minister of Education. He simply appeared in different suits of clothes. The speaker was associated with Mr. S. N. Mallik in connection with the National Liberal League. He claimed Mr. Mallik as belonging to the same political party. The bills which had been framed with a halo of democratic sanctity about them were to destroy the autonomy of the University. They would shut out men qualified to deal with academical matters. What had been done to give in the scheme proper proportion of representation? Surely nothing. If proper proportion of election obtained it would mean in the Senate men who would be European to a very large extent. He had very great respect for the views of European educationists. The University was no longer an examining body. It was doing Post-Graduate Teaching work. They could have no University where a sharp distinction was not observed between the University Court and the Academic Council. Financial control according to the bills would be in the hands of the Government. The Report of the Committee should be adopted, first, because it tried to preserve the autonomy of the University, secondly, because it tried to establish for the University the right to deal with academical matters; thirdly, because it showed that the bills aimed at concentrating all power in the hands of one man, the Minister of Education, who was to be the Rector as well as the Local Government. Let them not be swayed by political considerations. The views of people like Sir Michael Sadler in educational matters were entitled to great respect, and the recommendations of the Sadler Commission which came from men of his type ought to have precedence over the views of people who had spent their lives as lawyers.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— The Rai Bahadur asks for leave to move the amendment that the last sentence of the Report be deleted.

Leave was refused.

Dr. Bose :— May I ask for an explanation from the Committee as to what the meaning of "common archetype" is. What does it refer to ?

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor : – You are not entitled t ask for an explanation. During my experience of 35 years I have never heard of a member of the Senate putting a questio to the Chairman of a Committee to explain what the repor means.

Principal G. C. Bose :— I want to elicit from the Ra Bahadur certain points which he has not made clear.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— There is no question of clearing anything. If the members of the Senate began t cross-examine each other, there would be no end to th debate.

Principal G. C. Bose :—Members of the Senate hav received copies of the two private bills and " confidentially " believe they have got copies of the Government Bills also.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor :— Nobody knows wha we have got "confidentially."

Principal G. C. Bose :— I wish the visitors and the Pre men were not here.

The Registrar :— They are here.

Principal Bose :— On one occasion they were asked by th Senate to clear out.

Dr. Hiralal Haldar said that it was difficult to discuss the bills seriously. Their object was not to reconstruct the Calcut University, nor to increase its efficiency but to make it over boun hand and foot to the Government of Bengal which mea the Minister of Education. A body formed on the lines the bills would be not a University but a monstrosity. There ought to be no place for a degraded body like this in God's world. The country was entitled to know why the recommendations of the Sadler Commission should be set aside. Why not pass a bill like this:—"Whereas it is expedient to destroy the influence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in the University of Calcutta, it is hereby enacted that the said Sir Asutosh Mookerjee shall forever be disqualified from being a Fellow of the Calcutta University and that in his movements in Calcutta he shall not be allowed to go northwards beyond Bow Bazar Street."

Dr. Haldar observed that it would admirably serve the purpose of the framers of the Bills.

The original motion was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

* * * * *

The "Ditcher", in the issue of the *Capital* of March 1st. refers to the concluding passage of the Report of the Committee as "a Parthian dart as keen as a lancet", and follows up the remark with a characteristic paragraph in these inimitable terms:

"The two reformers referred to in this delightful paragraph are Mr. S. N. Mallik and Mr. J. N. Basu, both of whom would make the Minister for Education Rector of Calcutta University with power to control the Senate according to his heart's desire, which may take the form of putting his pigmy knife into the calf of a giant Vice-Chancellor of transcendent worth.

Constance: Thou wear a lion's hide! doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreat limbs.
Austria: O! that a man should speak those words to me.
Bastard: And hang a calf's-skin on those limbs.
Austria: Thou darest not say so, villain for thy life.
Bastard: And hang a calf's-skin on those limbs.

King John: We like not this:. thou dost forget thyself.

"The bearings of this observation lays in the application on it." "Archetype"! O carry me home! Surely not an "immaterial pre-existing examplar of a natural form" Surely, surely not. As the Minister of Education has stumped up 2½ lakhs for Calcutta University *sans* conditions, his valiant paladins may just as well throw their weapons of offence out of the window."

* * * * *

The "*Telegraph*" has a paragraph in the same vein:

"In our school-boy days, when a naughty lad used an equivoke in order to escape un-understood while cutting a joke, to the query of the form-master as to what the meaning of the expression was, the retort of the student was—why not consult the dictionary? Matters went perilously near this point at the Senate meeting of the Calcutta University on Saturday last when Rai Bahadur Dr. Chunilal Bose wanted the meaning of the phrase "Common archetype" as used in the report of the Committee formed to discuss the Bills of Messrs S. N. Mullick and J. N. Bose. To this, the Hon. the Vice-Chancellor said, "During my experience of 35 years I have never heard a member of the Senate asking for explanation as to what a certain report of a Committee means." Another situation almost akin to this arose when the Rai Bahadur interpreted certain sentences in the speech of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. Sir Asutosh observed smiling. "That is exactly what I never said." This literary scrimmage ushers in a novel feature and supplies quite a mouthful to the journalistic glutton whose mouth is a-gape watering in the very anticipation of a dainty dish."

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THE HISTORIC GRANT OF TWO AND A HALF LAKHS

The grant of two and a half lakhs by the Local Government to the University will no doubt become historic. Our readers who are famliar will the earlier history of the transaction will peruse with interest the final correspondence which we set out below.

D.O. No. 274

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION, BENGAL.

Calcutta, the 9th February, 1923.

Dear Sir Ashutosh,

With reference to our talk of yesterday Mr. Mitter asks me to say that if you will agree in writing to accept generally the recommendations put forward by the Accountant-General in connexion with the University accounts, he will authorise the immediate payment to the University of the Rs. 2½ lakhs provided in this year's budget.

2. Mr. Mitter thinks that the question of conditions will disappear largely when a general settlement has been reached in the matter of the recommendations of the Accountant-General. Mr. Mitter has already included a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in the Departmental Budget which will be presented to the Legislative Council on the 19th of February next. He hopes that it will be possible for you to discuss the question at an early date with the Accountant-General and come to a satisfactory conclusion as to how the said recommendations should be carried into effect. It is important that these conclusions should be settled within the next 3 weeks so that when the proposed University grant of Rs. 3 lakhs is debated in Council Mr. Mitter will be able to say that the financial question has been settled to the mutual satisfaction of both the parties.

3. The Accountant-General is willing to help the University in the preparation of an Office Manual and in other ways. He looks to you to co-operate and Mr. Mitter is quite sure that you will.

4. The Accountant-General is of opinion that the preparation of an Office Manual and the re-organisation of the Accounts Department will not involve any substantial increase in expenditure. That, however, is a matter which Mr. Mitter is prepared to leave to be settled by you and the Accountant-General. If, however, you and the Accountant-General agree that reorganisation of the Accounts Department or the preparation of an Office Manual will involve any additional expenditure, it must be understood that such expenditure will have to be met from the grant of Rs. 3 lakhs as it is not possible under the Budget Rules as also because of financial stringency to provide for any additional sum for this purpose.

5. Mr. Mitter now hopes the University will write formally at once for the payment of the grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs.

Yours sincerely,
W. W. HORNELL.

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Mukharji, Kt., M.A., D.L.

SENATE HOUSE,
CALCUTTA.
The 9th February, 1923.
10th

DEAR MR. HORNELL,

I have placed your D. O. No. 274, before the Syndicate and the Syndicate have authorised me to inform you that they are ready to remodel the University accounts, generally on the lines suggested by the Accountant General, in so far as this can be done within the funds that are or may be at their disposal. Every facility will be given to the Accountant-General or to the officers who may be specially deputed for this purpose to attain this end. It may be pointed out however that steps have already been taken to give effect to some of these recommendations as indicated in the report of the Government Grant Committee, which was forwarded to the Government in the first week of December last.

The Syndicate cannot and do not deal with the remarks made by the Accountant-General in his letter to the Government dated the 3rd January, 1923, as it is now under the consideration of the Senate.

Yours sincerely,
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION, BENGAL.
Calcutta, the 15th February 1923.

D. O. No. 302.

DEAR SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

I have shown to Mr. Mitter your D.O. letter to me of the 10th instant.

2. Mr. Mitter now hopes that, as suggested in paragraph 5 of my D.O. to you No. 274, dated the 9th instant, the Registrar will be instructed to write formally on behalf of the

University and ask that the grant of Rs. 2½ lakhs may be paid. Mr. Mitter must have a formal letter from the University before he can move the Finance Department to sanction the payment of the grant. The earlier the letter can come the better, for the financial year is drawing to its close.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
W. W. HORNELL.

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, KT.,
High Court, Calcutta.

No. MIS. 5704.

FROM
J. C. GHOSH, ESQ., M.A.,
Registrar, University of Calcutta,

To
THE SECRETARY,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
Government of Bengal,
Senate House, the 16th February, 1923.

SIR,

I am directed by the Syndicate to address you on the question of financial assistance by the Government to the University, with reference to the previous correspondence on the subject and the recent demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction. The substance of the previous correspondence may be conveniently recalled here.

On the 14th February, 1922, under the direction of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate a letter was addressed by me to the Government asking for financial assistance. It was then pointed out that the estimated total deficit on the 30th June, 1922, would amount to Rs. 5,39,480, and it was added that "*the Syndicate in these circumstances request that a grant may be made out of the public revenues to enable them to meet this deficit.*" (This letter is printed on page 4 of the report of the Government Grant Committee).

On the strength of the above letter, the Hon'ble the Education Minister made a demand for Rs. 2,50,000 in the July session of the Council to enable the University to meet the deficit. The grant was voted by the Legislative Council on or about the 11th July, 1922. Thereupon your letter dated the 23rd August, 1922, was addressed to me in reply to my letter of the 14th February, 1922. This letter (printed on page 1 of the report of the Government Grant Committee) intimated that a sum of Rs. 2,50,000 had been voted by the Council but added that the grant would not be handed over until certain conditions were fulfilled. Your letter was referred to the Senate for consideration. The Senate appointed a Committee to deal with the questions raised. The report of the Committee was adopted by the Senate on the 2nd December, 1922. The decision of the Senate was communicated to you in my letter, dated the 5th December, 1922 (copy annexed). A perusal of the letter will show that the Senate expressed their inability to comply with all the conditions and pointed out that action had already been taken by the Senate which rendered the imposition of some of the conditions at any rate superfluous. Since then there has been the demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction, which has made the views of the University clearer. *The position thus is that the application made by the University in my letter dated the 14th February, 1922, for financial assistance to enable it to meet its deficit still remains undisposed of.* The demi-official correspondence between the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and the Director of Public Instruction seems to show that the Government is now prepared to make over to the University the sum of rupees two and a half lacs which was voted by the Legislative Council on or about the 11th July, 1922, pursuant to the demand by the Hon'ble the Minister of Education on the basis of the application of the University dated the 14th February, 1922. In these circumstances, the Syndicate think that there is nothing further for them to do, and it is now for the Government to take the necessary steps on the basis of the application of the University dated the 14th February, 1922, which, as stated above, has not yet been disposed of by the Government.

I have &c.,

J. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

Enclosures :—

(1) D. O. letter from Mr. Hornell to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, dated 9th February, 1923.

(2) D. O. letter from the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor to Mr. Hornell, dated $\frac{9\text{th}}{10\text{th}}$ February, 1923.

(3) D. O. letter from Mr. Hornell to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor, dated 15th February, 1923.

(4) Letter from the Registrar to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 5th December, 1922.

MISC. NO. 4002.

FROM

J. C. GHOSH, ESQ., M.A.,
Registrar, Calcutta University.

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

Senate House, the 5th December, 1922.

SIR,

I am directed by the Senate to refer to your letter No. 1769 Edn., dated the 23rd August, 1922, regarding the grant of financial assistance by the Government of Bengal to this University. The letter together with the report of the Accountant General of Bengal mentioned therein was placed before the Senate on the 9th September, 1922. The Senate, appointed a Committee of nine members to consider the matter, and this was communicated to you in my letter No. Misc. 2101, dated 12th September, 1922. The Committee submitted a unanimous report on the 11th November, 1922. The report was considered by the Senate on the 2nd December, 1922 and was adopted *nem con.* Two copies of the report are forwarded herewith. It is not necessary to repeat here the conclusions and the reasons therefor which are fully set out in the report. The report points out that the acceptance of the conditions proposed in your letter is not merely undesirable but also impracticable. This, however, as explained in the report, must be taken along with the fact that the Senate had already, on the 16th September, 1922, adopted rules for Budget Estimates which were communicated to you in this Office letter No. Misc. 2470, dated the 21st September, 1922, and are reprinted in full on pages 72-74 of the report. Attention is also invited to the fact that the Budget Estimates for the current session (1922-23) were passed by the Senate on the 16th September, that is, a month earlier than the date (15th October) suggested in your letter. Copies of the Budget Estimates have already been forwarded to you.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
J. C. GHOSH,
Registrar.

No: 661 Edn.
Government of Bengal.
Education Department.
Education Branch.

From
J. N. ROY, Esqr., O. B. E.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
To
The REGISTRAR, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter, C. I. E.,
Minister in charge.

Calcutta, the 24th February, 1923.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with your letter No: Misc. 5704, dated the 16th February, 1923, and its enclosures on the subject of financial assistance to the Calcutta University and to say that the Government of Bengal (Ministary of Education) sanction the payment to the Calcutta University of a grant of Rupees 2 lakhs and a half (Rs. 2,50,000) voted by the Council in the last July session. The Accountant General, Bengal, has been requested to place the amount at the disposal of the University as soon as possible.

I have etc.,
J. N. ROY,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

* * * *

SIR BIPINKRISHNA BOSE

Sir Bipinkrishna Bose is a distinguished graduate of this University; he was a notable figure in the Imperial Legislative Council during the stormy times of the University legislation of 1904; since then he has been Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The following letter speaks for itself and shows that if he has brains he has a heart as well.

FROM
SIR B. K. BOSE,
NAGPUR.
To
THE REGISTRAR,
Calcutta University, Calcutta.

Nagpur, the 9th December, 1922.

SIR,

With reference to the appeal for subscriptions to meet the present financial situation of the University, I beg to state that I intend transferring to the University six per cent. Income Tax free War Bonds of the face value of eight thousand rupees subject to the following conditions :—

(1) That the aforesaid Bonds shall constitute a permanent Trust Fund of the University.

(2) That the interest accruing on them on 31st March, 1923, on 1st October, 1923 and 31st March, 1924, shall be appropriated by the University to meet the present deficit in its Funds and

(3) That thereafter the interest accruing on the Bonds shall be utilised in giving a scholarship of Rs. 40 per month or Rs. 480 per annum to a Post-Graduate student in Science of the University College of Science and tenable so long as he studies in that institution, subject to such conditions as the University may from time to time lay down.

(4) That when the Bonds shall be paid up by Government, the money realised shall be invested in Government Promissory Notes and in no other security and the interest on them shall be utilised as set forth in condition No. (3).

I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know in due course whether the University authorities will accept the Bonds on the above conditions and if so in whose favour should they be endorsed so as to constitute them a permanent non-transferable trust fund.

On receipt of your reply together with a copy of the resolution of the Senate accepting the Bonds on the conditions set forth above, I shall send them to you duly endorsed.

Yours faithfully,
BIPINKRISHNA BOSE.

The Senate has thankfully accepted the gift and the Syndicate has framed the following rules for the award of the scholarship founded by Sir Bipinkrishna Bose.

1. That a scholership of Rs. 40 a month, tenable for one year, be established and be named " Sir Bipinkrishna Bose Scholarship."

2. That the scholarship be annually awarded for proficiency in only one of the following subjects in the order stated :

I Anthropology.
II Experimental Psychology.
III Botany.
IV Zoology.
V Physiology.
VI Geology.
VII Physics.
VIII Chemistry.

The scholarship shall be awarded to the successful candidate who distinguishes himself most at the B.A. and B.Sc. Honours Examination in the subject for the year.

3. That the first award shall be made on the result of the examinasions in **1924**, and the subject of the scholarship for that year will be Anthropology; the subject for each succeeding year shall be taken from the above list in the order.

4. The scholar shall prosecute his studies for the M.A., or M.Sc. degree at the University College of Science and the scholarship shall be tenable subject to the production of periodical certificates of satisfactory progress in study under the Professors concerned.

As there are many scientific subjects and as it is extremely difficult to institute a fair comparison between the merits of different candidates who have taken up different subjects, the Syndicate have wisely decided to award the scholarship each year in a specified subject, the different subjects to be provided for by rotation in successive years. The order of rotation has evidently been fixed by giving precedence to subjects which do not ordinarily attract our students.

* * * *

KRISTODAS PAL.

Rai Bahadur Kristodas Pal was in his time one of the foremost members of the Senate of this University and his services are still remembered after the lapse of nearly forty years. His son Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Pal whose premature death all Calcutta recently mourned had intended to make a gift to the University to perpetuate his memory. This wish he did not live to carry out and his sons Mr. Gopinath Pal and Mr. Sitanath Pal have offered to the University a sum of ten thousand rupees. We reproduce here the letter addressed by them to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor.

108, BARANOSI GHOSH STREET,
Calcutta, 16th February, 1923.

To

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
University of Calcutta.

SIR,

Our revered father the late Rai Radhacharan Pal, Bahadur, had during his life-time expressed a desire that we should pay Rs. 10,000 out of his estate to the Calcutta University to be invested so that out of the proceeds of such investment a gold medal and a money prize might be awarded periodically to the author of the best essay on the life, times and work of our grand-father the late Rai Kristo Dass Pal, Bahadur, one of the former Fellows of the University. If the sum is invested in 6 per cent. securities, the annual income of the Fund would be Rs. 600 a year. The award might be made every alternate year and might consist of a gold medal worth Rs. 300 and a money prize of Rs. 900. The essay of the successful candidate should be printed and published in such manner as the University might think fit. We hope a special die might be prepared for the medal with the face of the late Rai Kristo Dass Pal, Bahadur, engraved on one side and with the University arms on the other. It would not be convenient for us for some time to come to make over the said sum but we propose to place at the disposal of the University Rs. 1,200 so that steps may be taken to make an award.

Yours faithfully,
GOPINATH PAL.
SITANATH PAL.

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MR. CHANDRANATH KUNDU.

Our readers will be delighted to read the following letter from Mr. Chandranath Kundu who has decided to institute a gold medal for the encouragement of the study of Indian Vernaculars.

To
THE HON'BLE THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND SYNDICATE,
(*Through the Registrar, Calcutta University.*)

SIRS,

I have the honour to state that I desire to place at the disposal of the University the sum of rupees two thousand and shall be obliged by your kindly accepting the amount on the following conditions:—

(1) that out of the interest of the said money, which is to be invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. interest Government papers, a gold medal be awarded annually at the Convocation to the successful candidate at the M.A. Examination in "Indian Vernaculars" who will secure the highest number of marks in all the subjects combined connected with the said examination :

(2) that on one side of the medal be inscribed "*Chandranath-Sreenath Koondoo medal.*"

On receipt of your reply, intimating acceptance of the endowment, the money will forthwith be sent to you.

5, NANDALAL BOSE'S LANE,
BAGBAZAR P. O., CALCUTTA,
The 21st February, 1923.

I have &c.,
CHANDRANATH KOONDOO.

* * * *

DR. ASWINIKUMAR CHAUDHURI.

Dr. Aswinikumar Chaudhuri, the worthy son of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri, has placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rupees Two Thousand for the institution of a scholarship in memory of his mother, the late Lady Chaudhuri. The terms of the endowment are as follows:

> (1) That the aforesaid scholarship shall be called the "Prativa Devi Scholarship."
>
> (2) That it shall be tenable for one year by the Hindu lady student who, shall stand highest in the first class in the Intermediate Examination in Science, and join an affiliated Medical College with a view to qualifying for the degree of M.B. of the University of Calcutta.
>
> (3) That where the choice lies between students of equal merit, preference will be given to one who at any time has been a student of the Bethune College or School.
>
> (4) That if in any year no student is eligible according to the conditions hereinbefore mentioned, the scholarship may be awarded to a former scholar for the purpose of enabling her to continue her medical studies, at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate. If the scholarship is not so awarded then the interest on the aforesaid Bonds shall be accumulated and invested in the purchase of Government Securities of a like nature, added to the corpus of the fund, and devoted to the same purpose.
>
> (5) That when the time for redemption of the aforesaid Bonds, arises, the amount of the fund shall be invested in Government Bonds or Promissory Notes, Municipal or Port Commissioner's Debentures, or other approved securities yielding the same or a higher rate of interest.
>
> (6) That the aforesaid endowment and the names of scholars shall be published in the Calendar of the University.

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DR. BIDHUBHUSHAN RAY

Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray, M.Sc., University Lecturer in the Department of Physics offered himself as a candidate for the

Degree of Doctor of Science and submitted the undermentioned theses:

I. *Main Thesis.*

"The scattering of light by liquid droplets and the theory of Coronas, Glories, and Iridescent Clouds."

II. *Supplementary Theses.*

(1) "On the Colour and polarisation of the light scattered by sulphur suspension."

(2) "On the transmission colours of sulphur suspension (jointly with Prof. C. V. Raman, D.Sc.)"

(3) "The free and forced convection from heated Cylinders in air."

(4) "On the optical analogue of the whispering gallery effect."

The Board of Examiners consisted of Dr. G. C. Simpson, D.Sc., F.R.S., Director of Meteorological Office, London, Professor E. H. Barton, D.Sc., F.R.S., University College, Nottingham and Dr. J. W. Nicholson, D.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows:—

We have examined the theses submitted by Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray, M.Sc., and consider that the work described in these is of sufficient merit to warrant the conferment upon Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray of the Doctorate. The main thesis entitled "The scattering of light by liquid droplets and the theory of coronas, glories and Iridescent clouds" deals with an interesting branch of meteorological optics and the results obtained by Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray are new and valuable.

G. C. SIMPSON.
J. W. NICHOLSON.
E. H. BARTON.

1st November, 1922.

There cannot be a more conclusive testimony to the quality of work accomplished in the University College of Science which is an eye-sore to so many of our patrotic countrymen. Our warmest congratulations to Dr. Ray.

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Dr. Nripendranath Sen.

Mr. Nripendranath Sen, M.Sc., one of the youngest members of the Post-Graduate Department in Applied

Mathematics, offered himself as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Science and submitted the following theses :-

(1) On the steady Motion of a viscous fluid due to the rotation of two spheroids about their common axis of Revolution.
(2) On the motion of two spheroids in an infinite liquid.
(3) Higher Order Tides in Canals of Variable Section.
(4) On some problems of Tidal Oscillations.
(5) On Liquid Motion inside certain Rotating Curvilinear Rectangles and certain Analytical Theorems connected with that problem.
(6) On Vortex Rings of Finite Section.

The Board of Examiners consisted of Dr. G. T. Walker, C.S.I., M.A., Sc.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., Director-General of Observatories, Dr. C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Hardinge Professor of Mathematics and Dr. D. N. Mallik, Sc.D., F.R.S.E. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows :

"We have the honour to report that we have considered the theses submitted for the degree of Doctor of Science by Mr. Nripendranath Sen, M.Sc., and are of opinion that he is fully qualified for the degree.

GILBERT T. WALKER.
C. E. CULLIS.
D. N. MALLIK."

Our congratulations to Dr. Sen who, we have no doubt, has a brilliant future before him.

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTS.

It has become fashionable to decry the Premchand Roychand students of this generation. Undaunted by ridicule the Boards of Examiners have elected as many as seven to be Premchand students for the year 1922.

Literary subjects.

Binodbihari Datta, M.A.—Town Planning in Ancient India, Nanigopal Majumdar, M.A.—History of Indian Alphabets.

Jadunath Sinha, M.A.—Indian Psychology of Perception.

Scientific Subjects.

Dr. Brajendranath Chakrabarti, D.Sc.—Colour of tempered steel.

Dr. Nripendranath Sen, D.Sc.—Problems of Hydro-Dynamics.

Mr. Praphullachandra Guha, M.Sc.—Constitution of Dithionrazole of Martin Freund.

Mr. Gurudas Bhar, M.Sc.—Properties of Cubics.

We believe that some of the other candidates had submitted quite creditable pieces of research work and are likely to succeed on a subsequent occasion. These are signs of intellectual ferment which all but the blind can see.

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REGISTRATION FEE.

We placed before our readers sometime ago the report of the Committee of the Senate on the subject of the increase of the fee for registration of students. We set out below the reply received from the Government of Bengal:

From the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, to the Registrar, Calcutta University, No. 628 Edn., dated the 22nd February, 1923.

"In continuation of this Department letter No. 2316 Edn., dated the 24th November, 1922, on the subject of the increase of the fee for registration of students I am directed to say that in view of the impending legislation on the re-organization of the Calcutta University the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) consider that the time is not opportune for a reconsideration of their previous decision as communicated in this Department letter No. 2625 Edn., dated the 19th December, 1921."

One cannot but feel that the Government had missed a great opportunity; it is never too late to set matters right and to correct an error which has been committed is a sure sign not of weakness but of strength.

DR. NALINIMOHAN BASU.

Mr. Nalinimohan Basu, M.Sc., who was formerly a me of the Post-Graduate Department in Applied Mathem and is now a Reader in the University of Dacca, rece offered himself as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor Science and submitted the following theses:

1. On the Diffraction of Light by Cylinders of Larg Radius.
2. On Liquid Motion inside Rotating Arcs of Three Four Confocal Parabolas.
3. On Some Laws of Central Force.
4. On the determination of a Rough Surface on wh a moving particle may describe a prescribed path.
5. On a New Type of Rough Surface the Motion Heavy Particle on which is determinable by Quadratures.
6. On the motion of a perfectly elastic particle insid given plane area under no external forces.

The Board of Examiners consisted of the Hon'ble Dr. P. Paranjpye, M.A., D.Sc. Dr. C. E. Cullis, M.A., Ph.D., D.S Hardinge Professor of Mathematics and Dr. D. N. Mullik, Sc. D., F.R.S.E. The report of the Board of Examiners was as follows:

"We beg to report that we have examined the papers submitted by Nalinimohan Basu, M.Sc. and are of opinion that he is fully qualified for the degree of D.Sc.

D. N. MALLIK.
C. E. CULLIS.
R. P. PARANJPYE."

We trust we shall not be misunderstood when we remark that every one of the original contributions submitted for the Doctorate was published while Mr. Basu was still a member of the staff of this unreformed University. We congratulate Dr. Basu for his new distinction which will help him to maintain the reputation of his *alma mater* in a new seat of learning.